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ESSAYS
IN
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY AND CRITICISM

London
HENRY FROWDE



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STUDIA BIBLICA

ESSAYS

IN BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY AND CRITICISM

AND KINDRED SUBJECTS

BY

MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF OXFORD

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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P R E F A C E.

IN the autumn of the year 1883, finding ourselves recently appointed to the three chairs which represent the interpretation of Holy Scripture in the University, we took counsel together to find some means of assisting students in our department outside the formal way of instruction by lectures. Since then we have met on four Monday evenings in every Term for the purpose of reading and discussing papers on Biblical Archæology and Criticism, including also some other kindred subjects which it seemed very desirable to embrace in our programme. The Essays contained in this volume have all been read at these meetings, but they have since been recast and in some cases substantially modified by the writers, each of whom is responsible for his own paper or papers, and for none of the rest. We cannot doubt that the meetings have been of use both to those who read papers and to those who heard them. We believe that they have done something to stimulate an independent study of the Holy Bible and of the history of the periods during which its books were written. They have also, we hope, deepened the sense of fellowship in work, which it is one great privilege of University life to foster, and drawn together younger and older men who are labourers in the same important field. These Essays are now published by the kindness of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press in the

hope that they may reach a larger circle than can be gathered in a single room.

The papers are arranged (with the exception of the last) in a kind of historical order, beginning with those that relate to the Old Testament and coming down, through the New Testament, to the second century A.D. The volume has been some little time in preparation, but we cannot wholly regret the delay in its appearance, as it has enabled us to add the last two papers in the volume, which were read more recently than the rest.

Should this volume be favourably received we shall hope to continue the series as material is gathered together in our hands.

S. R. DRIVER.

WILLIAM SANDAY.

JOHN WORDSWORTH.

May 7th, 1885.

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I.

RECENT THEORIES ON THE ORIGIN AND
NATURE OF THE TETRAGRAMMATON.

[S. R. DRIVER.]

IN the Khorsabad inscription of Sargon¹, that monarch names, among those who had attempted insurrection against him, one *Ya-u-bi-'i-di*, king of Hamath; the word is accompanied by an indication that part of the compound is the name of a deity: and the supposition that this name is *Yahu* is confirmed by the remarkable fact that in a parallel inscription the same king bears the name *Ilubid*. A Hamathite king, it appears, could be called indifferently *Yahubid* or *Ilubid*, much in the same way that the king of Judah who before he came to the throne bore the name of Eliakim, was known afterwards as Jehoiakim. The discovery that the name *Yahu* was thus not confined to the Israelites led Schrader, in 1872, to the conjecture that it may have come to both Hebrews and Hamathites alike from Assyria; and the conjecture was adopted, and supported with positive arguments, by Friedrich Delitzsch, son of the well-known commentator, in his book *What was the Site of Paradise?* published in 1881.

I will begin by stating briefly Professor Delitzsch's theory, and the grounds upon which he defends it.

¹ Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das A. T.*, 1872, p. 3 f.; 1883, p. 23: *Records of the Past*, ix. p. 6.

The view generally held hitherto by scholars has been that *Yahweh* is the original form of the sacred name, of which *Yahu* (found only in proper names) and *Yah* are abbreviations. Professor Delitzsch adopts an opposite opinion, arguing as follows:—

1. *Yahweh* was never the name of the God of Israel in the mouth of the people; the popular name was always יהו or יה, as is shown by the fact that the former constitutes part of no proper name, while large numbers are compounded with the latter.

2. The abbreviations themselves show that the significant part of the word was felt to lie in the *ya*, which was always retained, although upon the usual theory this would be merely a prefix.

3. It is improbable that a name handed down from remote times would have included the abstract idea of *being*: such a signification bears the impress of a later period of theological reflexion.

4. *Yahu* was a name of God among other Canaanite nations besides Hebrews. In addition to *Yahubid* just cited, there are besides, the Damascene *Ya'-lu'* found in an inscription of Esarhaddon¹; the Phœnician *Abdai*², *Yoel*³, *Bitthias*⁴, the Philistine *Mitinti*, *Sidká*, *Padi*, names of kings of Ashdod, Ashkelon, and Ekron respectively, mentioned by Sennacherib⁵, and formed precisely like the Hebrew *Mattithiah*, *Zedekiah*, and *Pedaiah*, the Hamathite *Yoram* (2 Sam. viii. 10), the Hittite *Uriah*, and the Ammonite *Tobiah*⁶, all of which show traces of the same name. If *Yahu* was thus a general Canaanite name, it cannot well be derived from יהוה: for this root,

¹ KAT., p. 24, note; p. 207, 24.

² A Tyrian Suffete, named in Menander (Schröder, *Phoen. Gramm.*, p. 152).

³ יהו, on the fifth Maltese inscription (Wright, in the ZDMG. xxviii. 143 f.; Nestle, *Israelitische Eigennamen*, 1876, p. 86).

⁴ Verg. Aen. i. 738; Schröd., p. 114.

⁵ KAT., pp. 289–290 (on the Taylor-cylinder).

⁶ The name of the Hebronite *Hoham* (Josh. x. 3) is too uncertain to be added (Baudissin, *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, 1876, i. p. 224).

though known to Aramaic and Hebrew, is not Phœnician¹. Its source, therefore, must be sought not in Palestine, but in Babylonia, the common home of nearly the entire Canaanitish Pantheon; and remarkably enough, a sign denoting God (*ilu*), which hitherto had been read ideographically, has been discovered to have a phonetic value, and to be pronounced *i*, or with the ending of the Assyrian nominative *ya-u*. In other words, among the old Accadian population of Babylonia, from whom the Semitic immigrants derived their cuneiform writing, the supreme God bore the name *I*, which, in the mouths of the Semitic Babylonians, would readily become *Ya-u*.

Delitzsch accordingly propounds the following theory. The forms *Yahu*, *Yah*, current among the people, are of foreign origin. The form *Yahweh*, on the other hand, is distinctively Hebrew: it is a modification of *Yahu*, so formed as to be connected with *הוה* to *be*, and designed to express a deep theological truth: this prevailed among the prophets and priests, but not among the people generally. A distinction, it will be observed, is drawn between *Yahu* and *Yahweh*, and the theory is guarded thereby against the objection to which it might otherwise be exposed from a theological point of view. Delitzsch does not divest *Yahweh*, the usual form met with in the Old Testament, of the associations attached to it on the ground of Exod. iii and vi: he argues, on the contrary, that *Yahu* is the foreign word which was transformed into *Yahweh* just for the sake of giving expression to the truths taught in those passages. In fact, *Yahu* has no real connexion with *Yahweh*, and is merely the material framework upon which it is modelled.

The theory, however, though not open to objection upon theological grounds, is not free from difficulties in other directions, and exception was taken to it in most of the notices

¹ In Phœnician, as in Arabic and Ethiopic (*𐤆* *feri* by the side of *UΩD esse*), the substantive verb is *כין* (e.g. *יכין לכהנים* in the remarkable inscription, relating to sacrifices, found at Marseilles).

of Professor Delitzsch's book. C. P. Tiele, in the *Theologisch Tijdschrift* for March 1882, declared himself unconvinced, and recently it has been examined at greater length by F. A. Philippi¹ in the second part of the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie* for 1883², whose arguments against it I proceed now to state.

1. It is an exaggerated and untenable view to treat *Yah* as the popular form. In all colloquial expressions, in the language of every-day life, we uniformly in the Old Testament find *Yahweh*: it is used even in formulae of swearing and other common phrases, where a shorter form, if in use, might have been naturally expected to occur: of the shorter forms, *yahu* is confined entirely to proper names (where the longer one would have been cumbersome; imagine such a word as מלכיהוה!), and *yah* to proper names and poetry,—and even in poetry chiefly in later liturgical forms (e.g. Halleluyah, twenty-four times out of forty-seven³). Against the suggestion that possibly editors or scribes substituted at a later date the longer form, the testimony of Mesha is decisive; on his stone (line 18) he writes *Yahweh*⁴: the longer form must accordingly have been in popular use in the ninth century B. C. And in proper names abbreviations in accordance with the normal methods of the language (as יהוה and יהוה would be) would not be against analogy.

2. The contractions do not cause difficulty. The transition from *Yahweh* to *-i* (יְ—) would not be made at once, but gradually. The last syllable being apocopated, after the

¹ Author of several important contributions to the comparative study of the Semitic languages, in particular, *Wesen und Ursprung des Status constructus* (1871), an article on the Root of the Semitic verb in *Morgenländische Forschungen* (Leipzig, 1875), on the numeral *two* in Semitic, in the *ZDMG.*, 1878, p. 21 ff., etc.

² P. 175 ff.

³ According to B. Davidson's *Concordance* (London, 1876). [Is. xxxviii. 11 *bis.*]

⁴ The reading admits of no doubt: Nöldeke and Dr. Wright do not question it; and the suggestion made since this paper was read to vocalize *Yahu'a* and to treat this as the name of a man (E. King, *Hebrew Words and Synonyms*, i. p. 35) is devoid of probability. The sense of כִּי is determined naturally by the context, which is here strongly in favour of יהוה being the name of a God.

analogy of verbs ל' and ל' , there arose first *yahw*; next, the final *w* being first vocalized and then dropped, came *yahu* and *yah* (with the aspirate sounded — יָה)¹: after a while the aspirate ceased to be sounded, though it continued always to be written: and thus, though it is true that at last, in proper names, only the sound *ya* remained, its continuity with the earlier stages was unbroken, so that its real origin would always be felt. The forms, moreover, in which יָה or יָה alone appears (as יְהוֹנָדָב , יְהוֹנָדָב) are at best of uncertain derivation: it is possible that they are not connected with *yah* at all².

3. The objection drawn from the abstract nature of the idea shall be considered presently; the name, it is probable, was understood to express a moral, not a metaphysical, conception of being.

4. The Philistine names are too uncertain in their formation for an argument to be based upon them; and the others³ are too isolated to prove a general worship of a deity

¹ The apocopation causes no difficulty: it is in strict accord with other analogies presented by the language. The habit of apocopating the imperfect tense of verbs ל' was so familiar to the Hebrews that a word of similar formation, especially when forming the second part of a compound name, must have lent itself to it quite naturally. The phenomenon is isolated because other names of the same form from verbs ל' do not occur (the form is itself a rare one): יְהוֹדָה is shortened as naturally to יְהוֹדָה in יְשַׁעְיָהוּ as יְשַׁעְיָהוּ to יְשַׁעְיָהוּ after the *waw* conversive in יְשַׁעְיָהוּ (in pause יְשַׁעְיָהוּ).

² Renan, in an article *Des Noms Théophores apocopes* in the *Revue des Études juives*, v. (1882), p. 161 ff., regards the termination in these cases as disguised forms of the suffix of the 3rd pers. sing., referring to God. Others treat at least the *-ai* as adjectival (see Ewald, § 273 e; Olshausen, § 217 a, b). In an appendix to this essay will be found a representation and description (which I owe to the kindness of R. S. Poole, Esq., Keeper of Coins and Medals at the British Museum) of a remarkable coin found in the neighbourhood of Gaza, and bearing the letters יְהוֹ .

³ As regards *Yo'el* (יְהוֹ), Dr. Wright, in the *Transactions of the Bibl. Archaeol. Soc.*, 1874, p. 397, had already remarked that the vocalization is conjectural. Whether, however, Nestle (*l.c.*) is right in connecting it with יְהוֹ , *voluit* (יְהוֹ), and interpreting *strong-willed*, must remain uncertain: it is at any rate precarious to seek support for this meaning in the יְהוֹ and יְהוֹ of the Sinaitic Inscriptions (Levy in the ZDMG. xiv. pp. 408, 410): for the proper names in those inscriptions appear mostly to have Arabic affinities (Blau, *ib.*, xvi. p. 377; Nöldeke, xvii. p. 703 f.). See also the *Corpus Inscr. Sem.*, p. 163.

Yahu—individual cases of borrowing from Israel are no improbability.

5. Admitting a Babylonian *yau*, it is difficult to understand how a Hebrew *yahu* can have arisen from it: the form which the regular phonetic laws would lead us to expect is *yô*; and if *yau* became in Hebrew indiscriminately יָהוּ, or יְהוּ, how is it that the latter appears never at the end of a compound proper name, the former never at the beginning? This difference can be accounted for upon the ordinary view, but not by Delitzsch's theory. 'The יְהוּ abbreviated from יְהוֹהוּ, when standing at the beginning of compound names became *y'hau*, *y'hô*, after the analogy of גְּבַר from *גְּבַר, because *yāhū*, in such a position, as part of a compound word with an accent of its own, would have drawn the tone unduly back, whereas יְהוּ for יְהוּ, in the second part of the compound, was excellently adapted to receive the tone.'

The question of a Babylonian *yau* is an intricate one, and cannot be satisfactorily discussed except by those who have made the cuneiform inscriptions their particular study. But the discussion may fortunately be dispensed with. Not only do both Tiele and Philippi raise objections to Delitzsch's reasoning, contending, for example, that the Assyrian *I* itself is not satisfactorily established as the name of a deity, but Professor Sayce, whose authority is not less than that of Professor Delitzsch, has declared¹ that his attempt to derive *Yahweh* from an Accadian origin is unsuccessful. Our knowledge of Babylonian mythology, he remarks, is tolerably complete: and no such name as *Yahweh* is contained in it. A derivation from the Accadian, which Professor Sayce abandons, need surely not occupy our attention further².

The rejection of a Babylonian origin for the Tetra-

¹ *The Modern Review*, 1882, p. 853.

² Mr. King, *u. s.*, pp. 15, 24, is of opinion that the ultimate source of יהוה is the Accadian *An* or *Anu*; but such a position (as may readily be imagined) is defensible only by aid of a series of assumptions, philological and critical, of the most questionable kind. An examination in detail is, I venture to think, needless.

grammaton does not, however, preclude the possibility of its having some other foreign, non-Hebraic, origin. Older scholars had indeed already suggested this, on the strength of certain notices in Greek writers¹; and as the view has been recently revived, I may be allowed, for the sake of completeness, to consider it briefly here, referring for further particulars to the full examination of it by Count Baudissin in the first volume of his *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte* (1876), p. 181 ff. Several ancient authorities (e.g. Diodorus Siculus², Origen, Theodoret, Jerome) speak of the God of the Jews under the name 'Ιδω: and the same name appears in some of the Gnostic systems³. Here it is evidently derived from the Old Testament, being found by the side of other names plainly of Hebraic origin. This is the case not only in the lists given by Irenaeus and other ancients, but also on the Gnostic rings and amulets, representations of which have been given by Macarius⁴, Montfaucon⁵, Kopp⁶, C. W. King⁷, and others. Abrasax, for example, we learn from Irenaeus, was the name given to the First Cause in the Basilidean system⁸. If therefore we find the name ΙΑΩ coupled with CΑΒΑΩΘ or ΑΔΩΝΑΙ under the strange composite figure which denoted Abrasax—the head of a hawk, or

¹ See the article 'JEHOVAH, by Mr. W. A. Wright, in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, i. p. 953 f.

² i. 94 Παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις Μωσὴν [sc. προσποιήσασθαι τοὺς νόμους αὐτῷ διδόναι] τὸν Ἰάω ἐπικαλούμενον θεόν.

³ The names of the spirits which, according to the Ophites, presided over the seven planets, are thus given by Irenaeus (i. 30, 5):—'Eum enim qui a matre primus sit Jaldabaoth vocari; eum autem qui sit ab eo, Iao; et qui ab eo Sabaoth; quartum autem Adoneum et quintum Elaeum et sextum Oreum, septimum autem et novissimum omnium Astaphaeum.' Origen (*c. Cels.*, vi. 32) rightly perceived that the third, fourth, and fifth of these were derived from the Hebrew Scriptures.

⁴ *Abrasax seu Apistopistus* (Antwerp, 1657).

⁵ *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*, Paris, 1722 (vol. ii. p. 353 ff.: Supplém., 1724, p. 209 ff.).

⁶ *Palaeographia Critica* (Mannheim, 1817-1829), vols. 3 and 4.

⁷ *The Gnostics and their Remains* (London, 1864). Specimens of the inscriptions (without, however, the figures) are given in abundance by Baudissin.

⁸ *Iren.* i. 24, 7. Abrasax (the letters of which, estimated numerically, equal 365) was the *princeps* or ἀρχων of the 365 heavens.

sometimes of a jackal, the arms of a man, one arm often bearing a whip, with two serpents diverging below as legs—



Reverse: $\text{IA}\omega \text{CABA}\omega$ ¹.

it will not surprise us; some mystic meaning or magical power may well have been supposed to reside both in the figure and in the name. If it was known (as it certainly must have been ²) that the Jews hesitated to pronounce the name, its value as a magical token would be the greater. But what are we to say when we read the name $\text{IA}\omega$, as we often can, associated with the image of the youthful Horus, resting on a lotus leaf—Horus, the Egyptian god of the awakening life of spring?



From 'The Gnostics and their Remains,' pl. iii. 8 ³.

¹ King, pp. 35, 234.

² Allusions are frequent, e.g. Philo, *Vita Mosi*, iii. 25 end, 26 (ii. p. 166, Mangey). See Lev. xxiv. 16 in the Versions.

³ Elsewhere the Abrasax and Horus figures are combined (also with the name 'Iáw'), as in pl. vii. 4.

Here 'Iáω stands alone, unaccompanied by any Jewish or Christian symbol. From this evidence, taken in conjunction with some notices (especially the reputed oracle of the Clarian Apollo¹) which appeared to connect 'Iáω with the Phœnician 'Aðωνις², Lenormant, in 1872³, considered it clear that the populations of Phœnicia and Syria recognized a god 'Iáω, and threw out the suggestion that the name was an old one, denoting properly *the existent*, which, as being the least closely attached to a definite mythological personage, might have been the model upon which the Mosaic *Yahweh* was constructed. Not, however, that Lenormant supposed *Yahweh* to be derived from 'Iáω: from the beginning, he adds, the Israelitish name was used in an altogether different sense from the Phœnician; the resemblance was purely external: though the similarity of name, he thought, might help to explain the readiness with which the Israelites afterwards exchanged the worship of *Yahweh* for a Canaanitish cult. But the grounds for such a theory are precarious: the Hamathite and Phœnician names are not numerous enough to bridge over the chasm which separates the late classical times (at which 'Iáω is first attested) from the age of Moses. Baudissin, after a careful examination of the facts, concludes, with great probability,

¹ Macrobius (fifth cent. A.D.), *Saturnalia*, i. 18:—

Ὅργια μὲν δεδωῶτας ἐχρῆν νεοτένθεα κεύθειν
 Ἐν δ' ἀπάτῃ παύρῃ σύνεσις καὶ νοῦς ἀλαπαδνός.
 Φράξω τὸν πάντων ὕπατον θεὸν ἔμμεν' Ἰάω,
 Χείματι μὲν τ' Αἰθῆν, Δία τ' εἶπος ἀρχομένοιο,
 Ἡέλιον δὲ θέρευσ, μετοπώρου δ' ἀβρὸν Ἰάω.

The verses are cited for the purpose of establishing the identity of Helios and Dionysus.

² The grounds for the identification may be seen in Lenormant, *Lettres Assyriologiques*, First Series, tom. ii. pp. 193 f., 209-212, or more fully in Movers, *Die Phönizier* (1841), i. 542-547. They consist chiefly in the similarity (πάντων ὕπατος) or identity (ἀβρός) of the epithets applied in the oracle to Ἰάω, and in other ancient writers to Adonis (e.g. Theocr. xv. 128 ἀβρὸν Ἀδωνιν); partly also in a connexion supposed by some of the ancients to subsist between Dionysus and Adonis on the one hand (Plutarch, *Symp.*, iv. 5, 3), and the God of the Jews on the other (on account, probably, of observances connected with the Feast of Tabernacles: *ib.* iv. 6, 2; Tacit. *Hist.*, v. 5, who, however, himself rejects the identification).

³ *L.c.* pp. 196-201.

that 'Iáw with the Horus figure is simply derived, as previous cases, from the Old Testament, and its occurrance in that connexion is merely a piece of religious syncretism such as meets us often elsewhere in Gnosticism, especially when its home is in Egypt (pp. 205-207). Baudissin disapproves at the same time the identification of this 'Iáw with Dionysos or Adonis, and the oracle of Apollo: his conclusion regarding to the latter is that even if it be admitted to be the work of a Greek in pre-Christian times¹, it would not follow that the 'Iáw named in it was other than the God of the Jews himself: and that consequently that name could not be alleged as the source whence the Jewish *Yahweh* was derived. The Greek 'Iáw, it may be concluded, is everywhere dependent on the Hebrew יהוה².

Professor Sayce, lastly, though, as we saw, not admitting its Accadian origin, still attaches weight to Delitzsch's arguments for *Yahu* being the original and popular form; and expresses himself inclined to assign to it a Hittite origin. How important the great Hittite empire of Kadesh on the Orontes was in the ancient world we know now from many sources. Hamath, Professor Sayce remarks, appears to have been a sort of Hittite dependency: Abraham had dealings with Hittites: David had not only a Hittite warrior, Uriah, but was on friendly terms with a king of Hamath: the kings of the Hittites are spoken of, long after David's time, as ready to give help to a king of Israel (2 Kings vii. 1-9), and the inscriptions mention no names compounded with *yahu*, except in Israel and Hamath. *Yahweh*, he concludes,

¹ This oracle has been usually regarded as spurious, but the authority of Lobeck has led it to be viewed in some quarters with greater favour; and is defended accordingly by Land (see the next note) and Lenormant (*l. c.* Kuenen, *Religion of Israel*, i. 399 ff., argues strongly on the other side.

² The theory of a Canaanitish origin of the name יהוה had been proposed in a somewhat different form by J. P. N. Land in the *Theol. Tijdschrift*, 1869, p. 156 ff. It was criticized by Kuenen in 1869 (*Religion of Israel*, i. 40) who pointed to the song of Deborah, as in his judgment conclusive against Land's reply may be read in the *Tijdschrift* for 1869, p. 347 ff. Tiele, *Histo. Comparée des Anciennes Religions* (1882), p. 349 f., agrees with Kuenen.

was as much the supreme God of Hamath as of Israel¹. Should this conjecture be discarded, he is disposed to fall back on the view of Professor Robertson Smith (see below), that the word denoted originally the sender of lightning or rain.

The general conclusion at which we arrive is, that while there are no substantial grounds for abandoning the ordinary view that *yahu* and *yah* are abbreviated forms of *Yahweh*, the possibility of a foreign origin for the latter cannot, in face of the Phœnician and other non-Israelitish names in which it seems to appear, be altogether denied. This, indeed, is the opinion of the most competent scholars of the present time. Thus Hermann Schultz, writing in 1878²: 'The opinion that the word may once have been current in a wider circle of peoples than Israel alone, cannot be said to be exactly refuted.' While concluding himself that it is *most probably* of Hebrew origin, he concedes that a different view is still tenable and that the name 'may have only acquired a definite religious significance in Israel.' Dillmann³ and Delitzsch⁴ express themselves similarly: the latter remarking that more ought perhaps, under the circumstances, to be granted than the conclusion of Baudissin (p. 223) that the God of the Jews was adopted by some of the neighbouring peoples into their Pantheon. But, like Schultz, both these scholars are careful to add, that, even if that be so, the name received in Moses' hands an entirely new import⁵.

¹ Stade (*Gesch. Israel's*, i. p. 130 f.) following Tiele (*l. c.*, p. 350 f.) conjectures that it may have been borrowed by Moses from the Kenites. The Egyptian *anuk-pu-anuk*, which was compared (after Brugsch) by Ebers, in *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, 1872, p. 528 (the note is omitted in the 2nd edition of 1882), is declared by Le Page Renouf (*Hibbert Lectures*, 1879, p. 244 f.; *Academy*, xvii. (1880), p. 475) to mean *I, even I*, and not to be capable of the rendering *ich bin, der ich bin*.

² *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, p. 488 f.

³ *Exodus und Leviticus* (1880), pp. 33 bottom, 34.

⁴ Herzog's *Real-encyclopædie*, vi. (1880), article JEHOVAH, p. 507.

⁵ Kuenen expresses himself most emphatically against such theories as have been here discussed, *Hibbert Lectures* (1882), pp. 58-61, 310 f. And Dillmann, notwithstanding his concessions to logical possibility, views them evidently with disfavour. The history of the name (on Israelitish ground) prior to Exod. iii. 14 is uncertain. As is well known, the two main sources of the Pentateuch,

Assuming then *Yahweh* to be a derivative of הוה we may proceed now to consider the signification attributed to it. In form, *Yahweh* belongs to a class of words found in Hebrew beyond a few proper names¹, but somewhat more widely in Arabic and Syriac², which are considered to denote an object or person from some prominent attribute. Jacob, the supplanter, Isaac, the laborer, Jephthah, the opener, Jair, the illuminator, are familiar examples of the same formation. Hebrew scholars, however, at once perceive that the vocalization *Yahweh* (which we may here assume to be the correct one, or at least the most probable by far that has been proposed³) may belong to two conjugations or voices, may have a neuter or a causal force, may express grammatically either *he that is*, or *he causes to be*. Formerly the name was supposed a

P (the Priests' Code) and J, differ in their representation of the antiquity of the name: in J it is used from the beginning (cf. Gen. iv. 26), P confines its use to Ex. vi. 3. (The passage Ex. iii. 9-14 is assigned by critical scholars to the P source.) But though promulgated anew, and with a fresh sanction, by Moses, it can hardly have been *unknown* before, though its use may have been limited. It is an old and not improbable conjecture of Ewald's (*Hi. p. 156 f.*), based partly on the name of Moses' mother *Yochebed*, partly on the early occurrence of the abbreviated form *Yah* (in the Song, Ex. xv. 2), confirmed by the singular expression in the same verse, 'God of my father' (cf. iii. 6, xviii. 4), that the name was current in the family of Moses (cf. Delitzsch, *Genesis*, p. 29 f.; Dillmann, pp. 28, 54); see also, now, König, *Hauptprobleme der altisraelitischen Religionsgesch.*, 1884, p. 27. The derivation of הוה is obscure: but philological reasons are decisive against the opinion that it means *shown of Yah*; for not only are proper names compounded with participles almost unknown in Hebrew, but a transition from הוה to הוה, which such a compound would have given (cf. הוה to הוה), is altogether without precedent: where does the disappearance of a lengthened preceding vowel, or indeed take place at all after a quiescent *shwa*? (Comp. Delitzsch on Qoh., xii. 5.)

¹ See Olshausen, *Lehrbuch*, § 277 g; Stade, *Lehrbuch* (1879), § 259.

² Dietrich, *Abhandlungen zur Hebr. Grammatik* (1846), pp. 136-151.

³ See the correspondence between Dietrich and Delitzsch (bearing in particular on the vocalization of the second syllable), published recently in *St. Ztsch. für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1883, pp. 280-290; 1884, pp. 21

On the origin of the form הוה, which appears on the margin, and sometimes also in the text, of Greek MSS. of the Old Testament (cf. Field, *Hexapla* Ps. xxv. 1), and which passed thence into Syriac MSS., see, in addition to Jerome, *Ep. 136 ad Marcellam*, the Scholion of Jacob of Edessa (A.D. 645), published with explanations by Nestle, in the ZDMG. xxxii. (1878), pp. 4508 (also p. 735 f. and xxxiii. 297 ff.).

universally to convey the sense *he that is*, but latterly there has been a growing consensus in favour of *he that causes to be*. Not, indeed, that this interpretation is a new one; it is as old as Le Clerc, who, in his *Commentary on Exod. vi. 3* (1696), both gives the pronunciation *Yahweh*, and explains the name as = *γενεσιουργόν*. In more modern times the same view has been favoured (in some instances independently) by authorities of considerable weight: it was thrown out as a suggestion by Gesenius¹ in 1839 (*creator* or *life-giver*), and is adopted by Land², Lagarde³, Kuenen⁴, Schrader⁵, Baudissin⁶, Nestle⁷, H. Schultz⁸, Tiele⁹. Not by all, however, quite in the same sense. Kuenen, for instance, interprets the name as denoting the giver of existence: Schrader and Schultz as the giver of life and deliverance: Lagarde and Nestle, following Le Clerc¹⁰, as *he who bringeth to pass*, i.e. the performer of his promises. Lagarde finds similarly in Exod. vi, in the contrast between *El Shaddai* and *Yahweh*, the transition from the idea of God's might to that of his covenant faithfulness. The thought is a suggestive one; but even in this, the most favourable form of the causative view, there are difficulties which are a serious obstacle to our accepting it.

It is true that יהוה is used of the fulfilment of a promise or prediction (1 Kings xiii. 32 כִּי הָיָה יְהוָה הַדֹּבֵר), but hardly

¹ *Thesaurus*, p. 577 note. ² *L. c.*, 1868, p. 158 (de levengever, Schepper).

³ ZDMG. xxii. (1868), p. 331; Symmicta, i. 104: supported with further arguments in the *Psalterium juxta Hebraeos Hieronymi* (1874), p. 153 ff. (originally *creator*) and *Orientalia*, ii. (1880), pp. 27-30. [*Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1885, p. 91: 'He who calls into existence the events of history, whence the idea of performer of promises must have necessarily developed.']

⁴ *Religion of Israel*, i. 279, 398 ('probably').

⁵ In Schenkel, *Bibel-Lexicon*, s.v.

⁶ *L. c.* (1876), p. 229.

⁷ *Isr. Eigennamen*, p. 88 f.

⁸ *L. c.* (1878), p. 487 ff.

⁹ *Histoire Comparée*, etc., p. 345 (*Celui qui fait être*: the explanation *Je suis celui qui suis* is an adaptation, not the primitive sense of the word).

¹⁰ 'Uno verbo Graece non ineleganter dixeris *γενεσιουργόν* existentiae effectorem, qua voce Clemens Alexandrinus alique Patres usi sunt, ut significetur *ὁς ἐν ἑνὲν πάσαν ἐργάσεται*. The Patriarchs, he continues, had known God as *El Shaddai*, but had not seen the fulfilment of his promises which 'jam (יהוה) ut esset facturus erat. Hinc Deus hic orationem orditur his verbis יהוה אֲנִי יְהוָה, hoc est, is sum qui re praestiturus sum quod olim promisi.'

in the abstract, without the object of the promise being cated in the context: and the fact that scarcely any S. language uses the causative form of *הוה*, whether in the of creating or bringing to pass, appears to make it additi improbable¹. The same lexical consideration tells fi against the view that the name had in its origin, bef was spiritualized as in Exodus, some other causative force, as, e.g. *he who causes to fall* (sc. rain, or lightning²). true, as Arabic shows, that *to fall* was almost certainl primitive meaning of the root; it even occurs once with sense in Hebrew³: but it is questionable whether the c form used absolutely would have conveyed such a sy meaning as this, without the object being distinctly expre. Rather, as Professor W. H. Green observes⁴, it would sig *the destroyer*—*أَهْرَى* is used in the Qor'an (53, 54) of C *ruining or throwing down* the cities of the Plain.

¹ The exception is in the case of Syriac: but even there, to judge by I Smith's *Thesaurus*, the use is rare, the few examples given being of late and apparently artificial formations such as Syriac lends itself to readi that they justify no inference as to what may have been the usage some years previously. The question has been recently a subject of controver Germany. Delitzsch, in the *Zeitschr. für Luth. Theologie*, 1877, p. 51, criticizing the explanation of *יהוה* as a *hifil*, had observed that whenever post-Biblical times, a causative of *הוה* was required (in philosophical ter ology) the *piel* was the form employed; and quotes an explanation of *יהוה* Aaron ben Elijah, of Nicomedia, the Karaites (in his *עץ חיים*, written in 1 and published by Delitzsch in 1841 in the *Anekdoten zur Gesch. der mittela lichen Scholastik*, p. 93) as the *עצם קהנה כל הוה*, the source of all b Nestle, in the *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, 1878, p. 126 ff., ans that this explanation of *יהוה* by the *piel* may have been determined by *shwa'* under the *י*, and appeals in support of its having been a *hifil* to examples in Syriac. He appears, however, to make more of these la than they deserve. Lagarde's most recent discussion of the subject is in *Orientalia*, ii. (1880), p. 28 f., which is in fact a reply to Delitzsch, tho that scholar is not named. It remains a possibility that *יהוה* may have h causal idea, but the arguments advanced by Lagarde do not appear to m have made it probable. Even Schultz, though inclined to regard the ca sense with favour, nevertheless expresses himself with reserve, when he s (p. 487), 'It cannot be denied that the view has great probability: but in case can it be regarded as certain.'

² W. Robertson Smith, *Old Test. in the Jewish Church*, p. 423.

³ Job xxxvii. 6. See Fleischer in Delitzsch's Commentary (Engl. Tr.); Dr. Wright's luminous note in the *Trans. Bibl. Arch. Soc.*, iii. (1874), p. 104 f.

⁴ *Moses and the Prophets* (New York, 1883), p. 42.

It appears then that *Yahweh* cannot be safely regarded except as a neuter (*gal*); and we must take as our guide in its interpretation the parallel passage in Exod. iii, which, indeed, is clearly meant as an exposition of what it implies.

In an instructive essay on this question, in the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* for 1876, Professor Robertson Smith observes that the modern disposition to look on *Yahweh* as a causal form is in large measure a protest against the abstract character of the exegesis of Exod. iii. 14. A double exegetical tradition, he proceeds to remark, is connected with that verse, the Palestinian, deriving from it the idea of God's eternity and immutability, and the Hellenistic or Alexandrian, deriving from it the idea of his absolute nature (already in LXX. ὁ ὢν). Either of these views, but especially the latter, assigns to the revelation an improbably abstract, metaphysical character, and moreover does not do justice to the word or the tense employed. יהוה is γίνεσθαι, not εἶναι; and יהיה suggests the meaning *come to be*, or *will be*, rather than *am*. The phrase denotes thus not γέγονα ὃ γέγονα, but either γίνεσθαι ὃ γίνεσθαι or ἔσομαι ὃ ἔσομαι. This was seen by Franz Delitzsch¹ and Oehler², who, adopting the former of these alternatives, observe that the name does not express fixity, but change,—not, however, a change regulated by caprice, but by design and conscious choice—‘*I am*,’—not that which fate or caprice may determine, but—‘*that I am*,’ what my own character determines. It implies that God's nature cannot be expressed in terms of any other substance, but can be measured only by itself (cf. the phrases iv. 13; xxxiii. 19; 2 Kings viii. 1). But further, since יהוה is not mere existence, but emerging into reality (*werden*, γίνεσθαι, *come to pass*), it implies a living and active personality, not a God of the past only, but of the future, one whose name cannot be defined, but whose nature it is ever to express itself anew, ever to manifest itself under a fresh aspect

¹ *Commentar über die Genesis* (1872), pp. 26, 60 (der Begriff des V. יהוה, oder יהוה, nicht sowol der des ruhenden, als des bewegten Seins, oder der Selbstbetheätigung ist, u. s. w.).

² *Theology of the Old Testament*, § 39.

undefined, or defined only in terms of himself, for the very reason that his providential dealings with his people in their ever-varying needs are inexhaustible—are more than can be numbered or expressed. The vagueness is intentional, as when Moses says, 'Send now by the hand of him that thou sendest,' i. e. send me, then, if it must be so. So here, 'I will be that which I am to be' to you: what I have promised and you look for; I will approve myself—though *how* he will approve himself is an ἀνεκφωητόν. And in Hos. i. 9 Professor Smith finds an allusion to the phrase, 'I will save Judah by (or as) Jehovah their God;' but to Ephraim he says, 'Ye are not my people, and *I will not be* for you.' The promise made to Moses is there withdrawn from Ephraim.

This view is, undoubtedly, an attractive one. Dillmann, indeed, objects that the principal fact, viz. what Jehovah will prove himself, is not expressed, but must be supplied in thought: but the substantive verb may well be understood in a pregnant sense, *give evidence of being*. It differs, however, but slightly from that of Oehler and Delitzsch. The essential point in both is that they see in יהוה not the idea of abstract existence (such as is denoted by the unfortunate rendering *the Eternal*), but of active being, manifestation in history. The principal difference is that on the one view this is conceived as realized in history at large; on the other, in the history of Israel in particular. On the whole, the meaning of יהוה and אהיה אשר אהיה may probably be best explained as follows: יהוה denotes *He that is—is*, viz. implying not one who barely exists, but one who asserts his being, and (unlike the false gods) enters into personal relations with his worshippers. He who in the mouths of men, however, can only be spoken of as *He is* becomes, when he is speaking in his own person, *I am*; and the purport of the phrase in iii. 14 is, firstly, to show that the divine nature is indefinable, it can be defined adequately only by itself; and secondly, to show that God, being not determined by anything external to himself, is consistent with himself, true to his promises, and unchangeable in his

purposes. The latter aspect of the name became *cert* prominent afterwards: and the prophets, by many allusions show that they saw in it the expression of moral unchangeableness².

To sum up briefly the substance of what has been said. The theories of the *origin* of the name, or the meaning attached to it, relate to the time *prior* to Exod. iii. 14: the truth would in no way invalidate or affect the revelation thus given, so that they may be considered impartially upon their own merits. Upon their own merits they cannot be regarded as established. The theory of an Accadian origin unquestionably breaks down; the theory of some other non-Israelitish origin rests, at least at present, upon an insecure foundation, and is rejected by the most competent Old Testament scholars of every shade of theological opinion. The *'lāw* of the Greek writers is late; and nothing can be built upon it till it has been shown not to be derivable from the Old Testament tradition itself. The Hamathite and Phœnician names cannot be explained away: the *possibility* of a point of contact with the Israelites remains; but we await further discoveries. So much for the name, as a name. Then as to the meaning. The possibility of a stage in which the name denoted the author of some physical phenomenon is undeniable. There is no positive evidence adducible in its favour; though some minds may be influenced by the weight of analogy. Similarly, though from the time when Exod. iii. was written, the name must have been understood by Jews in the neutral sense *ὁ γινόμενος*, the possibility of a prior stage when it was interpreted in the sense *He that causeth to be* (or *to come to pass*) must be conceded. More than this cannot be said: positive evidence again not forthcoming. Indeed, the advocates of this opinion hardly contend for more: both Kuenen and Schultz, for instance, speak very cautiously. The considerations advanced in support of the theories which have been discussed are not,

¹ E. g. Isa. xxvi. 4, 8, xli. 4; Hos. xii. 6; Mal. iii. 6.

² Comp. Philippi, *l. c.* p. 179 f.; Dillmann, p. 35, both of whom regard the word as having the sense of a Qal.

venture to think, sufficiently strong to render them plausible : no ground appears at present to exist for questioning either the purely Israelitish origin of the Tetragrammaton, or the explanation of its meaning which is given in Exod. iii. 14.

Coin found near Gaza, referred to on page 5.



The following is Mr. Poole's description :—

'*Obv.* Bearded male head, three-quarter face towards r., in crested Corinthian helmet.

'*Rev.* 𐤀𐤋𐤍 (יהו). Deity resembling the Greek Zeus, clad in mantle, seated r. in a car to the axle of which wings are attached, holds in r. eagle or hawk ; in front, below head of Bes or of a Satyr l.: the whole in a dotted square. Silver. Weight 50·7 grains.

'Published by J. P. Six in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1877, p. 229, as struck probably at Gaza, but for this there is no authority. See also Combe, *Vet. pop. et regum numi qui in Mus. Brit. adservantur* (1814), p. 242⁵, and pl. xiii. 12; De Luynes, *La Numismatique des Satrapies et de la Phénicie* (1846), p. 29¹, and pl. iv. ("Sohar").

'The legends in Phœnician and Aramaic characters on coins give (a) names of kings or satraps : (b) names of towns or gods of towns, so specified,—besides dates ; generally (a) and (b) are combined on the different sides of the same coin. I know of no instance of the name of a god occurring without the qualification of the name of the mint, as *Baal-Tarz* on coins of Tarsus. I am, therefore, inclined to read יהו as a proper name. That the reading is correct I am not sure, as the form of the second letter is strange for ה.'

Respecting the origin and use of אל and its relation to אלהים, a discussion has recently arisen in Germany which is sufficiently cognate to the subject of the preceding essay to be mentioned here, and which deserves the attention of those interested in such questions. It is contained in the following articles : 1. Lagarde, *Orientalia*, ii. (1880), pp. 3-10 [connects אל not with אל but with אלי]; 2. Nöldeke in the *Monatsberichte der Kön.-Pr. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* for 1880, pp. 760-776 [adduces evidence, chiefly from inscriptions, to show that the vowel in *El* was originally

long]; 3. Lagarde in the *Göttingische Nachrichten*, 1882, pp. 192 (= *Mittheilungen*, 1884, pp. 94-106), [reply to No. 2]; 4. I in the *Theol. Studien aus Württemberg*, 1882, Heft iv. pp. 243 [conjectures מִלְלָא to be the plural of לָא]; 5. Nöldeke in *Sitzungsberichte* of the same Berlin Academy, 1882, pp. 1175- [criticism of No. 4, and answer to No. 3]; 6. Lagarde in *Mittheilungen*, pp. 107-111 and 222-224. The course taken in the discussion has been indicated in outline; but no abstract of the argument is here attempted: the field covered by it is so extensive that in order to be properly appreciated it must be studied *extenso*¹.

My friend, Mr. D. S. Margoliouth, of New College, while examining an Ethiopic MS. recently acquired by the Bodleian Library (1 Aeth. 9. 5), and containing the same *Preces magicæ xii discipulæ* as No. 78 in Dillmann's Catalogue of the Ethiopic MSS. of the British Museum, has observed מוֹרִי vocalized almost exactly as Epiphanius and Theodoret (Ἰαβῆ). The passage occurs (fol. 6 v.) in a list of magical names of Christ said to have been given by him to his disciples. As the context is curious, I transcribe a portion of it (vocalization unchanged):—

ወእመድሓረሁ: ነገሮመ: አስማቲሁ: ሊያሄ: ብሃ
ገሩመ: ሱራሄ: ብሂል: ዓቢይ: ድመናሌል: ብሂል: ኃገ
.....መርዖን: ብሂል: ዓቃቤ: ኩሉ: አእ: ብሂል: ረዳ
አፋራን: ብሂል: መድሐን: መናቲር: ብሂል: ኖላዊ: አ
ሌል: ብሂል: ከዳኔ: ኩሉ: አከ: ብሂል: ተዓጋሢ: ሌለ
ብሂል: ፀዋረ: ኩሉ:.....ዖዌ: ዖዌ: ብሂል: አማን: ርኅ

'And after that he told them his names: *Iyâhê*, i. e. terrible; *Sûrâhê*, i. e. great; *Demnâ'êl*, i. e. mighty; *Meryon*, i. e. watching; *O'e*, i. e. helper; *Aphrân*, i. e. saviour; *Manâtêr*, shepherd; 'Êl, 'Êl, i. e. protector of all; *Akhâ*, i. e. patient; 'Êl, i. e. supporter of all; *Yâwê*, *Yâwê*, i. e. faithful (and) just.'

¹ See also Professor Francis Brown's note in the *Presbyterian Review* (New York), 1882, pp. 404-407; and (still more recently) M. Halévy in the *Revue des Études juives*, 1884 (ix), pp. 175-180 (pp. 161-174 on מוֹרִי), maintaining its Israelitish origin, and explaining nearly in the sense of Rashi).

II.

THE LIGHT THROWN BY THE SEPTUAGINT VERSION ON THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL.

[F. H. Woods.]

THE object of the following paper is to attempt to give a fair estimate of the value of the LXX as a critical authority with special reference to the Books of Samuel; and at the same time to point out the most important passages in which that version throws light upon the original text, or the manner of its composition. The limits required in a paper of this kind compelled me in most cases to select only a few examples by way of illustration, and made a more complete view of the subject impossible.

The critical value of the LXX rests mainly on the fact of its great antiquity. At the lowest computation it must be many centuries older than the oldest existing Hebrew MS., and some centuries older than any other translation of the Hebrew text. Again its extreme literalness, in these books especially, gives it often much of the value which an actual Hebrew MS. would possess. Hebrew phrases are represented with an exactness which is defiant of Greek idiom and not unfrequently of Greek grammar as well. Such phrases as *ἐξ ἡμερῶν εἰς ἡμέρας*, 1 Sam. i. 3; *καὶ προσέθετο ἔτι . . . ὁμόσαι*, 1 Sam. xx. 17; *καὶ ἀπηγγέλη τῷ βασιλεῖ Δαυίδ, λέγοντες*, 2 Sam. vi. 12; and *ὥσπερ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὥσπερ αὐτούς*, 2 Sam. xxiv. 3, enable us easily to reproduce the Hebrew text from which they are translated, and examples of such a kind might be multiplied indefinitely. In much the same way even the imperfect

knowledge of Hebrew which the translators frequently exhibit is often a real gain to the critical student. translations of בִּי by ἐν ἐμοί in 1 Sam. i. 26 and כִּסְפִי προστεθήσεται in 1 Sam. xii. 25 (cf. xxvii. 1) are just mistakes as a Hebrew novice might make. But in all cases it is easy enough to see what is the reading which LXX represents, and at the same time the disregard of intelligible sense, in their scrupulous desire to reproduce exactly the Hebrew original, shows that the translators would never have altered the text to improve the meaning. Whenever they appear to have done so, we must assume either that the LXX text represents a different reading of the Hebrew, or that the MS. which they translated from was defective. In another way also the imperfect knowledge of the translators serves the Biblical critic a good turn. They frequently transliterated the Hebrew words which they were unable to translate, showing again their almost superstitious anxiety to give an exact equivalent to the Hebrew. Thus in 1 Sam. ii. 18 we find ἐφ' οὐδὲ βᾶδ, though curious enough the words are rendered στολὴν ἑξαλλοῦν in 2 Sam. 14, pointing perhaps to the work of a different translator or a later reviser. The words 'Ιερίμ in 1 Sam. xv. 3, 8, and Νάβαλ in 2 Sam. iii. 33, 34 are evidently regarded as proper names¹. Sometimes transliterations were made because the Hebrew words, being of a technical character, or for other reasons, were too well known to require translation. Thus such a phrase as Ἀδωνὰι σαβαώθ in 1 Sam. i. is to be accounted for, and perhaps also νέβελ in i. 2. A more remarkable feature is the occasional representation of a Hebrew by a Greek word, which happens to have a similar sound, though no philological connexion. Thus in 1 Sam.

¹ Other examples are Μεσσάβ in I. xiv. 1, 6, 11, 12; ἔργαβ, xx. 19; εἰς τὰ ἀματταρί (למטריה) in xx. 20; ἀραφῶθ and σαφῶθ in II. xvii. 19, 29. Not unfrequently we find the Hebrew word side by side with the translation, either preceding or following it, one of the two being the insertion of a later reviser. τὰ ἐμπρόσθια (ἀμαφέθ), I. v. 4; θέμα (ἐργάβ), vi. 11, 15; (Ἰάαλ) δρυμός, xiv. 2; θεοῦ πίστις (φελλανὶ μαεμανί), xxi. 2; συνεχόμενος (νεεσαρὰν), xxi. 7; (Μέεσσερ) στενήν, xxiv. 23.

v. 4 *πάχης* seems to have been suggested by קר, and *νυκτικόραξ* is the translation of נקרא in xxvi. 20¹.

Unfortunately we have certain drawbacks to set against these advantages of the LXX. In the first place the Hebrew MS., or MSS., employed by the translators, appear to have been in several places illegible, or at least defective. To this is due in a large measure the constant misrepresentation of names of persons and places, the interpreters not being able, as with ordinary words, to guess the meaning by what they expected to find. In this way only can we account for such renderings as *εἰς δουλείαν* in 1 Sam. xiv. 40 and *ἐπάνω διακοπῶν* in 2 Sam. v. 20. Again, the translators' imperfect knowledge of the language they were translating, if it has some advantage, as already maintained, has also some disadvantages. They occasionally seem to have omitted words or passages which they were unable to translate. This is the most natural way of accounting for the omissions of 1 Sam. xiii. 1 and 2 Sam. i. 18. The first is interesting as showing that the absence in the Hebrew of the numbers describing Saul's age and length of reign must belong to a very ancient condition of the text.

The greatest hindrance, however, to the use of the LXX for critical purposes is that the Greek text is itself obviously in a very different state from that in which it left the translators' hands. And we hope to show satisfactorily that many of the peculiar readings of the LXX, as we now have it, are not the fault of the translators, but have been introduced into the Greek text at a later date. The two oldest and best complete MSS. of the LXX are the Alexandrian (A) and the Vatican (B)². These differ in some cases very considerably from each other. It is, however, pretty clear, by a comparison of each with the Masoretic text, that A has been revised by reference to the Hebrew, and so represents a later recension of the Greek text

¹ We find similar examples in the translation of חור by *τόκος* in Ps. lv. 12, lxxii. 14; סרף by *τρώφη*, Ps. cxi. 5; and נק by *τοπάξιον* in Ps. cxix. 127.

² The Sinaitic (N) contains only a fragment of 1 Chron. and the greater part of the poetical and prophetic books.

than B, though in a few isolated cases (as in 1 Sam. x. xiv. 20, 41; 2 Sam. xxi. 1) the reading of B is evident corruption of A. We are therefore justified in generally taking B rather than A as the basis for comparative criticism.

Now if we compare B with the Masoretic text, we find that it contains a large number of short passages found in the latter. By far the majority of these are alternative renderings of some passage already otherwise translated, and have most probably been inserted into the text from marginal glosses. The Hexapla, and other similar editions of Origen, no doubt, did much to produce this result. In the Book of Judges many of the passages so inserted are known to be from the translation of Theodotion. The alternatives are in most cases easily detected, as, for example, in 1 Sam. ii. 24; 2 Sam. v. 15, 16. One of the alternatives is generally the first in order, usually agrees nearly with the Masoretic text. Sometimes, however, both alternatives differ from it considerably, as in 1 Sam. xxi. 13. Not unfrequently one of the alternatives is derived from a different reading of the Hebrew text, and differs considerably from the other, so that at first sight it appears to be an arbitrary insertion. Thus in 2 Sam. ii. 22, 23, *καὶ τοῦ ἐστὶ ταῦτα; ἐπίστρεψε πρὸς Ἰωάβ* is merely an alternative of *καὶ πῶς . . . Ἰωάβ*, the form being probably a translation of *וַיָּשָׁב אֶל־יְהוָה וַיֹּאמֶר*, the latter agreeing verbally with the Masoretic text; so also *ἐσχύει* in 2 Sam. vi. 5 is the alternative of *ἐν ὀργάνοις ἡρμῶς μένους*, as shown by verse 14, where the latter alone is the rendering of the Hebrew *עוּ בְכֹל*; *Μολχόμ* in 2 Sam. xii. 30, *ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ* in 2 Sam. xiv. 6, *τοῦτο ἐγὼ ἄρξομαι* in 2 Sam. xviii. 14, *καὶ ἐπίγνωθι σεαυτῶ* in 2 Sam. xix. 7 are alternatives of a similar kind¹. In some cases an attempt has been made to combine the alternatives into one sentence, as in 2 Sam. xviii. 18, by the insertion of the words *ἐν ᾧ* between the alternatives *ἐλαβε . . . στήλην* and

¹ See also 1 Sam. xiv. 47; 2 Sam. xv. 34; xix. 7, 18, 43; xx. 18. In the last *καὶ ἐν Δὲν* (יְדֵן) is evidently a corruption of יָדָן.

ἐλήφθη . . . στήλην, and the alteration of *ἐκαστοι* (B) into *ἐκαστον* (A) in 1 Sam. v. 4.

Besides these alternative renderings we find several clauses which are evidently additions to the original text. These are very various in kind. Thus the clauses *καὶ οἶνον καὶ μέθυσμα οὐ πίνεται, καὶ πάσας τὰς δεκάδας τῆς γῆς αὐτοῦ*, and *καὶ ἄρτοις*, in 1 Sam. i. 11, 21, 24, appear to be additions derived from the Levitical law, not unlike the references to fasting so frequently inserted in the MSS. of the New Testament. In other cases insertions have been made to give greater fulness to the narrative, where the concise form of the story much better accords with the spirit of the Hebrew language. Of this we have a remarkable example in the words of David to Goliath in 1 Sam. xvii. 43, in answer to Goliath's question *ὥσει κύων ἐγώ εἰμι*, etc. Can we imagine that any Hebrew writer would have put in David's mouth such a tame reply as *οὐχί, ἀλλ' ἡ χείρων κυνός*? The words *καὶ πορεύεσθε . . . ἐνώπιόν μου*, in 1 Sam. xxix. 10, appear to be an insertion of a similar kind. The long insertion in 2 Sam. xi. 22, *πάντα τὰ ῥήματα . . . τὸ τεῖχος*, is evidently an expansion of the narrative derived almost verbatim from verses 19–21¹. Such insertions are obviously analogous to the later paraphrastic expansions of the Targums, and are probably due to the influence of the oral teaching of Jewish Scripture. In many cases the insertion has been made of historical notes referring to a later stage of Jewish history, as in 2 Sam. viii. 7, 8; xiv. 27; xxiv. 25. Insertions of this kind may be the work of a later reviser, whether of the Hebrew text from which the LXX was made, or of the LXX translation itself, it is impossible to determine with certainty. The interpolation, however, of *ὅτι μείζων . . . πρώτη* in 2 Sam. xiii. 15, suggested probably by our Lord's words

¹ The insertions *δίδους εὐχὴν τῷ εὐχομένῳ* in I. ii. 9, *οὐχὶ πορεύσομαι . . . Ἰσραὴλ* and *τίς . . . ὅς* in xvii. 36, *καὶ γυναῖκα* in xxx. 2, and *ἀπὸ Δὰν ἕως Βηρσαβέ* in II. vi. 19, *ὃ ποιήσας τοῦτο* in xii. 7, *καὶ ἐξελέγato . . . πυρῶν* in xxiv. 15, are probably expansions of a similar kind.

in Matt. xii. 45, seems to show that additions of this were sometimes made at a very late date. We may connect with this last the remarkable insertion, in Ps. xiv, of quotations in Rom. iii. 13-18, and of Jer. ix. 23, 24, 1 Sam. ii. 10. The last, differing as it does verbally from the LXX text of Jeremiah, must either be derived from a Hebrew source or from an independent translation of the Hebrew.

It seems hardly consistent with the evident aim of the translators to represent with such scrupulous accuracy the Hebrew original, to suppose that any of these interpolations were added at the time of the translation. But, whatever be their origin, they are in most cases easy to detect, and cannot be considered to detract very materially from the critical value of the LXX. We now come to others which have more the character of *variae lectiones*. First, we notice the addition of some word, such as the name of a person or place referred to, or some other short phrase, to complete the sense, as ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ in 1 Sam. xv. 23, ὁ βλεπόμενος in 1 Sam. xvi. 4, Ἰεβοσθέ in 2 Sam. iv. 2. On the other hand, we frequently find expressions of the same kind in the Masoretic text, and not in the LXX; so that, if we apply in such cases the canon by which the shorter reading is to be preferred to the longer, we must often accept the reading of the LXX to the exclusion of that contained in the Masoretic text. There is little doubt, therefore, that we should omit such readings as לפי־חבר in 1 Sam. xxii. 19 b, נבל in 1 Sam. xxv. 19, אל־המלך in 1 Sam. xxvi. 14, בחברון in 2 Sam. iv. 12. The omissions in 1 Sam. xxix. 9, xxx. 7 are more doubtful.

There are also many instances in which an apparent insertion of the LXX ends or begins with the same, or nearly the same, words as have lately occurred, and should therefore more probably be regarded as an omission in the Masoretic text from *homoteleuton*. This will be easily recognised as the true explanation of the omissions of εἰς ἀρχοντα . . . ἐχρίσε σὺ Κύριος in 1 Sam. x. 1, καὶ προσάγουσι τὴν φυλὴν Μαρταρὶ εἰς

ἄνδρας in x. 21, καὶ ἀναβαλινουσιν ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ and καὶ τὸ κατά-
 λειμμα . . . Γαλαλῶν in xiii. 5, 15. It is extremely improbable
 that Samuel would have gone, as the Hebrew text of this
 last passage has it, to Gibeah, Saul's home, instead of his
 own home at Ramah; whereas Gibeah was the most natural
 place for the assembling of Saul's forces, as it is stated in the
 LXX, and the place where, according to the next verse, we
 actually find them. This is doubtless too the true explana-
 tion of the additional clauses, τί ὅτι . . . τῷ λαῷ σου Ἰσραὴλ in
 1 Sam. xiv. 41, which not only make what in the Masoretic
 text is unintelligible quite clear, but throw a most interest-
 ing light on the use of the Urim and Thummim as a sort of
 sacred lots, δῆλοι being a frequent rendering of אֱוִרִים in the
 LXX (e.g. xxviii. 6), and δσιότης being here obviously a
 representative of תְּמִימִים. In this instance we must, with A,
 omit the words δὸς δῆ, a curious insertion from δὸς δῆλους
 above. I must leave it to others to decide whether we
 should on similar grounds accept ὃν ἂν . . . υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ in verse 42,
 or regard it as one of those paraphrastic expansions above
 noticed. We have also good examples of omission by
homœoteleuton in the Masoretic text of 2 Sam. xiii. 21 and 34.

It frequently happens, however, that what at first sight
 look like omissions from this cause in the Hebrew prove, on
 closer examination, to be merely alternative renderings of
 the LXX, because, from the nature of the case, these alterna-
 tives generally begin or end with the same words as the
 clauses to which they correspond. Thus in 1 Sam. xv. 3,
 καὶ ἐξολοθρεύσεις . . . ἀπ' αὐτοῦ is clearly an alternative of καὶ
 παράξεις . . . ἐξ αὐτοῦ, and we have no reason therefore to depart
 from the Masoretic text. In 2 Sam. xv. 18, which will be
 noticed again lower down, and in xix. 18 we have striking
 examples of the same ambiguity. There are other cases in
 which the additions of the LXX are probably accidental in-
 sertions, because we can trace the sources from which they
 appear to be derived. Thus in 2 Sam. xiii. 27, the words
 καὶ ἐποίησεν Ἀβεσσαλὼμ πότον κατὰ τὸν πότον τοῦ βασιλέως

may have been inserted from 1 Sam. xxv. 36, the only *o* shearing feast described in the Old Testament. Similarly 2 Sam. xix. 10 the words *καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα παντὸς Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα* are clearly derived from the eleventh verse. In both these passages, however, the differences in the wording of the Greek show that the insertions must have already existed in the Hebrew MS. from which the Septuagint translation was made¹.

On the other hand, we find several passages in which LXX itself omits clauses by *homœoteleuton* which are found in the Masoretic text. We have more or less certain examples of this in 1 Sam. ii. 32, xxv. 13, xxvi. 5, xxxi. 6, 2 Sam. ii. 16, xviii. 18. If we accept the genuineness of the Masoretic text in all such cases, we ought in fairness to accept the so-called additions of the LXX where their insertions cannot be adequately accounted for, and their omission may be traced to such a frequent source of textual corruption.

Some few of the additions in the LXX are, on the other hand, *insertions* from *homœoteleuton*. Thus in 2 Sam. vii. 2 the words *Κύριε παντοκράτωρ Θεὲ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ* have been inserted from verse 27, where they rightly follow the words *ἕως αἰῶνος*. In 2 Sam. xi. 18 there is a similar insertion of the words *λαλῆσαι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα* from verse 19. Again we find an example of precisely the same sort of insertion in the Masoretic text in 2 Sam. vi. 3 and 4, where a comparison with the LXX shows that the words *בגבעה . . . דשה* have got into the text from the same cause. For, had the LXX reading been the result of an *omission* from *homœoteleuton*, that version would have read the words *τὴν καὶ νη* after *ἄμαξαν* in verse 4.

There are some passages in which the LXX is more than a critical authority in determining the text, and throw important light on the way in which the Books of Samuel were composed. The omissions of B in chapters xvii. and xviii.

¹ On the other hand the additions of I. viii. 18, II. xxiv. 13, are probably intentional amplifications derived from the immediate context.

of 1 Samuel seem quite conclusive in proving that these chapters are composed of two separate accounts of the encounter of David and Goliath, one of which only was found in the Hebrew MS. or MSS. to which the Septuagint translators had access. If we read separately and continuously the parts of these chapters omitted by B, xvii. 12-31, 50, 55-xviii. 5, xviii. 9-11, 17-19, 29 b-30, and the remaining parts contained in B, we get two nearly consecutive narratives throughout: whereas the difficulties are almost insuperable if we regard the whole, as it stands in the Masoretic text and our English version, as one continuous history. It will be sufficient to mention one difficulty which is removed, or at least greatly lessened, if we regard these separate portions as fragments of two independent accounts of this portion of David's career. One of the greatest puzzles of commentators is the fact that in xvii. 55 Saul asks Abner whose son David is, and Abner replies that he cannot tell; whereas, according to xvi. 21, David was Saul's own armourbearer. Various unsatisfactory explanations have been given of the remarkable ignorance which Saul and Abner both showed, as e.g. that Saul in his fits of madness did not know David by sight, or that a considerable interval had elapsed since his appointment and subsequent return to his home. But the difficulty is at once removed, or at least changed in character, when we find that both question and answer belong to the account, omitted by the LXX, in which David is said to have been sent by his father from Bethlehem as a stranger to his brothers; whereas in the other account, which the LXX preserves, it is implied that he was present with the army when Goliath uttered his challenge. The difficulty of reconciling the two accounts still remains; but becomes a historical, rather than a critical one, and hardly greater than we find in other parts of the Bible, where different accounts of the same event are preserved, as in the Gospels. The independence of these two accounts becomes clearer still if we omit certain connecting sentences, which by their omis-

sion in B are proved to have been inserted when or as the two were blended into one narrative. The first par xviii. 6 and the last part of xviii. 21 are obviously additions of this kind, the first being inserted to justify the comp. in going back again to the events of the previous chap. the second to connect the accounts of the offer by Saul each of his two daughters. It is highly probable that similar connecting links were introduced in the portions of the narrative not found in B; but as this narrative does not exist in an independent form, these must be, more or less, a matter of conjecture. It is not improbable that xvii. 15, and perhaps 16, are additions of this kind: the first being added to account for David not being with Saul, and the second referring the reader back to the description of the Philistine in verse 4, whereas the first part of verse 23, as it exists in the Hebrew text, most naturally describes Goliath's first appearance. If this view is correct, there must have been some alteration, perhaps by omission of Goliath's words, in the last part of verse 23.

There are other instances in which the LXX seems to point to a combination of more or less distinct narratives of the same event. At the end of chap. iii. and the beginning of chap. iv. of 1 Samuel, we have a very remarkable addition in the LXX. The last part *καὶ ἐγενήθη . . . πόλεμον* is a natural commencement of the description of the battle with the Philistines, and has been probably omitted by *homœoteleuton* from the Hebrew text. The middle portion from *καὶ ἦλθον οἱ υἱοὶ* is like statements which we constantly find scattered throughout the Hebrew narrative, but usually at the commencement of the subject. It is not therefore out of place if we regard it as an introduction to chap. iv, showing how the disasters which followed were a punishment to Eli and his sons. Nor is it unsuitable in connexion with what goes before, contrasting as it does the position of Samuel and Eli. Keil seems therefore needlessly severe when he writes, 'At the close of verse 21, the LXX have appended a general

remark concerning Eli and his sons, which, regarded as a deduction from the context, answers no doubt to the paraphrastic treatment of our book in that version, but in a critical aspect is utterly worthless.' (Translation, Clark's Series, p. 52.) The first part of this insertion, *καὶ ἐπιστεύθη . . . ἕως ἄκρων*, is evidently an alternative of verse 20. But it differs from the alternatives we usually meet with, partly in its paraphrastic character—the alternatives generally differ but little in form of sentences and order of words, the chief differences being due to variations of reading—partly also in not immediately preceding or following the passage it represents¹. Now it is remarkable that the intermediate words, *καὶ προσέθετο . . . Σαμουήλ*, resemble in their general meaning verse 19, so much so, that, if we had only the LXX without the help of the Hebrew, we might very naturally suppose that the whole of verse 21 to *ἕως ἄκρων* was another form of verses 19 and 20. Is it not possible that this is the true explanation, and that we have here an instance in which part of an alternative form of the narrative has got into the Hebrew text? We have a somewhat parallel example in the next chapter. Before verse 16 *καὶ εἶπεν . . . πρὸς Ἡλὶ* is evidently an alternative of verse 14. But it also differs from the ordinary type of alternative in the same two respects as the last. The differences are just such as we should expect in two forms of the same narrative, and the alternatives are separated by an intermediate sentence. Now this intermediate *καὶ Ἡλὶ . . . ἐπέβλεπε* more naturally precedes verse 16 than follows verse 14, explaining as it does the reason why Eli had to ask the question, the reason, according to the custom of Hebrew writers, generally coming first. Besides this it is difficult to reconcile the statement of verse 13 that Eli was 'watching' (Hebrew *מִצַּחֵם*) with the mention of his blindness in this verse. On all these grounds there seems considerable reason

¹ 2 Sam. i. 19-23 and xviii. 17 are no real exceptions to this rule, the intermediate words in each case being only a single phrase may fairly be regarded as part of the alternative, and pointing therefore to a variation in the order of the words.

for regarding verses 15 and 16 to *πρὸς Ἡλὶ* as an alternative to verses 13 and 14. So that here again we probably have a part of an alternative form in the Masoretic text.

In chap. v. the LXX again seems to show that the narrative has been compiled from two different accounts of events narrated. The last half of verse 3, *καὶ ἐβαρύνθη . . . ὅρια αὐτῆς*, is obviously an alternative of verse 6, and agrees almost exactly with the Masoretic form of that verse, while verse 6 as it stands in the LXX differs very considerably from it, containing two additional statements in the phrases *μέσον . . . μύες* and *καὶ ἐγένετο . . . πόλει*, while it omits *וַאֲשֶׁר וְאֵת גְּבוּלֶיהָ*, to say nothing of the reading *וַאֲשֶׁר* which, however curious it may be, is evidently the analog of *ἐδρας* in the other form. In the fourth verse the words *ἐκαστοι . . . πρόθυρον* are an alternative of *καὶ κεφαλὴ . . . ἐκ πρόσθια* (the Hebrew word *ἀμαφέθ* being of course a second alternative of *ἐμπρόσθια*, and probably the earliest reading). Here the differences are less considerable and more analogous to the usual type of alternatives; yet the word *ἐκαστοι* can easily be explained as originating from our present Hebrew text. For though *ἐκαστον* (the reading of A) might at first sight appear to be a translation of *שְׁנֵי*, a corruption of *שְׁנֵי* we cannot thus explain the omission of *καὶ* before, and *Δάγω* or some word corresponding to it, after, *ἐκαστον*. But the difficulty is removed if we regard this as a fragment from another form of the narrative. The sentence may have originally begun *καὶ βραχίονες ἐκαστοι*, or in some such way. The reading of *ἐκαστον* in A is most probably a correction to make the word agree with *ἵχθως*, and so connect this with the other alternative. Now if we assume the integrity of the Masoretic text of this chapter, we must suppose that the original Septuagint translation contained only one of these alternatives in both the fourth and sixth verses (probably the latter in each case, as being the most unlike the Masoretic text), that a later reviser, comparing that translation with some Hebrew MS. or some other Greek translation of a Hebrew

MS. nearly resembling, if not identical with, the Masoretic text, introduced the other alternatives *καὶ κεφαλὴ . . . τὰ ἐμπρόσθια* (or *ἀμαφέθ*) and *καὶ ἐβαρύνθη . . . ὅρια αὐτῆς* as marginal glosses; and that, lastly, what was probably the original form of the sixth verse was transposed by a still later reviser to the second verse, while the two glosses naturally enough found their way into the text. The great objection to this view is the number of hypotheses it involves. Can we not find a simpler solution of the difficulty? Now let us suppose for an instant that we only possessed this account in the LXX. We should, I think, strongly suspect (considering how frequent such alternatives are) that the first part of verse 4 is also an alternative of the first part of verse 3, with which it almost verbally agrees. If this is the case, we must conclude, as was shown to be highly probable in the last two discussed examples, that the narrative, even in its Hebrew form, has been compiled from two distinct accounts of Dagon's fall (which must have happened only once), much in the same way as it has been shown that the two accounts of David and Goliath have been combined. The only serious difficulty is the phrase, found both in the Hebrew and the Greek, in verse 3: 'And they took Dagon, and set him in his place again;' but this can be explained as a connecting-link inserted when the two accounts were combined, like those in the XVIIIth chapter already noticed. This theory of the origin of our present chapter cannot be considered as definitively proved, but seems on the whole to afford the simplest explanation of the differences which exist between the Masoretic text and the LXX. I have purposely not mentioned the remarkable insertion in verse 5, *ὅτι ὑπερβαλόντες ὑπερβαίνουσι*, because it may very probably be a later gloss, arising out of a traditional explanation of Zeph. i. 9, and, if so, has no direct bearing on the question. We have, I believe, another example of the existence of alternative forms in the Masoretic text in 2 Sam. iv. 6. Here, at first sight, it is very tempting, with Thenius, Kirkpatrick, and others, to accept the LXX reading; but

there are several objections to our doing so. (1) It does not altogether remove the awkward repetitions of the Hebrew text, the clause *καὶ Ἰεσβοσθὲ ἐκάθειπεν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ*, i. verse 7, being very clumsy after *καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκάθειπεν ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ*. (2) The differences between the LXX and Hebrew cannot be entirely accounted for by the ordinary causes of textual corruption. (3) It is at least very remarkable that the Masoretic text, as it stands, should form such a complete doublet, if it is nothing but a corruption of the true text preserved *ex hypothesi* in the LXX rendering. It seems therefore far more reasonable to regard the former as the combination of two alternative forms, similar to those already adduced in 1 Sam. iii. iv. and v. The geographical note about the Beerothites introduced in verse 3, and still more the story of Mephibosheth's lameness in verse 4, show that this portion of the narrative has undergone a late revision. The LXX reading of verse 6 is probably due to the completion by conjecture of what was only legible here and there, and the repetitions of the Hebrew narrative probably helped to mislead the translators. Of course there may be some slight corruptions in the Masoretic text, as in *לִקְחִי הַטִּים* and the pointing of *הַנָּה*; but these do not affect the general question.

It remains to add a few important passages, in which the LXX seems to suggest a more probable reading than that of the Masoretic text. There can hardly be any doubt that in 1 Sam. i. 5 we should read *נַפֶּס*, the origin of the LXX *πλήν*, instead of the unintelligible word *נַפִּים*. In verse 15 *ἡ σκληρὰ ἡμέρα* is evidently a translation of *קֶשֶׁת יוֹם*, which is exactly parallel to *קֶשֶׁת יוֹם* in Job xxx. 25, and preferable to *קֶשֶׁת רוּחַ*, which would mean, not 'sorrowful,' but 'obstinate.' The LXX reading of vi. 19 is far from certain, but it at least helps us out of a great moral difficulty; and yet is not likely to have arisen out of any intention of the translators to do so, being quite unlike any of the insertions which are elsewhere found in that version. It will be seen

that, according to the reading of the LXX, the death of the people of Bethshemesh was directly due to a local quarrel, and is only indirectly referred to Divine agency. It has a further probability from the fact that its omission in the Masoretic text may have arisen from *homœoteleuton*. In ix. 25, 26 for וידבר וישכמו we should probably read וירבד (cf. Prov. viii. 16) and וישכב (or וישכבו): 'And he made a bed with Saul upon the roof, and he (or they) slept.' This agrees better with verse 26. In x. 27 ויהי כמחרש, to which the LXX points (cf. Gen. xxxviii. 24), is a much more intelligible reading than ויהי כמחריש. The words should, as in the LXX, begin the next chapter: 'And it came to pass, after a month's time or so.' In xii. 11 we may safely alter בן into בך, it being evident that Samuel is speaking of some well-known judge, such as Barak. In xiv. 18 the LXX אפר is better than ארון, the Ark being never used as the vehicle of an oracular response, and being in all probability nowhere near Saul at the time. In xiv. 21 there is much to be said in favour of עבדים for עברים, the people alluded to being probably the slaves, who took advantage of their chance of escaping from their Philistine masters¹. The LXX ἐργάβ (ἀργάβ) in xx. 19, 41 is probably a transliteration of an original Hebrew ארגב, which in verse 19 has been corrupted into הגגב, in verse 41 into האבן. The word, which appears only in the Gileaditish Argob, would mean 'a mound.' In xxiii. 6 the additional clause, καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ Δαυὶδ, gets rid of the difficulty arising from the fact that David could not have been at Keilah at the time of Abiathar's escape. In xxvii. 10 the reading אל-מי (ἐπὶ τίνα) makes good sense, and avoids such a doubtful construction as אל-פשטתם; but possibly we may do better to adopt the reading אן, which is favoured by the Targum and Syriac. In 2 Sam. vi. 2 ἐν ἀναβάσει is sometimes explained as a translation of an original בעלתה (cf. 1 Chron. xiii. 6), supposed to have dropped out of the text

¹ In 1 Sam. xiii. 3, on the other hand, חזברים is certainly correct.

from its resemblance to **בעלי יהודה**, which, according to this view, is correctly translated by *τῶν ἀρχόντων Ἰούδα*. If, however, we omit in Chronicles **אל-קרית יערים**, which is evidently one of the paraphrastic additions characteristic of that book, we get **בעלתה אשר ליהודה**, corresponding to **בעלי יהודה** of Samuel, showing that the latter (probably a corruption of **יהודה בעל**) is evidently the name of the place to which the ark was taken, the previous **מן** probably being inserted by some scribe who understood it, as did the LXX translators, of the princes who brought the ark. It is more probable therefore that *ἐν ἀναβάσει* and *τοῦ ἀναγαγεῖν* are alternative renderings of **בהעלות**. In 2 Sam. xv. 18 we have a long insertion describing the movements of David's followers, which at first sight appears to have been omitted from the Masoretic text by *homœoteleuton*. But on closer examination it is evident that the passage is made up of three alternatives, partly following, partly included in, and partly overlapping each other. That is to say, in verse 18, *Καὶ ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐλαίας ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς καὶ παρήσαν ἐπὶ χεῖρα αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶς ὁ Χελεθί, καὶ πᾶς ὁ Φελεθί* corresponds to *καὶ ἔστησαν ἐν οἴκῳ τῷ μακράν. Καὶ πάντες οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ ἀνὰ χεῖρα αὐτοῦ παρήγον, καὶ πᾶς Χελεθί καὶ πᾶς ὁ Φελεθί*, and Hebrew **ויעמדו...הפלתי** of verses 17, 18, the latter resembling the Hebrew text, the former differing from, and therefore probably representing, the original LXX. Again, *παρεπορεύετο ἐχόμενος αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάντες οἱ περὶ αὐτόν, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄδροί, καὶ πάντες οἱ μαχηταὶ ἑξακόσιοι ἄνδρες* corresponds obviously to *ἀνὰ χεῖρα αὐτοῦ παρήγον (παρήσαν ἐπὶ χεῖρα αὐτοῦ), καὶ πᾶς [ὁ] Χελεθί, καὶ πᾶς ὁ Φελεθί, καὶ πάντες οἱ Γεθαῖοι οἱ ἑξακόσιοι ἄνδρες* and the Hebrew **איש...עברים**, and was probably the effort of a later translator to render the Hebrew into more idiomatic Greek. This is shown from the Greek idioms *ἐχόμενος αὐτοῦ, οἱ περὶ αὐτόν*, and the translations (strange enough) of the names Cherethites and Pelethites, which are otherwise left untranslated by the LXX; but there is no reason to think that this translator had before him a different Hebrew text. The only

remaining questions with regard to reading are whether we should adopt, with the original LXX, צִית הַמִּדְבָּר instead of כָּל-הָעָם in verse 17, and transpose כָּל-הָעָם and כָּל-עַבְדֵּיךָ in verses 17 and 18, or read one of these alternatives in both verses. In 2 Sam. xvii. 3 it can hardly be doubted that the LXX gives us a far more intelligible and forcible reading. The Masoretic text is probably due partly to a small omission by *homæoteleuton*, partly to a faulty pointing and division of words. The original Hebrew probably was nearly as follows:

כְּשׁוֹב הַכֹּלָה אִישָׁה רַךְ נֶפֶשׁ אִישׁ אֶחָד אֶתָּה מִבְקֶשׁ.

In xviii. 22 εἰς ὀφέλειαν is clearly an explanation, and according to Gesenius the true explanation, of the Hebrew מִצָּאתָ, and appears at first sight to be a remarkable exception to the literalness we almost universally meet with in the translation of these books. But it is very probable that the word πορευομένη, which follows, is really an alternative, being a translation of מִצָּאתָ, and, if so, most likely the original LXX reading. This view is all the more probable from the fact that the following καὶ εἰπε (וַיֹּאמֶר) is evidently an alternative of ἵνα γὰρ ἐν (וַיִּדְרִימָה), which is very awkward here, and probably got in from the preceding verse, where the LXX has no alternative reading.

There are several passages in which the LXX seems to point to a corrupt Masoretic text, even though it does not suggest an altogether satisfactory emendation, as in 1 Sam. ix. 24, xiii. 21, xiv. 14, 23-26. The LXX reading of 2 Sam. xxi. 1 presents peculiar difficulties. The word ἀδικία (B) cannot easily be explained as a marginal gloss, or an alternative reading. Most probably therefore it is a corruption of διὰ τὸ (A), and the clause διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν θανάτῳ αἰμάτων (עַל אִשָּׁר) is an alternative, and probably the original rendering of the last phrase, and an early corruption of our present Hebrew text.

We may briefly sum up the results of our inquiry as fol-

lows: (1) If we leave out from the LXX what are obvious additions, and select, in cases of alternatives, that which *differs most* from our present Hebrew text, and make due allowance for errors likely to arise from the difficulties of translation by persons inexperienced in decyphering badly written or badly worn MSS., and not critically acquainted with the language they were translating, we shall be able to regain for the most part a Hebrew text many centuries older than that of our Hebrew Bibles. (2) By comparing this with the Masoretic text we can see clearly that both the latter and the LXX have been subject to several, and precisely similar, causes of corruption. (3) This comparison, by the help of the ordinary canons of textual criticism, enables us to recover in several cases the original reading of the Hebrew. (4) Even when the LXX does not enable us to restore the true Hebrew text, we can sometimes, by the wide differences between the two, conclude almost with certainty that a reading is corrupt, and save ourselves the useless labour of trying to force a meaning out of a passage which, as it stands, has none. (5) Lastly, we can in some degree learn the way in which such books as those of Samuel have gradually grown out of earlier narratives, in many cases handed down, it is probable, by oral tradition.

III.

ON THE DIALECTS SPOKEN IN PALESTINE
IN THE TIME OF CHRIST.

[AD. NEUBAUER.]

It has always been held that the language of the Jews in Palestine after their return from the Babylonian captivity, down to the conquest by the Arabs of Palestine, was partly the modernised Hebrew (as it is to be found in the Mishnah, in the Hebrew parts of the Talmud, and in the Midrashim), partly an Aramaic dialect intermixed with Hebrew words and forms. Were these two dialects spoken simultaneously by all classes and in all provinces of Palestine, or has one dialect given way to the other, and if so, at what epoch? It will be our endeavour in the course of the present essay to supply an answer to these questions. But before proceeding to our investigations with the help of the scanty documents at our disposal, we must allude to the opinions which have been held during the last hundred years on the language spoken by Jesus and his immediate disciples.

Isaac Voss¹ was the first to say that it was absurd to suppose that Judea alone could have escaped the fate of the provinces conquered by the armies of Alexander the Great, and have preserved its own language instead of adopting that of the conquerors; and he concluded accordingly that Greek was the only language spoken in Palestine since Alexander. Voss

¹ *De oracul. Sibyll.*, p. 290; *Resp. ad iterata P. Simon. object.*, p. 375; *Resp. ad obj. theol. Leyd.*

was closely followed by Diodati¹, who sought to prove that the mother language of the Jews in the time of Jesus was Greek, known under the name of the Hellenistic language. Bernard De Rossi² devoted a special monograph to refute Diodati, in which he proves that the language of the Jews at the time of Jesus, which he himself and the apostles spoke, was no other than the mixed dialect which De Rossi calls Syro-Chaldee; according to him the Hellenistic language was not current in Palestine. De Rossi's dissertation was reproduced in German, with notes, by Pfannkuche³, who accepts its conclusions entirely. Of course the impossibility of the idea that Greek was the only language of the Jews in Palestine was ere long realized, and a compromise was proposed by Prof. Paulus⁴, of Jena, who held that the current language of the Jews in Palestine at the time of Jesus was indeed an Aramaic dialect, but that Greek was at the same time so familiar in Palestine, and more especially in Galilee and Jerusalem, that Jesus and his disciples had no difficulty in using it in their public speeches whenever they found it convenient. The arguments of Prof. Paulus, which we cannot reproduce in their entirety, but some of which we shall have to mention later on, were refuted by Silvestre de Sacy⁵ without great difficulty. The two dissertations of

¹ *Dominici Diodati J. C. Neapolitano de Christo graece loquente exercitatio*, Neap., 1767.

² *Della lingua propria di Cristo e degli Ebrei nazionali della Palestina da' tempi de' Maccabei*, Parma, 1772.

³ *Ueber die palästinsche Landessprache in dem Zeitalter Christi und der Apostel, ein Versuch, zum Theil nach de Rossi entworfen*, von Heinrich Friederich Pfannkuche (in vol. viii. of Eichhorn's *Allgemeine Bibliothek der biblischen Literatur*, pp. 365 to 480). English translation, by John Brown, D.D., in Clark's *Biblical Cabinet*, 1832, vol. ii. pp. 1 to 90.

⁴ *Verosimilia de Judaeis Palaestinensibus, Jesu atque etiam Apostolis non Aramaea dialecto sola, sed Graeca quoque Aramaizante locutis*. Particula prima et altera, Jenae, 1803. These two dissertations have become very scarce. I have not been able to see them. The contents of them are known to us by De Sacy's dissertation. See the following note.

⁵ S. de S. (Silvestre de Sacy), *Littérature orientale*, in S. i. pp. 125 to 147 of *Magazin encyclopédique*, etc., rédigé par A. L. Millin, Paris, 1805.

Prof. Paulus and the remarks of Hug¹ on the Greek language in Palestine Dr. Roberts² elaborated into a volume, the first part of which is entitled, 'On the language employed by our Lord and his disciples;' Dr. Roberts' conclusion, which is summed up by Dr. Böhl³ in the following words, 'Christ spoke for the most part in Greek, and only now and then in Aramaic,' differs but slightly from that of Paulus. It would take us too far to recount the opinions of the various authors who have written 'Introductions' to the study of the New Testament, and who naturally allude to our subject; we can only draw attention to special monographs and articles. Of recent date may be mentioned the essays of M. Renan⁴, Dr. E. Böhl⁵, and Prof. Franz Delitzsch⁶ relating to the language of Jesus; they all range themselves beside De Rossi and De Sacy, maintaining that the language of the Jews in Palestine was a kind of Hebrew.

If it could be admitted that the Jews during the Babylonian exile had gradually forgotten, or willingly given up the *Jehudith* language (as Isaiah⁷ calls it, in opposition to the *Aramith* of the Assyrians) for the Babylonian Aramaic dialect⁸, the question about the language spoken by them in Palestine at the time of Hillel and Jesus could be settled

¹ *Einleitung in den Schriften des neuen Testaments*, von Joh. Leonhard Hug, 3te Aufl., Th. 2, p. 44 seqq.

² *Discussions on the Gospels, in two parts.* Part I. *On the language employed by our Lord and his disciples.* Part II. *On the original language of St. Matthew's Gospel, and on the origin and authenticity of the Gospels.* By Alexander Roberts, D. D., 2nd ed., 1864.

³ *Forschungen nach einer Volksbibel zur Zeit Jesu und deren Zusammenhang mit der Septuaginta-übersetzung*, von Eduard Böhl, Wien, 1873, p. 3.

⁴ *Histoire générale et système comparé des Langues sémitiques, première partie, Histoire générale des Langues sémitiques*, 3rd ed., Par., 1863, p. 224 seqq.

⁵ See note 3.

⁶ *Saat auf Hoffnung*, Jahrg. xi, Heft 4, p. 195 seqq., von F. D. (Franz Delitzsch), and in *The Hebrew New Testament of the British and Foreign Bible Society. A contribution to Hebrew philology*, by Prof. Franz Delitzsch, Leipzig, 1883, pp. 30 and 31.

⁷ Isaiah xxxvi. 11; 2 Kings xviii. 26.

⁸ See *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, etc., ausgearbeitet von Dr. Georg Benedict Winer, article *Sprache* (3rd ed., 1848, Bd. ii. p. 499).

without difficulty: it would be of course a dialect approaching that of the *Targumim*. There are, however, objections to this view. In the first place, it is scarcely credible that the short period of the Babylonian exile would have been sufficient for a nation to completely change its dialect, even when both are of the same family of languages, as is undoubtedly the case with Hebrew and Aramaic. Had the Jews not brought back their own dialect to Palestine, and had they spoken Aramaic instead of *Jehudith*, there would have been no occasion for Nehemiah¹ to say, 'And their children spake half in the speech of Ashdod and could not speak in the Jews' (Jehudith) language, but according to the language of each people.' On the other hand, the language in which the prophets of the exile, as well as Ezra and Nehemiah, address themselves to the Jews is still good Hebrew, and in some respects even classical Hebrew. The greater part of those who returned to Jerusalem must have therefore spoken Hebrew, most likely intermixed more or less with Aramaic words, but not so transformed grammatically as to be termed Aramaic. It is therefore doubtful whether the words, 'So they read in the book in the Law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading²,' apply, as stated in the Talmud³, to the beginning of a Targum. As in many other instances, the Rabbis in so explaining had in view their own time, when the reading of the Targum was a general custom (first century B. C., or even later⁴). 'Giving the sense of the Law⁵' may mean, and probably does mean, 'giving an exegetical interpretation,' which at all events was necessary for the people in general. The Hebrew of the book of Esther,

¹ Nehemiah xiii. 24.

² *Ibidem*, viii. 8.

³ See for the passages, *Targum Onkelos*, herausgegeben und erläutert von Dr. A. Berliner, Berlin, 1884, Th. ii. p. 74.

⁴ See *ibidem*, p. 89, and *Die Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden, historisch entwickelt*, von Dr. Zunz, Berl., 1832, p. 8.

⁵ Nehemiah viii. 8.

which was beyond question written after the captivity, and very likely for general reading and not only for a few *literati*, represents the language spoken by the Jews who returned to Jerusalem. The same language (though certainly deteriorated) we find also in the books of Chronicles. It is possible that a minority of the ten tribes who joined the exiles, on their return to Palestine, having been associated much longer with Aramaic-speaking populations, had forgotten the Hebrew tongue, if they had ever spoken it at all. The Ephraimitic Jews, who undoubtedly formed a majority of the Samaritans, knew but little Hebrew at the time when the exiles returned to Palestine¹. But for this Aramaic-speaking minority, Ezra and Nehemiah could have scarcely arranged a Targum in the busy time of re-establishing the Mosaic institutions amongst the new comers. Consequently, we must conclude that at the time of Ezra and Nehemiah the Hebrew was still spoken generally in Judea, and more especially in Jerusalem.

Although there is a great gap between the Old Testament (excepting Esther, Chronicles, and Ecclesiastes²) and the Mishnah (we mean the earliest parts³ of the Mishnah, which date from the second century B.C.) as regards documents in the spoken language by the Jews (none of the Apocryphal books existing in the original language), we may still affirm, following the best critics, that the book of Sirach was

¹ See *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, etc., ausgearbeitet von Dr. G. B. Winer, article *Samaritaner* (3rd ed., 1848, Bd. ii. p. 372), and *Fragments of the Samaritan Targum*, by J. W. Nutt, London, 1878.

² That Ecclesiastes is a work of the time of the second Temple is now generally admitted, e. g. by Prof. Delitzsch and Dean Plumptre.

³ Such is the early part of the tractate *Aboth* or sayings of the Jewish fathers (see Dr. Ch. Taylor's edition, Cambridge, 1877); a part of the tractate of *Yomâ* or the ceremonies of the Day of Atonement (see J. Derenbourg, *Essai de restitution de l'ancienne rédaction de Masséchet Kippourim*, *Revue des Études juives*, t. vi. p. 41 seqq.); and many other parts (see the excellent dissertation by Dr. D. Hoffmann, with the title of *Die erste Mischna und die Controversen der Tannaim*, Berlin, 1882; *Jahres-Bericht des Rabbiner-Seminars zu Berlin pro 5642, 1881-1882*).

written originally in Hebrew¹. The Talmud, it is true, quotes sayings from this book in Hebrew and in Aramaic², but it is beyond doubt that the latter are translations from the Hebrew, made at a later time, when Aramaic became the language of the majority. The same was the case with the book of Tobit, of which an Aramaic version has been published lately from an unique MS. in the Bodleian Library³. From the books of Maccabees we do not find a quotation in the Talmudical literature. The title 'Roll of the Hasmoneans,' given by a Rabbi of the tenth century A.D.⁴, may refer to a Hebrew or an Aramaic original. Indeed, the 'Rolls of Fasting Days' is the title of a treatise written in Aramaic⁵. Origen⁶ gives another title for the original of the book of Maccabees, viz. *Σαββηθ Σαββανὲ ἔλ*, on the meaning of which critics do not agree. Some take it as Aramaic, meaning either the revolt of the rebels of God⁷ or 'genealogy or history' of the prince of the children of God⁸; others explain it from the Hebrew 'Book of the family of the prince of the sons of God⁹.' However, even if the title were Aramaic, it would not prove that the book itself was originally written in this dialect. The Aramaic, as in the case of Sirach, might be a later translation from the Hebrew. The few words to be found on the coins of the Hasmoneans are Hebrew¹⁰. We

¹ See *Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, etc., herausg. von Dr. J. J. Herzog und Dr. G. L. Plitt, Leipzig, 1877, article *Apocryphen* (by E. Schürer, Bd. i. p. 484 seqq.).

² See *Rabbinische Blumenlese*, von Leopold Dukes, Leipzig, 1844, pp. 67 to 84.

³ *The Book of Tobit, a Chaldee text*, etc., ed. by A. Neubauer, Oxford, 1878.

⁴ מנול בית חסמוני. See הלכות גרולות (כ' סופרים), by Simeon of קייארא (Kayyara?), ed. Venice, 1548, fol. 141 d.

⁵ מנול חנני. See *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine d'après les Thalmuds*, etc., par J. Derenbourg, partie i. p. 439 seqq.; *Geschichte der Juden*, von H. Graetz, vol. iii (3rd ed.), p. 597 seqq.

⁶ See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 25.

⁷ סרבת סרנני אל. A. Geiger, *Urschrift*, etc., Breslau, 1857, p. 205.

⁸ שרבת. Jahn and Grimm (see Curtiss, *The name Machabee*, Leipz., 1876, p. 30).

⁹ ספר בית שר בני אל. See J. Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, p. 450 seqq.

¹⁰ See *Coins of the Jews*, by Frederic W. Madden (vol. ii. of *The International Numismata Orientalia*, London, 1881).

read on them לגאולת ירושלם, 'freedom of Jerusalem,' and not לפורקנא די or לגאולתא; but there are also words which are not biblical, such as חרות, 'freedom.' Had the spoken language been at that time an Aramaic dialect, and not the modernised Hebrew, the Maccabean princes would, according to our opinion, have put on their coins either pure biblical words or Aramaic words. As they have employed neither the one nor the other, we must take it for granted that the popular language in Jerusalem at least, and perhaps also in Judea, was the modernised Hebrew. This view is confirmed by the language in which the ethical sayings, which I believe may be considered as a popular literature, are written¹. In the collection known as the *Pirqé Aboth*, 'sayings of the fathers²,' in which every saying is recorded with the name of its author, we find that from the earliest, which is reported in the name of the men of the great synagogue, down to those connected with the name of Hillel, they are all written in the modernised Hebrew with a gradual increase of new words. In the case of Hillel only do we find sayings both in Hebrew and Aramaic.

Similarly the aggadico-homiletical literature on the Pentateuch and the prophetic lessons, to be found in the *Mekhilta*³, the *Pesiqta* of the Haftarothe⁴, and the

¹ When Moses desired to do miracles before Pharaoh, he, according to the Talmud, told him: 'Art thou going to bring straw to Aphraim, pottery to Kefar-Hanayah [now Kefar Anan; see our *Géographie du Talmud*, Paris, 1868, p. 179], wool to Damascus, magicians to Egypt [i. e. coals to Newcastle]?' חנן אחא מכנים לעפרים קריות לכפר חנניה גוויין בדמסק חרשין בצורים (*Midrash Bereshith Rabbá*, ch. 86; *Bab. Talmud*, Menahoth, fol. 85 a. See Dukes, *Rabb. Blumenlese*, No. 650; Moïse Schuhl, *Sentences et Proverbes du Talmud et du Midrash*, Paris, 1878, No. 322).

² פירקי אבות. *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, etc., by Charles Taylor, M.A., Cambridge, 1877.

³ *Mekhilta* (מכילתא) de R. Ismael, herausgegeben mit Noten, Erklärungen, Indices und einer ausführlichen Einleitung versehen von M. Friedmann, Wien, 1870. This book contains expositions on Exodus.

⁴ The *Pesiqta* (פסיקתא, sections 1) seems to have been in the first instance composed for the prophetic lessons (Haftarothe) read on special Sabbaths before and after the 9th of Ab (the day of the destruction of Jerusalem). This redaction still exists in the MS. of the Bodleian Library, Opp. Add. No. 97

(our Catalogue, No. 152). Another enlarged redaction of it is attributed to R. Kahna, edited from the then known MSS. by S. Buber, Lyck, 1868. And a third form is entitled פסיקתא רבתי, 'the great Pesiqta,' edited critically by M. Friedmann, Wien, 1880. The prefaces to both these Pesiqtas are highly instructive. We cannot discuss here the relation of these three redactions one to the other. Compare also the excellent chapter on the subject by L. Zunz, in his book *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden historisch entwickelt*, Berlin, 1832, pp. 226 seqq. and 239 seqq.

¹¹ *Mishnah* (ed. Lowe), *Menahoth*, x. 5 אמר להם בא השמש אומרים הין בא *Rosh hash-Shanah*, ii. 9 השמש... אקצור והם אומרים לו קצור אקצור... הכזה ראת או הכזה... ראינוהו בזמנו ובלי עברו.

king Jannaeus gives to his queen Salome to make peace with the Pharisees is in Hebrew¹. The colloquial conversation in the schools was in modernised Hebrew². Popular songs in the Temple and outside are to be found in the same dialect³. It is told in the Talmud that the damsels who went out on the Day of Atonement in the vineyards, rejoicing to have passed the great feast, exclaimed in Hebrew: 'Young man, lift up thine eyes and see whom thou chooseth. Set not thine eyes on beauty, set them rather upon family and birth⁴.' Miriam, daughter of Bilgah, who was an adherent of the Greeks during the Maccabean wars, is reported to have apostrophised the altar in Hebrew, saying: 'Λύκος, Λύκος, thou hast destroyed the wealth of Israel, and hast not stood by them in the hour of their sorrow⁵!' The gallows on which Nicanor's⁶ head and feet were suspended, bore, according to the Talmud, a Hebrew inscription in the following terms⁷: 'The mouth which spoke in guilt, and the hand which stretched out

¹ *Bab. Talm.*, Sotah, fol. 22 b שאינם ולא ממי שאינם פרושים אלא מן הצבועים שדומים לסירושים שמעשיהן מעשה זמרי ומבקשים שכר כפניהם.

² It is said in the Jerusalem Talmud (*Pesahim*, vi. 1, fol. 33 a) that the elder of the family Bethera (at the time the presidents of the Sanhedrin; see Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iii. p. 214) had forgotten the rule (*halakha*) about the sacrifice of the Passover when it fell on a Sabbath. Some of the disciples reminded them that there was the Babylonian Hillel, who frequented the schools of Shemayah and Abtalyon, and who certainly would be able to tell them what was to be done. Then we read the following sentences: אמרו י' כאן בבלי אחד והלל שמו ששימש את שמעיה ואבשליון ידע אם פסח דוחה את השבת אם לאו איפשר שיש ממנו תוחלת שלחו וקראו לו אמרו לו שמע מימך כשהלל ארבעה עשר להיות בשבת אם דוחה את השבת... יבוא עלי כך שמעתי משמעיה ואבשליון.

³ On the last day of the feast of the Tabernacles (the day of the water-drawing festival, St. John vii. 37), the priests not only recited prayers and psalms, but pronounced also the following words: אבותינו היו במקום הזה: אחוריהם אל היכל יי ושניהם קדמה והמה משתחווים קדמה לשמש אנו ליה עינינו (Mishnah, Sukkah, v. 5).

⁴ *Mishnah*, Taanith, iv. 12 שא עיניך בחר וראה מי אתה בורר אל חתן עיניך בנוי תן עיניך במשפחה.

⁵ *Tosifta*, Sukkah, ch. 4 אתה החרבת את נכסיהם של ישראל ולא העמדתה *Bab. Talm.*, Sukkah, fol. 56 b לקום לוקום ער מתי אתה לקום בשעת צער מכלה ממונן של ישראל ואי אתה עומד להם בשעת הדחק.

⁶ Josephus, *Antiquities*, XII. x. 5.

⁷ *Jer. Talm.*, Taanith, ii. 13 הפה שדבר באשמה והיד שפשטה בגאווה.

with pride.' Deeds were also drawn up in modernised Hebrew¹. When Simeon the son of Shetaḥ recalled to the Sanhedrin his colleague, Judah son of Tabai, who took flight to Alexandria in the time of the persecution of the Pharisees under king Jannaeus, he wrote in Hebrew the following: 'From me Jerusalem, the holy town, to thee Alexandria, my sister. My husband dwells in thee, and I remain desolate².' No comparison can be drawn between the Latin of the middle ages and the modernised Hebrew, the Latin having never been read by the people, whereas the Talmudical literature contains popular elements from the earlier times.

That the Aramaic dialect was used simultaneously with the modernised Hebrew cannot be doubted. During the dominion of the Seleucidae, when Syriac became the official language in Asia³, many Jews made themselves acquainted with the ruling language, and technical terms were naturally borrowed by the Jews in general, as was later the case with Greek under the Romans. The Mishnah mentions vessels in the Temple⁴ with Aramaic inscriptions, but also with Greek inscriptions⁵. A tradition states that Johanan the high priest heard a voice of heaven (*Bath qol*) coming from the

¹ *Bab. Talm.*, Rosh hash-Shanah, fol. 18 b גדול כהן לפלוני כהן גדול ב' *Bab. Talm.*, referring to the time of the Maccabees.

² *Bab. Talm.*, Sotah, fol. 47 a מני ירושלים עיר הקדש ליכי אלכסנדריא . אחוהי . בעלי שרוי בחוכך ואני יושבת שוממה easily be adduced, but we think they would be superfluous. We shall quote only one other instance. Agrippa I. was known as a fervent observer of the ritual ceremonies, unlike his ancestors. It is said in the Mishnah (*Sotah*, vii. 8) when he read in the Temple the section of the king (Deut. xvii. 14 seqq.) and arrived at the passage (v. 15), 'Thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother,' he shed tears (he having been of the Idumean race). The wise men (חכמים) pacified him, saying, 'Do not fear, Agrippa, thou art our brother,' אמר אחינו אחת אחינו אחת אחינו אחת. See also J. H. Weiss, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Tradition* (in Hebrew), Wien (1871), i. p. 113, a valuable work, of which three volumes have appeared.

³ *Les Apôtres*, by M. Renan, p. 228.

⁴ *Sheqalim* vi. 6 תקלין חרותין תקלין עהקין 'shekels of this year and of last year.'

⁵ *Ibidem*, iii. 2 אלפא בישא גמא *a, β, γ*. The word Alpha is also often used in the Mishnah in the sense of *first*. Tekoa is the Alpha for oil (see *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 129). Michmash is Alpha for flour (*ibidem*, p. 154).

sanctuary, saying in Aramaic, 'The young men who waged war against Antiochus are victorious¹.' Immigrations from Babylonia and from the northern parts of Palestine, where Aramaic dialects were spoken, contributed most likely to the spread of Aramaic in Jerusalem. Judea seems to have preserved a purer Hebrew, as compared with Galilee². A striking instance is reported in the Talmud³, illustrating the dialect of Judea. The word חרופה was used in Judea in the sense of ארוסה, 'betrothed,' the root bearing the same sense in Leviticus xix. 20. At the same time, probably, the use of Targums became general, and Aramaic began to be employed in liturgical formulae, such as the *Qaddish*⁴, 'sanctificat,' and the first sentence of the introduction to the *Haggadah*, or the history of the exodus of Egypt, recited on the Passover evening⁵. Of course the precise date of the composition of these prayers cannot be given, but most likely they belong to the time when the Babylonian Hillel acquired his great influence in the schools. Letters which Gamaliel (the elder) addressed to the inhabitants of upper and lower Galilee, on the fixing of the new moon, are also in Aramaic⁶. A gradual immigration of Greek-speaking Jews from Egypt and Asia Minor introduced *Greek* to Jerusalem; and the use of it was further stimulated by contact with the Roman officials, and in an even greater degree by the Graeco-mania of Herod and his immediate successors.

We find accordingly, in the last century B. c., the following probable results concerning the languages spoken in the Holy Land: (1) In Jerusalem, and perhaps also in the greater part of Judea, the modernised Hebrew and a purer Aramaic

¹ נצחו שליית דאגחו קרנא באנשוכיא, *Jer. Talm.*, Sota ix. 13 (fol. 24 b).

² See p. 51.

³ *Bab. Talm.*, Qiddushin, fol. 6 a.

⁴ קדיש, used in daily and festival prayers.

⁵ הגדה, beginning כהא לחמא עניא, 'like that was the bread of affliction.' See, however, Lundshuth, מניד מראשית (Berl., 1855), p. iii, who believes it to be of Babylonian origin.

⁶ לאחנא בני גלילא עילא ולאחנא בני גלילא חתא שלומכון ישנא לעלם . . . מהדענא לכון (Tosifia, Sanhedrin, chap. 2).

dialect were in use among the majority of the Jews. (2) The Galileans and the Jewish immigrants from the neighbouring districts understood their own dialect only (of course closely related to Aramaic), together with a few current Hebrew expressions, such as proverbs and prayers. (3) The small Jewish-Greek colony and some privileged persons spoke Greek, which was, however, a translation from the Hebrew rather than genuine Greek, in a word, a Judeo-Greek jargon. All these dialects, more or less intermingled, continued to be used till the time when the schools were gradually transferred to Galilean towns¹ (about 150 A.D.), when the Galileo-Aramaic dialect appears in *halakkic* discussions and also in *aggadic* dissertations. At this time we hear of Judah the saint pronouncing the following opinion: 'Of what use is the *Sursi* (Syriac in a wide sense) in the Land of Israel? Let us use either the Holy language or Greek².' The Holy language here means the modernised Hebrew or the language in which the Mishnah and contemporary books³ are written. Much stress is indeed laid upon the knowledge of it. The passage 'Speaking to (of) them⁴' is applied to show that a father ought to teach his son the Holy language as his first language⁵. Another saying is, 'He who inhabits the Land of Israel and speaks the Holy language is certain to be an inheritor of the world to come⁶.' This modernised Hebrew has never died out amongst the Jews, and it is still employed in our days in exegetical and casuistical commentaries, and even in correspondence, as the only means of general communication amongst the Jews scattered throughout the world⁷.

¹ The schools were transferred from Yabneh in Judea to Ousha, Shefaram, Sepphoris, and Tiberias in Galilee.

² *Bab. Talm.*, Sotah, fol. 49 b בארץ ישראל לשון סורסי למה או לשון ב' דקדש או לשון יוניא.

³ See pp. 45 and 46.

⁴ Deut. xi. 19.

⁵ *Sifré*, sect. עקב, § 46 (ed. Friedmann, p. 83 a).

⁶ *Jer. Talm.*, Sheqalim iii, end. See Dukes, *Nachbiblische Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache*, Heft I; *Die Sprache der Mischnah*, p. 10.

⁷ See our report on *Talmudical and Rabbinical Literature* (fifth annual address of the President to the Philological Society, 1876, p. 37 seqq.)

The Aramaic dialect, known as *Arami* in a general sense, is also called the language of Jerusalem¹ in opposition to the Babylonian dialect. We have already had an example of the name *Sursi*². The Galilean dialect is specially mentioned as having an indistinct pronunciation of the gutturals (which was, and still is, characteristic of the Samaritans), and also as a dialect in which syllables were swallowed in such a way that the meaning of words and phrases often became doubtful to a southern Jew. The Talmud has many amusing anecdotes about this dialect, of which we may quote a few³.

A Galilean went about calling out, 'Who has *mar* to sell?' Whereupon he was asked, 'Fool of a Galilean, what dost thou want; an ass (*hamor*) to ride upon; wine (*hemar*) to drink; wool (*'imar*) for a dress, or a sheep skin (*imar*) to cover thyself withal⁴?' This negligence in the pronunciation of gutturals we find also in other localities near Galilee. It is related in the Talmud that the inhabitants of Bethshean (Scythopolis), of Haipha and Tabacon (Tab'ain?) were not admitted to recite the prayers publicly in the synagogue, because they pronounced *aleph* like *ain*, and *vice versa*⁵. In Judea, it is said, the study of the law was preserved because care was taken there for the right pronunciation; whilst in Galilee, where the pronunciation was neglected, the study of law did not exist⁶. The Talmud refers most likely to the fact that there were no schools for casuistic discussion at an early period in Galilee. Another example given in the Talmud illustrates the contraction of several words into one, by which the meaning of a sentence was completely altered.

¹ See Dukes, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

² See above, p. 50, note 2.

³ *Bab. Talm.*, Erubin, fol. 53 b.

⁴ דההוא בי גליל דהוה קאזיל ואמר להו אמר למאן אמר למאן אמר ליה גלילאה שומע חסר למירכב או חסר למשתי עמר למילבש או אימר לאיתכסמה.

⁵ *Ibidem*, Meguillah, fol. 24 b אין מורדין לפני החיבה לא אנשי בית שאן ולא אנשי בית חיפה ולא אנשי טבעונין מפני שקורין לאלמין עיינין ולעיינין אלמין.

⁶ *Ibidem*, Erubin, fol. 53 b.

A Galilean woman inviting a friend to take a glass of milk with her, said to her, *tokhlikhlebi* (may a lion devour thee!), contracting in this fashion the three words *thei okhlik helba*¹. It is probable that Jesus, through better education, or by a personal effort, pronounced sounds more in accordance with the Judean manner, since we do not find any allusion in the Gospels to his having been mocked, as was the case with Peter, on account of his Galilean pronunciation. It may be of interest to allude here to two other particulars respecting Galilee, mentioned in the Talmudic writings. We are told, firstly, that persons sometimes have two names, the one as used in Judea, and the other in Galilee². In fact, we find that some of the Apostles had two names, a Hebrew one and a Galilean or a popular one, for instance, Simon and Cephas. The same was the case with the Maccabees, but what was exceptional in Judea was probably a general rule in Galilee. Secondly, it is stated in the Talmud, that Galileans were wandering preachers, and excelled especially in the aggadic or homiletic interpretation of the biblical texts, which was often expressed in the form of a parable³. This fact may partly explain how the popular teaching of Jesus had such success in Jerusalem, where this mode of interpretation seems to have been exceptional. The aggadic interpretations were individual interpretations, whilst the halakhah (dogmatic or casuistic rules) were mostly quoted as traditional. Jesus, however, spoke in his own name, even in his halakhic teaching, contrary to the practice of the schools. That is the meaning probably of what is said of him,

¹ *Come, I shall give thee to eat milk.* *Ibidem* חמי אוכלין for חוכלין לביא. חולבא. See for other passages, *Winer's Chaldäische Grammatik für Bibel und Targum*, ed. Fischer, Leipzig, 1882, p. 32.

² *Tosifta*, Gittin, ch. 8.

³ See *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 185. We quote one instance only: כד דריש ההוא גלילאה... כד רגיו רעיא על ענא עבד לנגימא סמוחא. In allusion to bad administrators imposed as a punishment on a town, it is said, as a Galilean explained, when the shepherd gets angry with his flock he gives them a blind sheep as leader. Comp. Matt. xv. 14; Luke vi. 39.

that he taught 'with authority, and not as the scribes,' who appealed to traditions ¹.

The Aramaic dialect of the north (Sursi and Galilean) was the popular language in the last century B. C. It is called the language of the *ἰδιώτης* ² in opposition to the learned or Holy language. Proverbs written in it are introduced with the words 'proverb of the *ἰδιώτης* ³,' or 'as people say ⁴.' When Hillel gives an explanation in the popular language, it is said, 'Hillel explains in the language of the *common people* ⁵.' In the New Testament it is called *Hebraisti* ⁶, and in the Apocrypha and Josephus the language of the country ⁷. It was in this dialect that the latter at first wrote his historical work. Although Josephus says that the Jews could understand the Syrians, the Jewish Aramaic was nevertheless a distinct dialect in some respects, as may be seen from the words *lamá* ⁸ (in Syriac *lemana* ⁹), *Boavepyés* ¹⁰ (in Syriac *bene ra'ma* ¹¹), and of the form *Ἐφθαθά* ¹², recorded as having been uttered by Jesus, who, as is now generally admitted, addressed himself to his disciples and to his audience in the popular dialect. This appears not only from the Aramaic words left in the Gospels by the Greek translators (which will be enumerated below for completeness' sake), but more especially from his last words on the Cross ¹³, which were spoken under circumstances of exhaustion and pain, when a person would naturally make use of his mother tongue,

¹ Matthew vii. 29.

² Dukes, *Die Sprache der Mishnah*, p. 11.

³ מִשְׁלֵי הָעָם.

⁴ אִינְשִׁי very frequent.

⁵ *Bab. Talm.*, Baba Meziá, fol. 104 a.

⁶ Ἑβραϊστί; τῇ Ἑβραϊῇ διαλέκτῳ, John v. 2; Acts xxi. 40; xxii. 2.

⁷ Ἡ πατριος φωνή, 2 Macc. vii. 21, 27; xii. 37; Josephus, *De Bello Jud.*, Proem. i; V. vi. 3; *Antiq.*, XVIII. vi. 40.

⁸ Matthew xxvii. 46.

⁹ ܠܡܐ.

¹⁰ Mark iii. 17. See also p. 56.

¹¹ ܩܒܠ ܕܡܐ.

¹² Mark vii. 34. See p. 56.

¹³ Matthew xxvii. 46; Mark xv. 34.

and from the fact that it is mentioned that he spoke to St. Paul in Hebrew¹. It is a weak argument to say that had Jesus always spoken in the popular dialect, viz. the Galileo-Aramean, there would have been no occasion for the author of the Acts to state that he spoke to St. Paul in Hebrew; and yet this is one of the chief arguments of writers on the other side². The contrary is the case: the author of the Acts, not remembering the Hebrew words spoken to St. Paul, or not being able to supply them from his own knowledge of Hebrew, was obliged, in order to be believed, to state that Jesus spoke to St. Paul in Hebrew. We shall see later on how little the Jews knew Greek, and how much less they cared to know it; so that St. Paul, in order to gain a hearing, was obliged to speak to them in their Aramaic dialects³. Would anyone venture seriously to maintain that St. Peter spoke Greek when he addresses himself to the 'men of Judea and all that dwell in Jerusalem⁴,' and that, too, at Pentecost, when all the prayers were offered in Hebrew? How would the Medes, Elamites, and Arabians have understood if he had spoken Greek? What else do the words 'are not all these which speak Galileans?' mean but that the Apostles usually spoke to the people in the Galilean dialect? Why should the men of Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, Pamphylia⁵, etc. be astonished that the Apostles spoke Greek, if it had been their usual language? Why should the chief captain⁶ wonder that St. Paul could speak Greek, if the Jews were generally known to be familiar with it? Is not the watchword *Μαὶνὰν ἀθά*⁷, which passed to the Greek-speaking populations of Asia Minor, a sufficient proof that the speech of the first

¹ Acts xxvi. 14.

² See Dr. Roberts' *Discussion*, etc. (full title, p. 41, note 2), p. 74 seqq.

³ Acts xxi. 40; xxii. 2.

⁴ Acts ii. 14.

⁵ Acts ii. 9 seqq.

⁶ Acts xxi. 37.

⁷ 1 Corinthians xvi. 22. See pp. 57 and 73.

Christians was Aramaic? Not to speak of the evident Semitic diction¹ contained in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, who, as is stated by the early fathers, and as is now generally admitted, made use of collections and sayings written in Palestine by the first Christians. What language did Jesus speak when he said², 'Whosoever shall say to his brother *raca*, shall be in danger of the council: but whosoever shall say *moreh*, shall be in danger of hell-fire,' but the popular dialect, in which *raca* (*rega*) was a weaker expression than *moreh*³, for it is no unusual phænomenon for a foreign word to have a stronger meaning than the native one?

The following is the list of the Semitic words preserved in the writings of the New Testament⁴:—

St. Matt. iii. 7 Φαρισαῖος = פְּרִישָׁי.

iv. 10, etc. σατανᾶς = סָטָנָא.

v. 22 ῥακά = רָקָא⁵.

v. 22 γέεννα = גֵּהֶנָם.

vi. 24 μαμμωνᾶ = מָמוֹנָא.

xii. 24 Βεελζεβούλ = בְּעֵל זְבוּל⁶.

xxi. 9 Ὁσαννᾶ = הוֹשַׁע-נָא or אוֹשַׁע-נָא.

¹ It is impossible to quote the whole literature on that subject. It will be sufficient to refer to Lightfoot's *Horæ Hebraicæ*, and to Dr. Edersheim, *Life and Times of Christ*, London, 1884, 2nd edition.

² Matthew v. 22.

³ *Ibidem*. This word became a standing expression in the Midrash for 'fool.' See the *Athenaeum*, 1881, p. 779 (No. 2834), where Dean Stanley's suggestion that *moreh* is derived from the Hebrew is contradicted.

⁴ We give the list of these words according to the method of Pfannkuche, viz. according to their occurrence in the various books of the New Testament. Prof. E. Kautzsch in his *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, etc., Leipzig, 1884, gives an alphabetical list of the Aramaic words occurring in the New Testament writings. We have added from his list the words composed with *Bap* (בר, p. 57).

⁵ ריקא is used in the Talmud as empty and stupid, just as בור, *pit*. See *Neue Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Evangelien in Talmud und Midrasch* von Aug. Wünsche, Leipzig, 1878, p. 47. The confusion of Tsere (Segol) and Pathah is possible. Qaraitic MSS. point indifferently with the one or the other.

⁶ בֵּעֵל seems to be a dialectal form of זְבוּל (זבורא), *bee*. In some places there was a Baal of the flies and in others of the bee. Compare Isaiah vi. 18.

St. Matt. xxiii. 7 ῥαββί = רַבִּי.

xxvi. 2 πάσχα = פֶּסַח.

xxvii. 33 γολγοθᾶ = גִּלְגֹּלְתָא¹.

xxvii. 46 Ἡλὶ, ἡλὶ², λαμὰ σαβαχθανί = אֱלִי אֱלִי
לִמָּא שְׁבַקְתָּנִי.

St. Mark iii. 17 Βοανεργές = בְּנֵי רֶעֶשׁ or בְּנֵי רֶעֶשׁ³.

v. 41 ταλιθὰ κοῦμι = קוּמִי טָלִיתָא.

vii. 11 κορβάν = קֶרְבֵּן.

vii. 34 ἐφφαθά = הִפְתָּח⁴.

x. 51 ῥαββουνί = רַבּוּנִי⁵.

xiv. 36 Ἀββᾶ = אָבָא.

St. Luke i. 15 σίκερα = שִׁכְרָא.

St. John i. 43 Κηφᾶς = כִּיפָא.

iv. 25 Μεσσίας = מִשִּׁיחָא.

v. 2 Βηθεσδά = בֵּית אֶשְׁדָּא⁶.

xix. 13 Γαββαθᾶ = גַּבְבַּתָּא.

Acts i. 19 Ἀκελ δάμα = אֶקֶל דָּמָא⁷.

ix. 36 Ταβιθά = טַבִּיתָא⁸.

¹ On the omission of the second λ, see Kautzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

² The variant Ἐλωί (Mark xv. 34) represents the Aramaic form אֱלֵהִי, which might be the original form pronounced by Jesus.

³ The guttural pronunciation of ρ is represented by γ.

⁴ The aspiration of π was neglected by the Galileans.

⁵ This form is used in the prayers for God. The title of רבן is applied first to Gamaliel the elder.

⁶ אשדא is the possible original of 'pool.' Compare אשד, Numbers xxi. 15 and elsewhere.

⁷ The field of blood. The reading δαμάχ is analogous to Ξειράχ for סירא (Kautzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 8); δαμάχ scarcely represents the word דומך, to sleep, to die, since the substantive death is always expressed by the word מותא. For field of death (why not rely upon the translation of the time, which is to be found in the Acts?) ought to be δαμχά, דמכא. To suppose a participial form דמך (Kautzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 172) is forced.

⁸ Feminine form of טבי (טב). Compare *Mishnah*, Berakhoth, ii. 7, and p. 60.

1 Cor. xvi. 22 *Maràn athá*=מָרְן אֶתָּא¹.

Apoc. ix. 11 *'Αβαδδών*=אֲבַדְדֹן.

xvi. 16 *'Αρμαγεδών*=הַר מַגְדֹן.

Proper names compounded with the word *bar* (בר), 'son,' belong also to the vocabulary of Aramaic words in the New Testament. The following occur:—

Barabbas=בַּר אַבְבָּא, St. Matthew xxvii. 16.

Bartholomaios=בַּר תְּלָמִי, *ibid.* x. 3.

Barisous=בַּר יֵשׁוּ, Acts xiii. 6.

Barionan=בַּר יוֹנָה, St. Matthew xvi. 17.

Barndabas=בַּר נַבְבָּא, Acts iv. 36.

Barsabbas=בַּר סָבְבָא, *ibid.* i. 23.

Bartimaios=בַּר תִּימָא, St. Mark x. 46.

It is possible that the two passages quoted from a gospel in the following story in the Talmud might turn out to be original Aramaic words in the New Testament.

The passage seems to us of such importance for the New Testament literature, that we have thought it worth while to reproduce it in its entirety²:
אימא שלום דביתהו דרבי: אליעזר אחתיה דרבן גמליאל הואי הוה ההוא פילוסופא בשיבותיה דהוה שקיל שמא דלא מקבל שוחדא בעו לאחוכי ביה עיילא ליה שרגא דדהבא ואזול לקמיה אמרה ליה בעינא דניפלגו לי בנגסי דבי נשי אמר להו פלוגי לה א"ל כתיב בתורה דיהיב לן ק'ב'ה במקום ברא

¹ The words certainly mean, Our Lord come or has come (see p. 73). To take it as the transliteration of מוחרם אֶתָּה (Lowe and others before him) is against the rules of transliteration. Besides, anathema would be מוחרם or מוחרם without the word אֶתָּה.

² We give an eclectic text according to the variations reported in Rabbi Raphael Rabinovicz's *Variae Lectiones in Mishnam et in Talmud Babylonicum*, etc., Shabbath, fol. 116a, b. See also *The Fragments of Talmud Babli Pesachim*, etc., edited with notes by W. H. Lowe, Cambridge, 1879, pp. 67 and 68, and *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* von Dr. M. Güdemann, Leipzig, 1876, p. 67, (Die Logia des Matthäus als Gegenstand einer talmudischen Satyre).

ברתא לא תירות א"ל מן יומא דגליתון מארעכון איתנשלות
 אורייתא דמשה ואיתיהיבת ביה עון גליין¹ וכתוב ביה
 ברא וברתא כחדא ירתון למחר הדר עייל ליה איהו
 חמרא לובא אמר להו שפילי ליה לסיפיה דספרא²
 וכתוב ביה אנא לא למיפחת מן אורייתא דמשה אתיתי
 אלא לאוספי על אורייתא דמשה אתיתי וכתוב בה
 במקום ברא ברתא לא תירות אמרה ליה נהור נהורך
 בשרגא³ א"ל ר"ג אתא חמרא ובשש לשרגא.

‘Emma Shalom, the wife of Rabbi Eliezer, was the sister of Rabban Gamaliel. There was a philosopher⁴ in the neighbourhood who had the reputation that he would not take a bribe. They wished to have a laugh at him, so she brought to him a golden candlestick, came before him, and said: “I wish to have a portion of the property of my father.” The philosopher said: “Divide it.” R. Gamaliel said to him: “It is written in the Law given to us by God, *Where there is a son, a daughter shall not inherit.*” The philosopher answered him: “From the day you were removed from your land the Law of Moses was taken away and the *Evangelion*⁵ given, and in it is written, *The son and the daughter will inherit alike.*” Next day, R. Gamaliel in his turn brought to him a Libyan ass. The philosopher said to him: “I came to the end of the book⁶, where it is written, *I am not come to take away*

¹ According to another reading, considered by Dr. Güdemann (*op. cit.*, p. 71) as the older one, אורייתא אחרייתא.

² According to another reading דבין גליין.

³ In the editions כשרגא.

⁴ Philosopher is taken in controversial passages in the Talmud for a Christian doctor. By a corrupt reading of the Munich MS. we should read episcopus for philosopher (see Lowe, *op. cit.*, p. 68).

⁵ According to the other reading ‘another Law.’

⁶ According to another reading of the *Evangelion*, Dr. Güdemann (*op. cit.*, p. 92) concludes from these words that the Logia ended with the passage following. We abstain from deciding one way or another. Anyhow, Dr. Güdemann’s dissertation on the subject is worth consideration. Why no notice has been taken of it by Hilgenfeld (see p. 59, note 5), nor by Mr. Lowe, we do not know.

from the Law of Moses, but¹ to add to the Law of Moses am I come, and it is written in it, *Where there is a son, a daughter shall not inherit.*" Emma said to him: "Let thy light shine in the candlestick²." R. Gamaliel said: "The ass has come and knocked down the candlestick."

This passage has all the appearance of genuineness. Gamaliel is the grandson of Gamaliel the elder, and Eliezer is the famous Eliezer, son of Hyrcanos, disciple of R. Johanan ben Zakkai, who was often in communication with Judæo-Christians. Of course the passage, 'Where there is a son, a daughter shall not inherit,' refers to Numbers xxvii. 9, and may be the words of a halakhah, now lost. The words 'It is written in the Law' may thus introduce a tradition ascribed to Moses as part of the revelation given to him on Sinai³. The words ascribed to the Gospel (or, according to the other reading, 'to the other Law'), viz. 'The son and the daughter will inherit alike,' are compared with Luke xii. 13⁴; and 'I am not come to take away from the Law of Moses,' etc., is supposed to be taken either from the Gospel according to the Hebrews⁵, or from the Logia of St. Matthew⁶.

¹ Reading *אלי*, or even without it (see J. H. Weiss, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Tradition*, i. p. 233, note 1), if we take the word *לא יורש* in the sense of completing, which is the meaning of adding to it, according to the notion of the Rabbinical schools; *חוספתא*, for instance, means the complete Mishnah with the additions, but not additions to the Mishnah. If we were allowed to translate *למסח* by 'to destroy,' lit. *to lessen*, which is possible, the Talmudical sentence would correspond to the words of St. Matthew v. 17 *ὅτι ἡλθον καταλῦσαι, ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι*. In the ordinary sense 'of taking away and adding' the reading of *וילא*, 'nor,' is justified by a Rabbinical authority of the seventeenth century (see Lowe, *op. cit.*, p. 68).

² We read *בשרנו ושרנו*.

³ *למשה הילנה למשה מסיני*. See Z. Frankel, *Hodegetica in Mishnam*, p. 20.

⁴ See Gudemann, *op. cit.*, p. 75, where the word *ris* is ingeniously explained.

⁵ See A. Hilgenfeld, *Evangeliorum secundum Hebraeos*, etc., ed. altera, Lipsiae, 1884, p. 15; E. B. Nicholson, *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*, London, 1879, p. 146 seqq., where the date 71-3 for the Talmudical story is arbitrary. Of course, according to the reading of the old edition which we have adopted in our translation (see above, p. 58, note 2), the saying is taken from the Logia, but it might have been also in the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

⁶ By Dr. Gudemann, see above, p. 57.

Adopting the following conjecture, Dr. Güdemann argues for the Logia. He takes the word חמרא (ass) in the sense of 'bushel'.¹ Gamaliel presented to the philosopher a bushel with gold or silver, which put out the light of the candle. This, according to Dr. Güdemann, would be an allusion to the passage 'Neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick.' In fact, in another Talmudical passage we find an analogous story, where it is said that a man presented two bushels of gold (מדרות = *μόδιος*).

We have purposely abstained from any comparison of the *logia* and other of Jesus' sayings with those occurring in the Talmud, the dates of the latter being uncertain, and the wording mostly being different. We shall only quote one passage out of the *Midrash rabbah*², which represents the genuine language of that time. On the passage, Prov. xviii. 21, 'Death and life are in the power of the tongue,' the following history is applied: R. Simeon ben Gamaliel said to his servant Tabi, 'Go and buy for me in the market good provisions.' He went out and bought for him a tongue. Then Simeon told him, 'Go and buy for me bad provisions,' and Tabi bought again a tongue. Simeon said, 'When I tell you to buy good provisions, you buy a tongue; and when I tell you to buy bad provisions, you buy a tongue also.' Tabi answered, 'From the tongue cometh both, good and bad; it cannot be better when it is good, and it cannot be worse when it is bad.' מות וחיים ביד לשון ר"ג אמר למבי עבדיה פוק זבין לי צדו טבא מן שוקא נפק חבן ליה לישן א"ל פוק זבין לי צדו בישא מן שוקא נפק חבין ליה לישן א"ל כד אנא אימא לך צדו טבא את זבן לי לישן וכד אנא

¹ Hebrew חמרא (*op. cit.*, p. 84), which stood in the Semitic text for the word *μόδιος*, and became חמרא by some ignorant copyist. Libyan is an addition, no doubt. In the Talmudical parallel passages we find instead of חמרא the words סיה של זהב, 'a young ass of gold,' which is a more impossible object to be presented. Dr. Güdemann notices also that the parallel passage has instead of שטש, 'knocked over,' the word נסה (כבה), 'extinguished.'

² On Leviticus, ch. xxxiii (according to the Bodl. MS., No. 2335).

אימא לך צדו¹ בישא את זבן לי לישן א"ל מיניה בתרי מיניה דטבא ומיניה דבישתא כד היא טבא לית טבא מיניה וכד בישתא לית בישתא מיניה. Compare the Epistle of St. James iii. 8-10.

The language of the Palestinian Talmud (or, as it is commonly called, the Talmud of Jerusalem), which consists of discussions by natives of Galilee, and which is really a Galilean composition, represents, according to our opinion, the language which the disciples of Jesus spoke and wrote. The gutturals are constantly in this dialect interchanged, ע is written for ה, א for ה, which is thus often not pronounced at all, as we have seen in the word 'Εφφαθά². Very often the א and the ה are omitted altogether: we find, for instance, מר for אמר; R. Ba for R. Abba (whence the name Rabba); Lazar for Eleazar, as in the name of Lazarus in the Gospels. The labial letters are pronounced in the Jerusalem Talmud more softly than in the Babylonian. Instead of ב and פ they use *va*; for מ the Galilean Rabbis have often *b*. For כ we find ג; thus, the locality כייב is in the Jerusalem Talmud גויב. Even ל and נ are interchanged, as in Antolinus instead of Antoninus³. From this we may perhaps explain the name נקאי⁴, given to one of the disciples of Jesus in the Talmud, and usually regarded as = Nicodemus. This name, however, is written in the Talmud Naqdimon. It is more probable that by נקאי is meant St. Luke (Luqa), whom the Rabbis treated as a disciple of Jesus. Two words are often united into one in the dialect of the Jerusalem Talmud. For הכיני; אית אינן, 'they are,' we read אחינין; הכין היא, 'so it is'; בית שאנין for בישנין, 'inhabitants of Beth Shean.' We have seen the same occur above in the mouth of a Galilean woman⁵. The vocabulary of the Jerusalem Talmud is peculiar as compared with that of the

¹ MS. thrice צדו.

² See above, p. 56.

³ See Z. Frankel, *Introductio in Talmud Hierosolymitanum* (in Hebrew), Vratislavia, 1870, p. 8.

⁴ *Bab. Talm.*, Sanhedrin, fol. 43 a.

⁵ See above, p. 51.

Babylonian Talmud. If, therefore, any attempt be made to translate New Testament texts into their original idiom, the language chosen for the purpose must be the dialect of the Talmud of Jerusalem¹.

Josephus has also Aramaic words in his Greek work. Thus he remarks that the Hebrews call red, Ἀδωμά (אֲדוּמָא); priest, χαυῶλας (כַּהֲנִיָּא); Pentecost, Ἀσπεθᾶ (עֶצְרֶתָּא); a lame man, χάλυψας (חַלְבִּירָא). He has also the words *Abba* and *phāska*². That he makes a distinction between the Hebrew (or rather Syro-Aramaic) and the Babylonian-Aramaic dialect results from the passage where he says concerning 'Abanet' (אַבְנֶט), *a belt*, 'we have learnt from the Babylonians to call it *Eulav*,' which corresponds to רוֹמִין in the Onqelos Targum, a word which occurs in the same sense in the Babylonian Talmud³.

As to the Greek spoken by the Jews in Palestine, in spite of the passage quoted above⁴, to the effect that in Palestine either the Holy language or the Greek should be spoken, few, we believe, had a substantial knowledge of it. Let us examine how, and at what period, Greek could have become universal (according to Dr. Roberts' view), or indeed, even prominent in Palestine.

If the Greeks are mentioned in the Old Testament under the name of *Yawan*, there was certainly no intercourse during the period of the first Temple between Ionians and Jews. At the time of Alexander the Great, Jews settled in Egypt, Asia Minor, and probably also in Greece. These we shall find mentioned under the name of Hellenists. Their connexion with the mother-land was maintained by their going to Jerusalem for feast-days, and by their sending offerings

¹ Contrary to Prof. Delitzsch's opinion, who says (*The Hebrew New Testament*, etc. [see p. 41, note 6], p. 31), 'The Shemitic woof of the New Testament Hellenism is Hebrew, not Aramaic. Our Lord and his apostles thought and spoke for the most part in Hebrew.'

² See Siegfried, *Zeitschr. für die Alttest. Wissenschaft* (by B. Stade, 1883, p. 32 seqq.); and Kautzsch, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, etc., p. 7.

³ רוֹמִין, Erubin, fol. 104 b.

⁴ See above, p. 50.

and sacrifices to the Temple¹. But we may infer that they still all spoke, more or less, their native Hebrew dialect, for no mention is made of interpreters being required for them either in the Temple or outside of it. No doubt some of them settled later in Jerusalem, and at the time of Jesus, amongst the 480 synagogues which Jerusalem then possessed², there would naturally be a Hellenistic one. History does not record that Alexander or his immediate successors had constrained the conquered nations to adopt the Greek language. That in new towns like Alexandria, Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and others, Greek was prevalent cannot be doubted, since the settlers were Greeks, but the lower class, representing labourers, servants, and even soldiers, could not have been all brought over from Greece, but were taken from the surrounding towns and villages; these would still continue to use their own dialects, and would acquire only a scanty knowledge of Greek. Such is the case now in Belgium with French and Flemish, in Alsace with French and German. To say that Greek was universally spoken, and that therefore Palestine could have been no exception to the rule, is at all events exaggerated. Antioch and other Syrian towns would not give up Syriac, as will be seen further on³. The Phœnician towns still knew Phœnician, as may be inferred from the coins with double inscriptions, Phœnician and Greek⁴. In Palmyra we find provisions for taxes payable to the Romans drawn up in Greek and Palmyrene⁵. In Egypt, Coptic survived till the twelfth century A.D. In Armenia, Armenian is even now spoken. From the Acts, ii. 9-12, we see that the Parthians, Medes, Elamites, the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judea, Cappadocia, etc. spoke languages other than Greek. Indeed,

¹ See Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iii. p. 35.

² *Ibidem*, p. 391.

³ See below, p. 70.

⁴ Renan, *Histoire des Langues sémitiques*, p. 196.

⁵ M. de Vogüé, *Journal asiatique*, 1883, i. p. 231 seqq.; ii. p. 149 seqq. Sachau, *Zeitschr. der deutschen morg. Gesellschaft*, 1883, p. 562 seqq.

Bernhardy¹ states that the Greek spoken in Asia Minor was not more than a kind of jargon. Pfannkuche² observes rightly, 'A conquered nation suffers the deprivation of its national language, and the obtrusion of another *totally different* from its own, only when the conqueror overturns the previously existing organization of the state, transports the greater part of the inhabitants, and gives their former abodes to foreign colonists, who inundate the whole country, and must be far more numerous than the remaining original inhabitants. This is the only condition which makes the complete extinction of a national language possible, but that condition never existed under the mild sway of the Romans in Palestine.' To this the following note is appended by the translator of Pfannkuche: 'The translator does not recollect any instance in history where even that condition has proved effective. The political organization of the ancient Britons has been overturned over and over again, and still they preserve their ancient language in its different dialects; so the Basks theirs; Italy, at all events, suffered the obtrusion of no foreign tongue, although its own was modified. The Mantshu Tartars, I apprehend, entirely overturned the political organization of China; but the conquerors did not introduce their own language, although far preferable to that of the natives, and more apt to the adequate expression of thought . . . The political organization of Prussian Poland was completely overturned, and many efforts made to introduce German, and still the Poles preserve their language. In short, I must doubt whether any political measure, though ever so violent, can completely extirpate the national language of any country.' We may add in the case of Poland under Prussia that there is compulsory education and general military service, both of which are most powerful factors in extinguishing a language. Other not less striking

¹ Quoted by Dr. Böhl in his *Forschungen*, etc. (see full title above, p. 41, note 3), p. 64.

² English translation (see above, p. 40, note 3), p. 31.

examples, from modern times, may be quoted. How little have the Alsations, especially the rural population, adopted the French language in the course of nearly two centuries of French rule, in spite of their being satisfied with the French government, in spite of the frequent intercourse between Alsations and French, and the institution of High Schools where French was exclusively taught. It is natural, therefore, that the Jews with their general spirit of exclusiveness and with their contempt for pagan worship, manners and customs, should not have hastened to exchange their native and holy language for the Greek. That a number of Greek words were introduced into the vernacular Hebrew, cannot be doubted. But they consist of names of instruments, such as we find in Daniel¹, vessels used in the Temple or at home, and also some satirical expressions². What better proof can there be that Greek did not become familiar to the Jews in Palestine through their conquerors, than the fewness of the verbs which have been introduced in their vernacular, as far as we can judge, from the Mishnah, the Targumim, the Talmud of Jerusalem, and the early homiletical literature³? There are certainly more French words in German than Greek in the Hebrew vernacular, though it will hardly, we suppose, be imagined that the Germans adopted the French language during the occupation by Napoleon.

Such then is the conclusion which we reach from a consideration of the spoken language. The written literature suggests exactly the same inferences. No apocryphal book, as far as our knowledge goes, was composed in Greek by a Palestinian Jew. Very few sayings in Greek are quoted in the Midrashic literature, and the few which occur are referred to Rabbis who came from Greek-speaking towns, such as

¹ See Hartwig Derenbourg, *Les mots grecs dans le livre biblique de Daniel* (Mélanges Graux, Paris, 1883, pp. 235-244).

² See *Lehrbuch zur Sprache der Mishnah* von Dr. Abraham Geiger, Breslau, 1845, p. 20 seqq.

³ See *Beiträge zur Sprach- und Alterthums-Forschung aus jüdischen Quellen* von Dr. M. Sachs, 2 Hefte, Berlin, 1852-4, i. p. 4 seqq.

Cæsarea, Antioch, and elsewhere¹. Some Græcised names which Josephus mentions, such as Alkimos for Jehoiakim, Jason for Joshua, Antigonos and others do not indicate more than that some of the Jews affected Greek manners and customs; they prove nothing as to the bulk of the nation. Civil acts written in Greek, and Greek signatures², were declared valid by authority of the civil power. Did the Jews know Latin when they signed civil acts in Latin? Certainly not. However, even if we were to adopt the idea that under the friendly treatment which they received at the hands of Alexander the Great and his immediate successors, the Jews, in order to please their benefactors, endeavoured, like the other conquered tribes, to assimilate themselves to Greeks, the current in this direction would certainly have ceased with their persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes. Nor could such a short time as elapsed between Alexander the Great and Antiochus have been sufficient to introduce a foreign language amongst the mass of the nation. We may meet the suggestion by appealing to the continued existence of Welsh, in spite of the friendly rule of the English, to the imperfect Russification of Poland and Germanization of Posen and Silesia. All that the Jews in Palestine learned of Greek, so far as we can judge, was at most a few sentences, sufficient to enable them to carry on trade and to hold intercourse with the lower officials. And even this minimum certainly ceased after the Maccabean victory over Antiochus Epiphanes, for it was the interest of the Asmonean princes to keep the Jews aloof from the influence of the neighbouring dialects. The coins at that time were struck with Hebrew inscriptions³, the official language and that of the schools was exclusively

¹ See Dr. Lewy's essay, entitled *Ueber die Spuren des griechischen und römischen Alterthums im talmudischen Schriftthum* (Verhandlungen der dreiunddreissigsten Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Gera vom 30 September bis 2 October, 1878), p. 77 seqq.

² *Tosifta*, Baba Bathra, ch. 9.

³ See above, p. 44.

the vernacular Hebrew¹. And what happened in Jerusalem was imitated also in Galilee, except in towns exclusively inhabited by Greeks, where the Jews, when in the minority, might have acquired a fair knowledge of conversational Greek, but not to such an extent as to enable them to speak in public, and still less to be able to interpret the Law in the synagogues. The inhabitants of Beth Shean or Seythopolis are mentioned as pronouncing Hebrew badly, and Seythopolis is considered an exclusively Greek town². In fact, we may boldly state that the Greek translation of the Bible was unknown in Palestine except to men of the schools and perhaps a few of the Hellenistic Jews. On the contrary, it is said in the Talmud that when the Greek translation of the Seventy appeared, there came darkness upon the earth, and the day was as unfortunate for Israel as that on which the golden calf was made³. We believe that all the quotations in the early Gospels are derived from a traditional and unwritten vernacular Targum. Hence many of the differences in reading. The dominion of Herod was too brief to introduce the Greek language, and the troubles with the Romans which arose subsequently were certainly no inducement to Jews to adopt Greek. Had Greek been generally spoken and taught, why should the Talmud record a general exception in favour of Gamaliel⁴, and later, in the second century, when the schools were already active in Galilee, in favour of the family of Judah the saint, the redactor of the Mishnah⁵, that they should be allowed to learn Greek, because they had to conduct negotiations with the government? The Hebrew inscription on the cross together with the Greek and the Latin⁶ is an evident proof that there were a great number of Jews who did not know Greek. If we are not mistaken, it is now

¹ See above, p. 47 seqq.

² See above, p. 51.

³ Berliner, *Targum Onkelos*, ii. p. 78, note 3.

⁴ Lewy, *Ueber die Spuren des griechischen*, etc. (see p. 66, note 1), p. 79.

⁵ Dukes, *Die Sprache der Mischnah*, p. 7.

⁶ St. John xix. 20.

generally admitted that the earliest writings of the Christians in Palestine and the neighbouring countries where they took refuge after the destruction of Jerusalem were uniformly in a vernacular Hebrew, and not in Greek¹. Had a majority of the Jews spoken this language, some of these records must have been composed in Greek. Josephus wrote his history in Hebrew for the benefit of the Jewish nation², and he acted as interpreter between the Jewish defenders of Jerusalem and the Roman generals³. And when he remarks that the Jews cannot pronounce Greek purely, his meaning, as it appears to us, is, that they did not learn it in a classical sense, but that their knowledge consisted of barbarous Greek, such as they would hear from foreigners who came from the Greek provinces, and which was only a kind of jargon. The Roman legions themselves at Jerusalem were mostly composed of Syrians⁴ whose Greek could by no means have been classical. Speaking of the Syrians, we may take them as an argument, how unready Semitic nations are in exchanging their own dialect for another not of the same family. The Syrian Christians, though likewise under the dominion of Rome, and employing a great number of Greek words in their translations of the Gospels and other writings, never gave up their own language, which is spoken to the present day⁵. The Arabs in Algeria have not yet learned much French, and the Arabs in Syria know not a sentence of Turkish, in spite of having been under Turkish rule for four centuries and professing the same religion as the Turks.

We must now briefly refer to the Jews in Egypt and Asia Minor. These had gradually forgotten their vernacular Hebrew. There were no schools to preserve the knowledge of it even amongst the better classes, and daily intercourse with the Greek population soon resulted in its being abandoned

¹ See Michel Nicolas, *Études sur les Évangiles apocryphes*, Paris, 1866.

² *Proœmium to the Antiquities*.

³ *Wars*, V. vi. 3.

⁴ *Ibidem*, V. ix. 2; VI. ii. 1. *Contra Apionem*, I. 9.

⁵ Renan, *Histoire des Langues sémitiques*, p. 268.

altogether. Indeed, tenacious as Jews were in their own land, and as they are now in the countries where they live together, yet they readily adapt themselves to the habit of a country where they are received as free citizens, and exchange their vernacular for the language spoken by the people amongst whom they dwell. Indeed, the second or at most the third generation of immigrating Jews know not a word of the language spoken by their parents. Take, for instance, the English Jews, who are either of Dutch-Spanish or of German-Polish extraction, very rarely of Italian, as was the case with the family of the late Prime Minister. They all speak English, none of them know Dutch or Spanish, and only a few German, unless they have learnt it as a foreign language. The same is the case with the French, Italian, and German Jews. Only where they are kept by themselves, as is the case in Russia and Turkey, and not admitted to offices, do they cling to the language of their ancestors. So the Russian Jews still speak the mediæval German, and the Jews at Salonica, Constantinople, and Smyrna speak the Spanish of the fourteenth century. But the Jews in Egypt, and more especially at Alexandria, had so soon forgotten their Hebrew that a Greek translation of the Pentateuch became a necessity for their synagogues before they had been settled there a single century. Possibly a Greek translation of the Pentateuch existed before it was written down (if there is any historical truth in this statement) for one of the kings of the Ptolemean dynasty. Here, to judge from the Greek style of an Aristeas, Aristobulus the author of the Sibyllines, and, above all, Philo, the Jews must have frequented Greek schools. Philo, it can be proved to demonstration, knew very little Hebrew, if indeed he knew any at all¹. In Asia Minor, Jewish congregations are mentioned in all parts, in Bithynia, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Cappadocia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, Lydia, Galatia, and Pontus. Cyprus,

¹ See Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandrien*, p. 142 seqq.

Rhodes, and Crete had also many Jews. They are likewise mentioned in Greece itself, in Macedonia, Thessaly, Bœotia, Attica, and the Peloponnese¹. All these Jews, far away from Palestine, spoke only Greek, with the exception of the few who learnt Hebrew in the schools of Jerusalem, like St. Paul, or others who were but recent immigrants from Palestine and with whom the apostle conversed in vernacular Hebrew. Indeed, very few Rabbis are mentioned in the Talmud as coming from the Greek provinces². From inscriptions in the synagogues and epitaphs published by Stephanie in the memoirs of St. Petersburg³, we see that they used freely and exclusively the Greek language. Even the common word *shalom* found in the catacombs of Rome, Naples, and later even at Venosa⁴, is not met with in the inscriptions of Asia Minor. The same is the case with the tomb-inscription at Smyrna, discovered by Mr. Ramsay, and now edited by M. Reinach⁵. These Jews, no doubt, read the Old Testament in Greek, and through them the Bible became known, more or less, to the heathen, as may be seen from quotations made by the apostles in writings addressed to Gentile Christians. The Jews of Cæsarea and Antioch alone had a fair knowledge of Hebrew, so far as we can judge from the Talmud, and that was natural; Cæsarea was close to Palestine, and at Antioch Syriac was still spoken, a language which is so nearly related to the vernacular of Palestine. Those mentioned are mostly popular preachers (Aggadists), and they freely use Greek sentences, even in an absurd way⁶. The

¹ Acts ii. 8 seqq.

² See above, p. 66.

³ *Parerga Archaeologica*, St. Petersburg, 1859, p. 200 seqq. See also *Epigraphische Beiträge der Juden* von Dr. M. A. Levy (Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Juden und des Judenthum, Leipzig, 1861, Bd. ii, article v), p. 272 seqq.

⁴ See *Iscrizioni inedite o male note, greche, latine, ebraiche di antichi sepolcri giudaici del Napolitano*, edite e illustrate da G. I. Ascoli (Atti del IV congresso internazionale degli orientalisti, Firenze, 1880, vol. i), p. 239 seqq.

⁵ See *Inscription grecque de Smyrne. La Juive Rufina*, by Salomon Reinach, *Revue des Études juives*, tom. vii. p. 161.

⁶ See Dr. Lewy's essay (full title, p. 66, note 1) and the Supplementary Notes.

Galilean Rabbis were no longer able to pronounce against the study of Greek, having seen and heard from travellers, such as R. Aqiba and R. Meir, how important, and how widely spread the Greek language was amongst the Jews in Asia Minor. Moreover, the Greek Jews undoubtedly contributed to the support of the Rabbis and their schools in Palestine, for the Jews here were by no means rich. They had very little to hope from Babylonia, since the schools of that country became rivals of the Palestinian or rather Galilean schools. We find, therefore, in the second century R. Simon ben Gamaliel¹ saying that the Law can only be adequately translated into Greek. Another Rabbi applies the words of Genesis ix. 27, 'Japhet shall dwell in the tents of Shem,' to the Greek language. R. Jehudah the saint, towards the end of the second century, says, 'Of what use is Syriac in Palestine? Let us use only either Hebrew or Greek².' Not only was it permitted at Cæsarea that the prayer *Shema*³ might be recited in Hellenistic, but a new Greek translation of the Bible was made under the auspices of R. Aqiba by Aquila. It will not be in place here to discuss who this Aquila was; the Talmud calls him a proselyte, and it is remarkable that Onkelos the Aramean translator⁴ is mentioned as having been a proselyte likewise. In any case, Aquila the translator cannot be identified with the Aquila mentioned in the Acts. Indeed, the Rabbis saw that the Jews in Asia Minor could only use the Greek translation of the Bible, which then became also current among Christians. A complete return to Hebrew being thus an impossibility, they caused a new translation to be made in the literal sense of the interpretations followed in the schools. R. Joshua and R. Eleazar⁵ praised Aquila for his translation, and applied to him the passage of the Psalms: 'Thou art

¹ *Jer. Talm.*, Meguillah, i. 11; Berliner, *Targum Onkelos*, ii. p. 94.

² *Bab. Talm.*, Sotah, fol. 49 b.

³ Frankel, *Vorstudien zur Septuaginta*, p. 58.

⁴ See Berliner, *Targum Onkelos*, ii. p. 97 seqq.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 96.

fairer than the children of men.' The Rabbis began to read Greek books, and some of them even busied themselves with Greek philosophy. It is said of Elishah ben Abhuyah (about 160 A.D.) that he preferred Greek studies to those of the law. Greek songs (Homer?) were always on his lips¹. In another passage, R. Aqiba explains the prohibition not to read 'outside' books by the books of Homer²; Aqiba, as well as Elishah, pursued mystic studies, and Homer was already in the time of Anaxagoras explained allegorically³. Epiphanius says⁴ that the Gnostics and other sects found support in Homer for all their arguments, and appealed to his writings as we appeal to the Bible. R. Meir frequently held conversations with a philosopher called in the Talmud Eunomos, of Gadarah⁵, a town of the Decapolis, where, according to Strabo⁶, many Greek philosophers were settled.

When the Galilean schools ceased to exist, and the Talmud of Jerusalem had been written down, we lose sight of the Jews in Palestine. Arabic takes the place of Greek, but we know from non-Jewish documents that in Byzantium the Jews used the Greek translation of the Bible in the synagogues⁷. We find Greek words in the exegetical and philosophical works of the Qaraites, who wrote on the Bosphorus in the eleventh century⁸. There exists a Greek translation of the Book of Jonah⁹, made at Corfu in the

¹ *Bab. Talm.*, Hagigah, fol. 15 א פסק מפומיה אמרו לו עליו על אחר בשעה שהיה עומד בבית המדרש הרבה ספרי מינין נושרין בחיקו. Lewy, *Ueber die Spuren des griechischen*, etc., p. 80.

² המירס. *Jer. Talm.*, Heleq. x. Explained also (see Graetz) by daily reading from *ἡμέρα*.

³ See Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen* (4th ed.), vol. i. p. 931.

⁴ *Haeres*, i. 200.

⁵ הגררי. *אנטימוס הגררי* for הגררי. See Graetz, *op. cit.*, s. iv. p. 469; identified with *Οινόμαος Γαδαρῆς*.

⁶ Syria, ii. 29.

⁷ Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. v. p. 435.

⁸ See Steinschneider, *Catalogus Codicum Hebr. Bibl. Lugd. Batav.* (1858), MS. Warner, No. 41.

⁹ MS. Opp. Add. 8, 19 (our Catalogue, No. 1144). This is probably a remnant of the old use of translating the lessons of the prophets (Zunz, *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge*, Berlin, 1832, p. 8). This translation is, we believe, the earliest modern Greek text we possess in prose. We hope to publish it shortly.

twelfth century, in MSS. of the Bodleian Library and that of Bologna. This is the earliest example of modern Greek prose. In the prayer-book of the Greek rite a great number of hymns are to be found in Greek, or sometimes in Hebrew with the Greek translation¹. A version of the Pentateuch in Greek was printed as early as 1547, together with a Spanish translation, for the use of the Jews in Turkey². There are in existence documents enough for writing a grammar of Jewish Greek, which we believe would throw some light on the grammar of the Septuagint as well as of that of the New Testament writings.

¹ Sp. Pappageorgios, *Merkwürdige in den Synagogen von Corfu im Gebrauche befindlichen Hymnen* (Abhandlungen und Vorträge des fünften internationalen Orientalischen Congresses, Berlin, 1882, i. p. 226 seqq.). The Bodleian Library possesses several MSS. containing hymns in Greek.

² Constantinople, fol. 1547. See Steinschneider, *Catalogus Librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, 1852-1860, No. 122.

Supplementary Notes.

P. 50. M. Halévy (*Revue des Études juives*, t. ix. p. 10, note 2) thinks that the Talmudic *Sursi* means the language of Ashdod, or the Nabataean dialect. According to his conjecture, the word 'bastard' (ממזר, Zach. ix. 6) refers to the Nabataeans (see below, p. 229).

P. 55 b. M. Rubens Duval in his review of Professor Kautzsch's Grammar (*Revue des Études juives*, t. ix. p. 144) finds Ewald's explanation of *ḵaka* from רקע, 'shabby' (in German, *Lump*), preferable to the ריקן suggested by Professor Kautzsch (see also Nöldeke, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1884, p. 1023). We do not remember a single instance where shabby in an Oriental language would be employed as a reproach. We believe that ריקא after all is the best explanation, since this occurs in the Talmud as a reproach.

P. 57. From the form מראנא, 'our master,' occurring in the Nabataean inscriptions discovered by Mr. Doughty, M. Halévy conjectures (*Revue des Études juives*, t. ix. p. 9) that *Mapāv ádā* represents מראנא חא, 'our Lord, come.' Cf. *vaì ḗρχου*, Rev. xii. 20 (see also Nöldeke, *ibidem*).

Specimens to p. 70, note 6.

Jer. Talm., *Rosh hash-Shanah*, i. 3. R. Eleazar, arguing that God gives the first example of keeping the commandments, while a king of flesh and blood is arbitrary in this respect, uses the following Greek sentence: פרא בסיליוס או נומוס או נריפס, *Πρὸ βασιλέως ὁ νόμος ἀγραφός* (read אנרפוס). This was perhaps a current proverb.—Ibidem, *Shebuoth*, iii. 10, we read that R. Menahem stated in the name of Resh (R. Simeon ben) Laqish: if a man who sees rain coming down exclaims, קורי פלו בריכסן, *Κύριε, πολὺ ἔβρεξεν* (according to another reading אברוכסים), he is guilty of a vain oath.—Ibidem, *Yebamoth*, iv. 2, we read that R. Abahu (of Cæsarea) having been asked whence he knew that a child born at seven months could live, answered, 'I know it from your own language.' ויטא אכמא, אכמא (read אטא) ויטא *Zḡta éntá, ἥτα ὀκτώ*, *Zḡta* is connected fancifully with *זֶה*.—We read in the *Pesiqta Rabbathi*, xl, ויאמר יצחק אל, אברהם אביו הנה האש והעצים ואיה השה לעולה אמר לו אברהם אלהים יראה לו השה יזמן קרבנו ואם לא שם לעולה בני שם לעולה סי לעולה לשון יונת, 'Isaac said unto Abraham his father, My father . . . Behold the fire and the wood: but where is the lamb for a burnt offering? And Abraham said, God will provide himself a lamb (Gen. xxii. 7, 8). God will provide for himself the sacrifice; and if not, thou (שה) shalt be the burnt offering, my son.' שם is explained as the accusative pronoun *σέ* (see Ed. Friedmann, p. 170 b and Dr. Güdemann's *vocabulary* of the Greek and Latin words occurring in this *Pesiqta*, a. v. שם).—Bab. Talm., *Shabbath*, fol. 31 a, the word הן (Job xxviii. 28), 'behold,' is connected with the Greek *ἐν*, and translated 'the fear of the Lord is the *one* thing which God asks from man.' הן is understood in the same sense in other passages.

IV.

ON A NEW THEORY OF THE ORIGIN
AND COMPOSITION OF THE SYNOPTIC
GOSPELS PROPOSED BY G. WETZEL¹.

[A. EDERSHEIM.]

At the outset of this paper I would wish it clearly understood that my purpose is not to present an exhaustive review of the opinions entertained by scholars on the origin and composition of what are known as the Synoptic Gospels; still less, a criticism of their views. Least of all is it my object to state or defend the conclusions at which in the course of study I may have arrived. My task is much more simple and humble. On a question of such primary importance as this, every new contribution is of interest, and every proposed new solution of the difficulties claims the attention of the student. It is as promising, and in part giving, a new explanation of the origin of our Synoptic Gospels that I propose to lay before you the theory which Pastor Wetzel has advanced, with only such review of other theories as the subject demands—and, indeed, Wetzel has made²—and with only such criticism as may be suggested by a statement of the facts.

I need scarcely remind you that what may be called the criticism of the Gospels occupies a field both wider and narrower than that of the Gospel-narratives. The former deals with the origin, composition, and sources of the Gospels as a whole,—and with their narratives and other contents only in so far as they bear on the general question of their *origines*.

¹ *Die Synoptischen Evangelien*, etc., von G. Wetzel, Heilbronn, 1883.

² The Review by Dr. Wetzel is both comprehensive and able, and it has been followed in the present paper.

On the other hand, the criticism of the Gospel-narratives deals primarily with their contents: with the text itself, the genuineness or spuriousness of certain parts of it, and its meaning—and it enters on the question of authorship and composition only in so far as these bear on the understanding of the text itself. Naturally the two have an important bearing upon each other. Thus our understanding of the text of the fourth Gospel will be very different, if we regard it as Ephesian and of the second century, from what it would be if we treated it as the work of the Apostle John. Similarly our view of divergences or accordances in the Synoptic Gospels, or of the insertion in, or omission from, one or the other of them of certain narratives or traits—and with it our explanation of the text—will be greatly influenced according as we regard these Gospels as either redactions, *Bearbeitungen*, of one original Gospel ('Ur-Evangelium'), or else as supplementations—or it may be amplifications, or even rectifications—by the two other Evangelists of the first and oldest Gospel, which they had before them; or, finally, as all springing alike from a common tradition in the Church.

As regards the Synoptic Gospels, with which we are at present exclusively concerned, the very name indicates the character of the problem. Formerly, the expression Synopsis of the Gospels simply meant a bird's eye view of the Gospel-history, derived from what we now call a harmony of the Gospels. But in our modern *usus* the term Synoptic Gospels indicates the common, general character and contents of the first three Gospels as distinguished from the fourth. And this, as regards the subject-matter of these three narratives, and their general selection of, and mode of reporting, events and discourses—in short, their general character, style, and treatment of the Gospel-history. The designation, which seems to have been introduced by Griesbach, has, as Canon Westcott notes, been brought into general use by Neander. Thus the term Synoptic Gospels raises at once the twofold question: (1) Whence the striking agreement in these three Gospels—first, in the

selection of the matter ; secondly, in the succession of the narratives ; thirdly, in the mode of their presentation—and this not only as regards thoughts but even the wording ? (2), and equally strikingly, whence their remarkable divergences in these three respects ?

In other times, indeed, there was a short and easy way of dealing with such questions. You simply cut the knot by the sword of verbal inspiration, or dictation of the sacred text. The Evangelists had not derived their materials from one another, nor from a common original, nor from the *consensus* of tradition in the Apostolic circle, but alike the thoughts and the words had been dictated to them from above—and all that we had now to do was to ascertain how they were to be harmonised. But modern criticism can no longer be satisfied with such foreclosing, rather than answering, of the question. I am not now referring to negative, but to positive and believing criticism. While thankfully retaining (I speak, of course, on my own part) what we hold to be intrinsically true and scientifically capable of ample defence—our belief in the Divine inspiration of the Gospels, we think of their writers, not as impersonal machines, but as inspired men, who in the preparation of their narratives availed themselves of the usual sources of historical composition, and whose writings (as regards their human aspect) are subject to all the ordinary canons of historical criticism. And having arrived at this general conclusion, we can address ourselves fearlessly, although with even more than usual reserve and caution, to the study of the literary origin of the Gospels, well assured that the results of the fullest historical investigation will establish the truth of Holy Scripture, and that anything that may seem to the contrary must be due to hasty inferences, or to insufficient consideration of both sides of the question, or else to want of such information, as, if we possessed it, would remove our difficulties.

On what theory, then, of their composition are we to account for the threefold agreement and the threefold

differences between the Synoptic Gospels? Before stating the theory of Dr. Wetzel let me give a brief historical synopsis of the attempted explanations.

In general these may be arranged in three groups, to each of which, as well as to their subdivisions, the names of certain critics attach. I would call them: the mutual dependence-hypothesis; the original Gospel- or original documents-hypothesis; and the original tradition- or oral Gospel-hypothesis. Let us examine each in briefest manner.

Firstly, according to the mutual dependence-hypothesis, the affinity between the different Gospels is explained by their mutual use. Here the question would arise, What is to be regarded as the chronological order of the three Gospels? Six different answers have been proposed, according as you place one or the other Gospel first in the order of time. The various arrangements of the Gospels are as follows:

a. According to some, St. Matthew comes first; from him St. Mark; and from both St. Luke. So St. Augustine, Bengel, Credner, Hilgenfeld, Hengstenberg. And here this other question arises, whether it was the Hebrew or the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew (the latter: Hug)?

b. Others arrange the order thus: St. Matthew, St. Luke, St. Mark. So Griesbach, De Wette, Theile, Strauss, Gfrörer, Schwegler, Baur, Delitzsch, Bleek, Anger, Köstlin, and Keim.

c. Others begin with St. Mark. Thus: St. Mark, St. Matthew, St. Luke. So Storr, Thiersch, Reuss, Meyer, Tholuck, Tobler, Plitt, Weiss.

d. Or else: St. Mark, St. Luke, St. Matthew. So Herder, Lachmann, Br. Bauer, Hitzig, Holtzmann, Volkmar.

e. Lastly: Some place St. Luke first. Thus: St. Luke, St. Matthew, St. Mark. So Heubner, Rödiger, Schneckenburger.

f. Or else: St. Luke, St. Mark, St. Matthew. So Vogel.

I ought to add that at least one writer (Saunier) supposes the dependence to have been, not on a written copy of the Gospels, but on memory.

From this classification you will observe, first, that there are

few names in favour of the absolute priority of St. Luke, and among them only those of Schneckenburger and Rödiger which claim special attention. Secondly, that as between the priority of St. Matthew and St. Mark authorities are somewhat evenly divided, the balance being in favour of the priority of St. Matthew, although of late the weight of opinion has turned in favour of the priority of St. Mark; and that, in support of each view, you have distinguished names on the positive, as well as the negative side of criticism. Thirdly,—and I trust the inference will not be regarded as cynical,—that, since learned opinions are so evenly divided on the subject, there can scarcely be any decisive evidence as to the priority of either one or the other Gospel, or indeed in favour of this hypothesis generally, which the Germans call the *Benützungs-Hypothese*.

Secondly. According to the second hypothesis, which I have called the original Gospel- or original documents-hypothesis, the Synoptic Gospels all rest on one original Gospel, which, however, is no longer extant, and to which various additions were afterwards made. This theory was first broached by that original exegete, Eichhorn. Eichhorn supposed that the common sections in the three Gospels were taken from this *Ur-Evangelium*, the differences and specialities of each being accounted for by the later additions already mentioned. You will notice that this scarcely satisfactorily accounts for such questions as these, why two Evangelists record an event which is omitted by the third, or why one records what the other two omit. Again, as there are differences (though only in detail) even in those accounts which are common to all the three Gospels, it was further assumed that this original Gospel and the additions to it had been written in Hebrew, and then differently translated into Greek—the writers, or rather those who finally redacted our Synoptists, having in their version of the original Gospel and of its additions also made use of the existing translations.

Although I have to remind myself and you that the object

of this paper is not to make detailed criticism, I cannot help expressing the feeling that, like many other explanations—theological, exegetical, and philosophical—this does not so much spring out of the facts, as it is rather adapted to them. It seems not like the natural covering of a plant, but like a garment made to measure, fitted on and altered to suit the figure. For the sake of completeness let me add, that this *Ur-Evangelium*, or derivation-hypothesis, has been differently presented. Some critics maintain :

a. That the original Gospel was the Aramæan (or Hebrew) St. Matthew, which contained the sections common to all the Gospels (Heilmann), or else that the matrix of all was a translation of it into the Greek (Bolten).

Before proceeding, I should perhaps say that this second might be combined with the first hypothesis. For you may hold that the Evangelists were dependent on each other, and yet that their writings were derived from an original which was the basis of that one existing Gospel, on which the others were severally dependent. Thus, according to Baur, there was an original Matthew; from this, the canonical Matthew; from this again, the original Luke; from the two latter, Mark; and finally, the canonical Luke. This gives five documents. Weiss, on the other hand, has it, that from the Apostolic original Gospel (*Ur-Matthæus*) came Mark, and from both, Luke and the canonical Matthew (independently of each other)—our St. Matthew being not Apostolic at all. Ewald marks not less than nine formations, of which St. Luke is the last.

b. There are critics, such as Hilgenfeld and Schwegler, who hold by an original Gospel of the Hebrews.

c. Eichhorn, as we have seen, speaks of a Greek translation of it and of certain additions to it.

d. Lastly, in this direction, we have the view which assumes the existence of various sources—notes, records, etc.—which served as the original basis of the Gospels. So Schleiermacher.

Thirdly. We now turn to the third, commonly known as the tradition-hypothesis, or, as Canon Westcott has happily

designated it, that of the oral Gospel. It had best be presented in the form originally given it by Gieseler. That scholar reminds us that oral tradition, rather than written composition, was in accordance with the genius of the ancient Hebrews. Similarly, he suggests, the Evangelical history had for a time been orally transmitted, and by frequent repetition assumed a peculiar type, which was afterwards presented in the written Gospels. I have hitherto purposely omitted all reference to living English divines. But there need not be any reserve in stating that this is the view advocated by Canon Westcott, in his *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*. He speaks of an oral Gospel, which formed the basis and substance of Apostolic teaching, as traced in the Acts and Epistles, centring 'in the crowning facts of the Passion and Resurrection of the Lord, while the earlier ministry of Christ was regarded chiefly in relation to its final issue.' In these respects, he supposes, 'the Synoptic Gospels exactly represent the probable form of the first oral Gospels.' 'In their common features they seem to be that which the earliest history declares they are, the summary of Apostolic preaching, the historical groundwork of the Church.' Then, as regards the probable order of precedence of the forms of the narratives, he ranges them: as St. Mark, St. Luke, St. Matthew, although he adds that 'it is, of course, possible that an earlier form of the Apostolic tradition may have been committed to writing at a later period.'

It must be admitted that this theory is not only attractive, but that *prima facie* it contains evident elements of truth. The Gospel-history, specifically that of Christ, would naturally be the great centre of interest, alike to Christians and unbelievers (and hence the subject of preaching); and it would continue such, the more, that so few had personally known Christ, or followed Him for any length of time, and that even this small band was continually decreasing by death. All the more earnest would be the desire to possess an authentic record of the great facts of Christ's life and death. But it is another

question whether this desire would not have led to, and indicated the necessity, not of an oral, but of a written Gospel. Besides, to my mind, this theory, if standing alone, would leave a number of questions unanswered, some of them of deepest importance. Whence—if the oral Gospel be the sole basis—whole sections peculiar to only one Gospel, such as the Peræan section in St. Luke, or even the history of the forerunner of Christ, not to speak of much else, say, in the proœmium of the third Gospel? Besides, these sections, by their language and style, make, at least upon my mind, the impression of separate documents lying at the foundation of the narrative—some strongly Hebraic or local, such as the introductory portions of St. Luke. Similarly, the tradition-theory, if alone, does not account for the opposing phenomenon of the occurrence of not only similar but identical portions, not merely in the discourses (where perhaps it might have been preserved in tradition), but in the historical parts of the Gospels¹. To these must be added such considerations as that evidently Christ and His Apostles spoke in Aramæan. Whence then, on the tradition-hypothesis, the verbal agreements in the Greek? Again, on the tradition-hypothesis, whence such a phenomenon as that St. Mark alone has scarcely anything peculiar to himself and distinctive? Further, whence the accordance in the arrangement of the material in the three Gospels which is far greater than the differences? whence also this, that out of the many miracles and events in the life of Christ, the three Synoptists mostly choose the same for their narration? If it had been derived exclusively from an oral Gospel we would have expected here rather differences.

To this review of the various opinions held you will perhaps allow me to add a brief criticism. It appears to me, that

¹ Wilke here makes an apt distinction between what he calls that in the narratives which might depend on the memory of the writer (such as certain facts and speeches), and that which would depend on his reflection (*Gedächtnissmässig*; *Reflexionsmässig*). But there is literal agreement in the latter also between the three Evangelists.

neither of the three theories mentioned is sufficient, alone and by itself, to explain all the facts of the case. Besides the difficulties already stated, this has to be added about the tradition-hypothesis, that if, as we must believe, there were various sources or *media* of this tradition (not one, but several narrators) we should scarcely expect that the issue would be *one* oral Gospel. Rather would the tendency of such traditions be to diverge. On the other hand, besides the attractiveness of the tradition-hypothesis, this element of great importance attaches to it—to which even such negative critics as Wittichen have been obliged to give due weight—that accord in the different Gospels establishes and presupposes a consensus of earliest Apostolical tradition, with which historical criticism has to deal as a fact that cannot be overlooked nor set aside.

I must here venture to express the opinion that no theory of the origination of the Gospels can be satisfactory, unless it go hand in hand with (I had almost said, be preceded by) an inquiry not only into the general purpose of the Gospels as written documents, but into the specific object of each individual Gospel. I am aware that I am here treading, or at least approaching, dangerous ground. It may be that I am making concessions to the Tübingen school—to what is known as the *Tendenz-Kritik*, which traces in almost every narrative of the Gospels design and purposes: the manifestation of an internecine war within the Church, or else cunning attempts at conciliation. I can scarcely express in too strong language my dissent from this *Tendenz-Kritik*, alike on ethical, critical, and literary grounds. Yet there is this underlying truth in it, that alike the Gospel-narrative and its different narrations must in their varied selection have had some *raison d'être*. Such a *raison d'être* would, if ascertained, also give them, whether viewed in their combination or separately, a bond of unity. And it is in the recognition of this unity and rationalness that the charm of the theory of the Tübingen school lies, since it seeks to solve the problem by reducing the existing diversity to an underlying unity of purpose and plan.

Our reference to the *Tendenz-Kritik* leads us back to the book more immediately under review. Of late critical opinion has chiefly reverted to the theory of an original Gospel—not indeed one of our present canonical Gospels, but an *Ur-Evangelium* outside the canon. And here the difference between critics lies mainly in this, whether this *Ur-Evangelium* was an original Matthew or an original Mark. Brief remarks must be made on each of these two views.

First, the existence of an original Matthew is chiefly, though not exclusively, advocated by the school of tendency-criticism, that is, by those critics who discern in each Gospel a peculiar tendency, perhaps I should rather say, a party-aim and animus. Thus Schwegler puts it in this manner. Originally Christianity was what we term Ebionite. This Ebionite Christianity found expression in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which was a Jewish-Christian party-work. From this Gospel according to the Hebrews proceeded, by a modification of its Ebionism, the Gospel by St. Matthew. Again, in opposition to the Ebionite, there was the direction, known as Pauline Christianity, which found expression in the Gospel of Marcion¹, and this Paulinism, once more modified, appears in the Gospel according to St. Luke. And the antagonisms already modified in these two Gospels were finally smoothed into a harmony in the Gospel of St. Mark. Without attempting either detailed examination or criticism of this view, it may be said that it has been rendered quite untenable, when it was shown (by Volkmar) that the Gospel of Marcion was not an original Luke, but our canonical Luke in a form suited to the views of Marcion. As regards the Gospel according to the Hebrews, most critics also consider it a corrupted retranslation of St. Matthew into Hebrew.

Secondly, I have still briefly to notice the theory which speaks of an original Mark. It was propounded in 1838 by Weisse in his *Evangelische Geschichte*. He maintained

¹ See the analysis of it in Westcott, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, pp. 470-472.

that the first and third Gospels originated from the second, and from a collection of discourses, to which Papias is supposed to refer. This hypothesis was next developed by the supposition of an *Ur-Markus*. This chiefly by Wilke, and it is represented by Volkmar.

I am not by any means disposed cursorily to set aside this theory. Whatever may be thought of an *Ur-Markus*, it appears to me—alike from its conception, style, and language—that the Gospel by St. Mark is the oldest, as well as the simplest, and, if I may use the expression, the freshest of the three. But I must not here commit myself either to definite statements or strictures, nor even to such remarks as would require a much fuller treatment than I can attempt at present.

The theory in question was adopted and modified by Holtzmann in 1863, in his work *Die Synoptischen Evangelien*. He traces two sources in our Gospels. He considers that the principal of these was the *Ur-Markus*, which he designates *A*, and which he supposes to have related the deeds of Christ, the miracles, etc. The second he designates Λ' , and supposes to have been a collection of discourses by St. Matthew. Our canonical Mark omits a number of things from document *A*; the two other Gospels have used besides *A*, also Λ : St. Luke more than St. Matthew. The view of Holtzmann was substantially adopted by Weizsäcker—although he somewhat differently describes the two sources *A* and Λ . Another slight modification of this view was made by Weiffenbach in his work *Die Papias-Fragmente über Markus und Matthæus*, 1878. Suffice it to say, that he places before the *Ur-Markus* yet another, an *Ur-Ur-Markus*. This original Mark really contained the notes taken by Mark from the preaching of St. Peter—a kind of diary, without chronological order or arrangement. Next, these notes were arranged, and this is the *Ur-Markus*; or, as Weiffenbach calls it: 'the narrative Synoptic foundation-work' ('die erzählende Synoptische Grundschrift'). Thence the canonical Mark was derived, and from the *Ur-Markus*, along with the discourses of St. Matthew, the other two Gospels.

It is this Markus-Hypothesis which Dr. Weltzer subjects to a detailed examination in the work which I am introducing to your notice. He proceeds to do so (1) by a discussion of the import of the well-known testimony of Papias (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 39); (2) by a consideration of what in Germany are called the *Doubletten* in the Gospels, that is, such discourses and narratives as are supposed to appear in one and the same Gospel in a twofold recension. Holtzmann, however, holds that such certainly exist only in three, or at most four, instances, viz.: (a) St. Mark iv. 25; *Doubletten* of it: St. Matt. xiii. 12 = St. Luke viii. 18 = St. Matt. xxv. 29 = St. Luke xix. 26; (b) St. Mark viii. 34, 35; *Doubletten*: St. Matt. xvi. 24, 25 = St. Luke ix. 23, 24 = St. Matt. x. 38, 39 = St. Luke xiv. 27, 33; (c) St. Mark viii. 38; *Doubletten*: St. Matt. xvi. 27 = St. Luke ix. 26 = St. Matt. x. 32, 33 = St. Luke xii. 8, 9; (d) St. Mark xiii. 9-13; *Doubletten*: St. Matt. xxiv. 8-14 = St. Luke xxi. 12-19 = St. Matt. x. 17-22 = St. Luke xii. 11, 12. (3) Weltzer considers the theory in connexion with the different quotations from the Old Testament in the Gospels, in answer to the contention that these different modes and kinds of quotation point to the different sources of the Gospels. (4) He discusses at length the reasoning of Holtzmann as to the supposed linguistic peculiarities of the two fundamental documents, *A* and *Λ*, which are said to reappear in our canonical Gospels.

I must, in conclusion, refer to the last modification of the Matthew-hypothesis, as being connected with the name of B. Weiss¹, whose writings are so well known. Indeed, his commentaries are little else than an elaborate attempt to prove in detail his theory, that all the Gospels arose out of one 'Apostolic foundation-work' (*Grundschrift*) by St. Matthew—it need scarcely be said, not our canonical Matthew. This *Grundschrift* does not, however, represent a wholly free, original product by St. Matthew, but embodies that type of narration formed in the oldest circle of Apostles. This oldest document was not

¹ See the criticism by Beyschlag, in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1881, p. 571.

merely a collection of discourses, but an account of the most important teachings of Christ and of the most prominent events of His Life. With the help of this fundamental document St. Mark wrote his Gospel, availing himself also besides of communications by St. Peter. By combination of this original document with the canonical Mark the other two Gospels arose—St. Luke being wholly independent of St. Matthew.

The limits of this paper prevent further details. Nor indeed are they necessary, since what has to be said regarding the theory of Wetzel himself can be compressed into short space. Generally speaking, I can only so far agree with Wetzel as that our inquiry should start from what, as it seems to me, is the only stable historical notice we possess in regard to this question: the proœmium to St. Luke's Gospel. Wetzel holds the tradition-hypothesis, but in such modified form as, I think, will scarcely recommend itself to your minds. He sets out by stating that, in the primitive Church in Jerusalem, the Hellenists especially knew little of the life and work of Jesus, since they had lived in other countries, and had only become believers on their return to Palestine, or during a visit to it. It was primarily to these Hellenists that one Apostle, either exclusively or principally, gave instruction, in their own tongue, the Greek. This Apostle was Matthew. And this explains why the first Gospel was called after him. Besides, he was best suited for that work, since his former avocations must have rendered him familiar with the Greek. Those who attended his lectures either remained in Jerusalem, or returned to their homes in other lands. Their requirements explain the origin of the written Gospels. The hearers of St. Matthew first asked the Apostle frequently to repeat the principal portions of his lectures. And St. Matthew came to catechize his hearers on the main portions of his narration. A successive stream of hearers gave to these lectures a fixed type. And so St. Matthew came gradually to select, in these lectures, certain portions as the most important, since his hearers could not have retained all in their memories. This

selection, presentation, and arrangement of events soon acquired a stereotyped form. Strictly speaking, the Apostle had wished to present a chronological narrative, and in the main he had done so. But, as he could only give his hearers a selection from the material at his command, it was natural that the chronological arrangement should sometimes have been subordinated to that of subjects (*Sach-Ordnung*). Besides, his memory sometimes failed. Hence he had inserted discourses and events, not exactly in their proper succession, but with a view to the best arrangement of the subject, and not without frequent variations of order. What the Apostle taught, that his hearers learnt—sometimes by heart (as, for example, the LORD'S Prayer), at other times by taking notes of it. In this manner various Gospel-narratives came into circulation. Three out of their number (the 'many' to which St. Luke refers) deserved to be permanent. These are our Synoptic Gospels. Substantially they are the lectures of St. Matthew, but they also contain additions from other sources. Thus the history of the Infancy in the first and third Gospels—which is not related by St. Mark—was taken from other, and, as compared among themselves, diverging sources. Otherwise also St. Luke sometimes derived his narrative from other sources than the lectures which he had attended, preferring, for reasons not stated, those sources of information. Thus the lectures of St. Matthew, committed to memory, or notes taken by the hearers, together with subsidiary sources of information, constituted the materials of which our canonical Gospels are composed—and among them that of St. Mark is the simplest and oldest.

Such is the theory of Dr. Wetzel, which I have undertaken to lay before you as being the latest contribution on the subject. But, while fully acknowledging the care and learning of its author, it scarcely seems to require detailed criticism at our hands.

V.

A COMMENTARY
ON THE GOSPELS ATTRIBUTED TO
THEOPHILUS OF ANTIOCH.

[W. SANDAY.]

Zahn, Dr. Theodor, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons*. II. Theil: *Der Evangelien-commentar des Theophilus von Antiochien*, Erlangen, 1883. III. Theil, Beilage iii, *Nachträge zu Theophilus*, 1884. Harnack, Dr. Adolf, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*: I. Band, Heft iv, *Der angebliche Evangelien-commentar des Theophilus von Antiochien*.

THE paper¹ that follows is an attempt to present briefly, to English students of early Christian literature, some of the main points in a controversy which has recently arisen, and is still being prosecuted with great activity, between two of the most eminent of the scholars who are working at that field in Germany. The limits of space at my disposal will, I fear, make it difficult for me to do justice to the learning and closeness of reasoning which are displayed in equal measure on both sides. Dr. Zahn's argument especially is liable to suffer by compression. His own complaint² has truth in it, that the kind of points that he urges are not to be judged off hand on the strength of the superficial knowledge derived from compendiums of Church history or doctrine. Where the early growth and first germinal appearance of ideas are concerned, a bald abstract must needs dispense with those qualifications and gradations which make a proposition rea-

¹ It should perhaps be explained that this paper was read, at rather short notice, as the first of the series, when the scale and character of the *Essays* were still matter of experiment. It has been slightly altered, so as to include a reference to Dr. Zahn's second article, which has since appeared.

² *Forschungen*, iii. p. 231.

sonable and defensible that otherwise would not be so. I cannot conceal my belief that Dr. Zahn is fighting a losing cause. I think that he has been led away by something of the eagerness of discovery; and it is natural that he should hold tenaciously a position to which he has once been committed. But I believe, at the same time, that he had a case in the first instance that was quite worth stating. I do not doubt that his arguments are put forward in perfectly good faith; they are stated with much ability, and with a thoroughness and closeness that I am afraid is not common in English controversy. The one thing that is really to be regretted is that in its later phases so much heat should have been imported into a discussion that ought to proceed quite objectively. We are all liable to error; and so long as work is sound and honest it reflects no discredit that some one else should find out two or three new facts or hit upon a new train of argument that upsets our own conclusions. Both the disputants may be assured that in England, at least, our respect for them is too firmly established to need support — which indeed it does not receive — from personal recriminations.

Theophilus of Antioch is one of the precursors of that group of writers who, from Irenæus to Cyprian, not only break the obscurity which rests on the earliest history of the Christian Church, but, alike in the East and in the West, carry it to the front in literary eminence and distance all their heathen contemporaries. The contribution which Theophilus himself makes to this body of literature is not great. Eusebius¹, and after him Jerome², tell us that he wrote a book against Marcion and one against the heresy of Hermogenes, both of which are lost. A third treatise, in three books, addressed to Autolyceus has been preserved, and is that from which our knowledge of the writer is chiefly derived³. But besides these Jerome speaks of Commentaries

¹ *H. E.* iv. 20 f.

² *De Vir.* Ill. 25.

³ The doubts as to the identity of the author of these works, raised by Dod-

on the Song of Songs and on 'the Gospel,' which he regarded as inferior to the other works in elegance and diction.

Now a Commentary bearing the name of Theophilus of Antioch was published, in 1576, in vol. v. of the *Magna Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, by Margarin de la Bigne. The Commentary was in Latin, and therefore purported to be a translation. No account was given of the MS. from which the text was taken. And from that day to this, though diligent search has been made for it, the MS. has not been found. There is, however, no suspicion attaching to De la Bigne. He undoubtedly had before him a real text, which he has reproduced with a fair degree of accuracy.

A proof that the text had not been largely tampered with is seen in the treatment of the ancient headings of the four books into which the Commentary is divided. The heading of Book I is this: *S. P. nostri Theophili patriarchae Antiocheni commentariorum sive allegoriarum in sacra quatuor Evangelia*. But the heading of Book II passes from Theophilus of Antioch, whose date is 170-180 A. D., to his better-known namesake, the contemporary and bitter opponent of Chrysostom, who was bishop of Alexandria in 385-412: *S. P. nostri Theophili, archiepiscopi Alexandrini, allegoriarum in Evangelium secundum Marcum liber secundus*. And the like heading is kept, *mutatis mutandis*, for the next two books dealing with the two remaining Gospels. Zahn and Harnack agree in inferring from this that the *patriarchae Antiocheni* in the heading of the first book is a critical correction on the part of the editor, based upon his knowledge of the mention of certain Commentaries of Theophilus of Antioch by Jerome.

This brings us to the next step in the process by which the Commentary came to be attributed to Theophilus of Antioch. The direct evidence clearly counts for little or nothing. But it was upon the indirect evidence that Dr. Zahn took his stand.

well and revived by Erbes, seem to be sufficiently answered by Harnack (*Texte u. Untersuch.* i. p. 287 ff.).

Jerome not only mentions Commentaries by Theophilus of Antioch three times over, but on one occasion (*Ep. 121 ad Algasiam*) he quotes from the book at some length. His quotation is an exposition of the parable of the Unjust Steward, which he introduces thus: *Theophilus Antiochenae ecclesiae septimus post Petrum apostolum episcopus, qui quatuor Evangelistarum in unum opus dicta compingens, ingenii sui monumenta dimisit, haec super hac parabola in suis commentariis est locutus.* Now the passage which Jerome quotes reappears in the Commentary published by De la Bigne. This may be set down as the first fact of real significance.

Dr. Zahn took hold of a further point in the description just given of Theophilus' Commentary. Jerome speaks of its author as *quatuor Evangelistarum in unum opus dicta compingens*: and Dr. Zahn tries to show that this description corresponds to the phenomena of the printed Commentary, contending that what is implied is not so much that Theophilus first constructed a Harmony of the Gospels and then commented upon it, as that he took texts from each in somewhat irregular order. Here perhaps we may not be quite able to follow him.

But in another direction he seemed to be more successful. On the occasion to which I have referred Jerome quotes from the Commentary with distinct acknowledgment. But on examination it is found that there are a number of other passages in which the language of Jerome coincided with that of the Commentary, but without anything to show that he was quoting from a previous writer. Nor was Jerome the only writer who stood to the Commentary in this relation. Similar coincidences were found with a number of other writers, most plentifully with Arnobius junior, a Gallican presbyter or possibly bishop, about whom not very much is known, but who is set down as having lived at a date not earlier than 460 A.D.

In all these parallelisms there is no external mark of quotation, either in the printed Commentary or in the writer with whom the coincidence occurs, to show on which side the

priority lay. Neither the Commentator on the one hand, nor Jerome or Arnobius on the other, made any confession of borrowing. In other words, it seemed to be a case of what we should call simple plagiarism. And the question arose, Who was the plagiarist? Previously to Dr. Zahn the current opinion had been that the Commentator wrote in the sixth century, and borrowed freely from his predecessors. Dr. Zahn undertook to show that the reverse was really the case; and he tried, by an elaborate comparison of the passages, to prove that the priority was on the side of the Commentator. Arguments of this kind are always delicate and difficult to bring to a positive conclusion. There were, however, some points that struck me as being in Dr. Zahn's favour.

In the first place I was quite prepared to believe in any degree of what we should call 'plagiarism' on the part both of Jerome and the other ecclesiastical writers in question. There is abundant evidence that the state of opinion on such a point was very different in ancient times from what it is now. That a writer should borrow from his predecessors was the natural thing rather than otherwise. And it did not by any means always follow that the borrowing would be acknowledged.

I was therefore quite ready to admit that Jerome, Ambrose, Arnobius, and the rest, might have drawn upon some older Commentary without naming it. And, on the other hand, there seemed a certain *prima facie* probability that the work printed by De la Bigne was that Commentary. Here we had only two alternatives. Either it was the original work at the base of all these later writers, or else it was a wholesale compilation. But not a word was said, either by way of introduction or incidentally, admitting any kind or degree of compilation. If the Commentary was not an original work, as it seemed to profess to be, then it could only be set down as a very bare-faced production.

I was somewhat loth to adopt this conclusion. But, without following Dr. Zahn through all his proofs, some of

the instances quoted seemed to tell more or less distinctly against it. The coincidences were most abundant with Latin writers, Jerome, Ambrose, Hilary, Juvencus, not to speak of later writers, like Bede. But there were some coincidences also with the Greeks.

‘Why,’ the supposed Theophilus asks¹, ‘was not Christ conceived by a simple virgin, but by one already betrothed?’ And he gives four reasons. ‘First, in order that the descent of Mary might be exhibited by the genealogy of Joseph (*ut per generationem Joseph origo Mariæ monstraretur*); secondly, that she might not be stoned by the Jews as an adulteress; thirdly, that on her flight into Egypt she might have the solace of a husband; fourthly, that her birth-giving might escape the devil, by leading him to suppose that Jesus was born from a married woman and not from a virgin.’ This fourth reason is ascribed by Jerome to Ignatius. It is found in other writers. And Basil the Great expressly gives it as proceeding from one of the ‘ancients.’ Similarly Origen, in his *Homilies on St. Luke*, refers to one of the πρεσβύτεροι an interpretation of the parable of the Good Samaritan, which Dr. Zahn contends to be that of Theophilus. His words in the Latin version are, *aiebat quidam de presbyteris volens parabolam interpretari*. And the two interpretations, though not identical, seem to be sufficiently near: the priest and Levite are (practically) the Law and the Prophets; the Samaritan is Christ. But the passage which, I confess, carried most weight with me was one in which the Commentary presented an almost *verbatim* coincidence with a letter of Cyprian’s. The comment was on the words of institution in the Last Supper: *Hic est corpus meum. Corpus suum panem dicens, de multorum granorum adunatione congestum, populum hunc quem assumpsit indicat adunatum. Hic est calix sanguinis mei. Sanguinem suum vinum appellans, de botris atque acinis plurimis expressum et in unum coactum, item congregationem nostram significat commixtione adunatae mul-*

¹ On Matt. i. 18 (Zahn, *Forschungen*, ii. p. 32 ff.).

*titudinis copulatam*¹. With this is to be compared Cyprian, *Ep. 69 ad Magnum*, c. 5: *Nam quando Dominus corpus suum panem vocat de multorum granorum adunatione congestum, populum nostrum quem portabat indicat adunatum: et quando sanguinem suum vinum appellat de botruis atque acinis plurimis expressum atque in unum coactum, gregem item nostrum significat commixtione adunatae multitudinis copulatum.*

Here there could of course be no doubt that we have a direct transcription of one writer by the other. And in asking oneself which had the priority it seemed natural to bear in mind the character of the composition in each case. The passage in Cyprian occurs in the course of a letter, dealing not directly with any question of interpretation, but with the question whether baptism by the followers of Novatian ought or ought not to be repeated. But on the face of it it seemed more probable that, in an exposition of Scripture coming in thus incidentally, the writer of a letter should quote from a Commentary than that a commentator should set down, without any hint of quotation, an extract from a letter. It might also be thought that the expression *populum quem assumpsit* bore a greater appearance of originality than the less intelligible and indeed rather curious *quem portabat* of Cyprian.

But *prima facie* probabilities, as this discussion tends to show, will only carry us a short way. When we turn to the parallel to which Dr. Zahn, with his usual combination of candour and learning (for a little onesidedness in reasoning is quite compatible with complete straightforwardness in the presentation of facts), himself directs us, viz. *Cypr. Ep. 63 ad Caecilium*, c. 13, where not only is *portabat* repeated and enlarged upon, but almost identical phraseology is used in reference to the mixing of the chalice, *quando autem in calice vino aqua miscetur, Christo populus adunatur et credentium plebs ei in quem credidit adunatur et jungitur*; though the possibility of suggestion from without

¹ Zahn, *Forschungen*, ii. p. 62.

still remains, it becomes more natural to suppose that Cyprian is working out a thought of his own ; and all that we should have to assume would be a greater diligence on the part of the author of the Commentary in seeking matter for his compilation, and a little greater skill in adapting the matter so found to his purpose.

However, this is an after-thought. For the moment I contented myself with noting the coincidence, and I confess that it gave a certain bias to my judgment in favour of the Commentary. I was therefore all the more glad to find, on paying a farewell visit to the Bishop of Durham, that he too leant to a similar conclusion. That Dr. Zahn had proved his whole case that the Commentary was by Theophilus, he did not think, but he was prepared to regard it as probable that Jerome, Ambrose, Arnobius, and the rest, were quoting from the Commentary rather than the Commentary from them ; in other words, that it was an early and original work.

This was the kind of view that I was inclined to hold in Sept. 1883, and I proposed to myself to test it in three ways : (1) by a more careful examination of the coincidences with early writers, such as Cyprian and Origen ; (2) by trying to ascertain how far the Commentary possessed that character of unity which Dr. Zahn claimed for it, and which quite upon the surface, though with some exceptions, it seemed to possess ; and (3) by examining more in detail the characteristics of the Biblical text which the Commentary presented.

The materials for this last inquiry had been laboriously collected by Dr. Zahn ; and it might have had some interest, as tending to show to what stage in the history of the Latin text of the Gospels the Commentary, as it has come down to us, really belonged¹.

But whatever might have been the result of these inves-

¹ There are a few coincidences with *a* and *c*, both of which represent early types of text, but a reading like *primus* in Matt. xxi. 31 (Zahn, *Forschungen*, ii. p. 204) is most suspicious : the mass of Old Latin MSS. have *novissimus*, and *primus* is only found in *c*, *f*, and the printed Vulgate, which have all been corrected by comparison with the Greek.

tigations—and in the light of what we now know they could hardly have been very favourable—there would still have remained some serious difficulties in the way of accepting Dr. Zahn's hypothesis. He indeed grapples with them bravely and does his best to minimise their significance, but when all was said a stubborn residuum still remained.

The difficulties in question took the shape of apparent anachronisms. *Margarita pretiosa est trinitas sancta, quae dividi non potest, nam in unitate consistit.* . The genuine Theophilus *ad Autolycum* used the term *τριάς*, and for the stress upon the idea of unity Zahn seeks parallels not only in the Dionysii of Rome and Alexandria, but in Clement, Tertullian, and Athenagoras.

Per caecum naturaliter non videntem et illuminatum significat humanum genus originali peccato detentum . . . ut illuminationem nostram auctori imputemus potius quam naturae. Such expressions have a suspicious ring of Augustinianism about them, which Dr. Zahn tries to lessen by quoting *originis vitium* from Tertullian.

Lapides pro paganis ait propter cordis duritiam ; and celeriter ite ad gentes, hoc est paganos. Here *pagani* are said to stand for 'dwellers in the country,' 'rustic, uncultivated people.'

But strongest perhaps of all is the comment on Luke xvii. 34: *In lecto esse monachos significat qui amant quietem, alieni a tumultu generis humani et domino servientes, inter quos sunt boni et mali.*

It is no doubt interesting to know that in Ps. lxviii. 6 (A.V. 'God setteth the solitary in families') Symmachus translates the word for 'solitary' by *μοναχοί*, the LXX by *μονότροποι*, Aquila by *μονόζωνοι*, and to know further that Eusebius, in commenting upon the passage, speaks of these *μοναχοί* as forming a special *τάγμα* by the side of widows and orphans on the one hand, and prisoners on the other, while he finds a special application for each of the other renderings—because they are few they are *μονογενείς*; because their lives are uniform *μονότροποι*; because they are solitary *μονήρεις*; and

because they wear a peculiar kind of girdle *μονόζωνοι*. It is interesting too to have it pointed out that Aphraates, writing in A.D. 337, has a somewhat similar description, but with less emphasis on the important particular of 'solitariness.' Instances like these may tend to throw back the beginnings of Monasticism to an earlier date than that at which we have been accustomed to place them. Or it is possible that the word *μοναχοί* may be used in a wider sense than the technical one.

A single difficulty of this kind might perhaps be got over, if very strong reasons could be shown on the other side; but four such phrases as *trinitas quae dividi non potest, originale peccatum, pagani, monachi*, must be allowed to be exceedingly formidable. And there are yet others.

It was natural that Dr. Harnack, in his searching reply to his former colleague, should insist strongly upon these anachronisms. But they do not constitute the whole of his argument. He contests the ground all along the line, and it must be confessed with marked ability. Dr. Zahn would say that our ignorance as well as our knowledge makes for the negative conclusion—that we assume that ideas and designations do not exist at a time previous to that at which we are ourselves familiar with them. Something may be deducted on that score, but not so much as is required. There is always a great temptation to controversialists to lose sight of the proportion in things. And Dr. Zahn, it is to be feared, has succumbed to that temptation. Carried away by zeal for his subject—a most honest and singleminded zeal, to which his learning has supplied abundant fuel—he has pursued fine and subtle reasonings to such an extent that the plain and simple indications have dropped out of sight. But with the average reader it is just these plain and simple indications that tell most strongly. And in criticism, as in life, they are the safest guide to follow.

Upon the whole, then, it appeared that Dr. Harnack had distinctly the best of the argument. The probabilities on

his side were by far the more definite and tangible. But he was able in an appendix to throw a yet more decisive weight into the scale. Seldom, indeed, has a controversy culminated so rapidly, and seldom has a literary argument received such opportune and such striking confirmation. The preface to Zahn's volume is dated February 1883, and Harnack's reply was already written when on May 19th he received a communication from the director of the Royal Library at Brussels, which altered at a stroke the whole complexion of the problem. This was nothing less than the description of a MS. which proved to contain the very Commentary that was the subject of discussion. The MS. claimed to have been written at the instance of a certain Nomedius, who is known to have been Abbot of the Monastery of Soissons in the years 695-711; so that the MS. itself would belong to the extreme end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century. It was not, however, the MS. from which De la Bigne had taken his *editio princeps*. It contained just what that MS. apparently wanted—the preface, in which the nature and origin of the Commentary were explained. In an elaborate phraseology, borrowed largely from Virgil, the writer compares himself to a bee which collected its honey from flowers of every kind. 'So I,' he says, 'a servant of the Lord, at your instigation have composed a spiritual work culled from the commentators (*tractatoribus defloratis opusculum spiritale composui*), a work to bring forth an ecclesiastical swarm, avoiding, like Grynæan yews, the bitter speeches of the envious. There is in it too nectar of sweetest taste caused by breath divine¹. It seems impossible to put on this any other construction. The work is evidently composed in the most complete good faith. The compiler makes no secret of his method. If the writers of an older age are rifled of their sweets it is only that he may fill his cells with honey that he offers for the use of his contemporaries. He is careful to avoid the deadly heretical yew, but from the nectar

¹ *Texte*, etc., I. iv. 166 f.

that he has stored he hopes to feed and send forth a swarm of busy ecclesiastical bees.

An ounce of fact is worth a pound of theory; and this unlooked-for contribution of fact seemed as if it must put a stop to all further debate. One was tempted to go a little further down in the passage from the *Georgics* that the nameless editor who had given rise to so much speculation had in his mind, and see there a summary of this battle of the critics. *Hi motus animorum*—for there were even then some *motus animorum*!

‘*Hi motus animorum atque haec certamina tanta
Pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescunt.*’

But no! the thought would have been premature! The indefatigable Zahn has now brought out a third part of his series of *Forschungen*, dealing mainly with that very interesting subject of investigation—the fragmentary traces of the *Hypotyposes* of Clement of Alexandria; and in a long appendix he returns to the charge about Theophilus. It cannot be said that the *motus animorum* are assuaged; on the contrary, the heat of the combat has become such as to call forth a solemn protest from his opponent in the columns of the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, and the old position, not very greatly contracted, is still maintained with stubborn resolution. One concession is made independently of the Brussels MS. Ten passages are identified as borrowed from Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons (c. 434-450). These passages Dr. Zahn allows to have the priority as compared with the Commentary, from the main body of which he believes them to be separated by certain characteristic differences. Whereas the coincidences with Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine are often very free, those with Eucherius are close and exact. One of the passages is introduced by an *item aliter* (= ἄλλως, ἄλλου), which is common enough in *Catenae*, but is not found elsewhere in the Commentary. They occur in groups near each other. They deal with dogmatic questions such as were current in the time of Eucherius, and are not allegorising

Scholia like the rest of the Commentary. And, lastly, they stand alone, without any other attestation to make an earlier origin for them probable.

These sections then, and two others of less importance which he is not able exactly to identify, Dr. Zahn sets down to an interpolator some time between A. D. 450-700, leaving open the question how much further the added matter may extend. He then throws out the suggestion that the interpolator may be also the author of the preface in the Brussels MS. If so it would be an inaccurate and verbose but yet a recognisable (?) description of his procedure, and the bulk of the Commentary would still be vindicated for Theophilus.

Dr. Zahn reiterates, expands, and augments with fresh detail, a number of his previous arguments, thoroughly to test and examine all of which would require a diligence equal to his own. But meantime the old difficulties *pagani*, *monachi*, *peccatum originale*, stick in one's throat. And these, taken together with the admission as to Eucherius and the precarious nature of the distinction which it is sought to establish between the acknowledged interpolations and the rest of the Commentary, may be held to justify us in taking the Brussels preface literally as it stands, and adopting the compilation theory as at least the simplest and easiest hypothesis. I am not aware of any phenomena that stand seriously in the way of it.

VI.

THE TEXT OF THE CODEX ROSSANENSIS (Σ).

[W. SANDAY.]

Gebhardt, Oscar von, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*; I. Band, Heft iv, *Die Evangelien des Matthæus und des Marcus aus dem Codex Purpureus Rossanensis*, Leipzig, 1883.

SOME three (four) years ago there appeared a sumptuous volume¹, by the eminent critics O. von Gebhardt and A. Harnack, containing the description of an ancient MS. of the sixth century, hitherto unused in editions of the Greek New Testament, and lost to sight and knowledge in the Cathedral Library of the town of Rossano in Calabria, not very far from the site of ancient Sybaris. The description of which I speak was, however, especially tantalising to the textual critic, because it was confined to the external characteristics of the MS. and said very little about the text. It is true that externally the MS. presented features in their way of considerable interest. In the first place it was one—and if not quite the largest, probably on the whole the most important—of several extant specimens of the *Codd. Purpurei* of the Greek Bible. These MSS. had their vellum dyed purple, and the letters seem to have been written upon it with a chemical preparation of silver and gold². Jerome speaks scornfully of these purple codices as a kind of *éditions de luxe*, which he would leave for his opponents to prize for the magnificence of their outward appearance, while he himself

¹ *Evangeliorum Codex Purpureus Rossanensis*, Leipzig, 1880.

² Dr. Scrivener (*Introd.* p. 25, ed. 3) says 'stamped rather than written;' but see Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie*, p. 84 f.

was content with a poorer material, if only it offered (as his own translation did offer) a purer text (*Praef. in lib. Job, ad fin.*): a maxim which, by the way, might with advantage have been taken to heart by some modern editors of Biblical MSS. The practice must from this have attained considerable dimensions in the time of Jerome. Most of the extant examples date from the sixth century. After that date they become rare in the East, which observed a greater sobriety in such matters than the West. Three of the most important MSS. of the Old Latin, *b* (Cod. Veronensis), *e* (Cod. Palatinus), *f* (Cod. Brixianus), and the famous Cod. Argenteus of the Gothic version are written in this way. Under Charlemagne and his successors silver and gold were lavishly used, but the purple dye more sparingly: in the Cod. Aureus at Stockholm alternate leaves are purple.

More important still, from the same external point of view, is a collection of miniatures, at the beginning of the volume, representing scenes from the close of our Lord's earthly ministry, beginning with the raising of Lazarus and ending with the scene in which our Lord and His accusers both appear before Pilate. After the Agony in the Garden are interpolated, in the present order, the healing of the man born blind (St. John ix), and the Good Samaritan; so that it is clear in any case that the present order is not original. And it is highly probable that Gebhardt and Harnack are right in supposing that the miniatures still preserved are only the remains of a larger collection, the rest of which have been lost. The miniatures are said to present a close resemblance to some of the mosaics at Ravenna (p. xxvii). There is only one other Biblical MS., and that also a Codex Purpureus (of Genesis, at Vienna), which contains illustrations of the same date—the sixth century. And the scarcity of these forms of art at this period gives them an additional value.

This date, the sixth century, seems to be generally accepted, so far as the information at present accessible allows, by the scholars who have examined the subject. A more precise

definition may perhaps be possible, but will require a renewed examination of the MS. It is worth notice that the additional matter, the *Ep. ad Carpianum*, the κεφάλαια, etc., which the MS. contains, are written though in the same hand, in smaller characters, differing, as it would appear, somewhat considerably from the main body of the text. A similar phenomenon was observed by Tregelles in the Catena which accompanies the Codex Zacynthius (Ξ). It is found also in Cod. Guelpherbytanus I (P. Gospp.). And the beginnings of something of the same kind may be seen in the Cod. Alexandrinus, where the subscriptions to St. Matthew and St. Mark and the superscription of the latter Gospel are said to be different in style from the body of the text, though they also are probably by the same hand.

It was not, however, my intention to go particularly into these points of external description. I will only therefore summarise them briefly by saying that the MS. is written in uncial letters of silver (the three opening lines of each Gospel in gold) on a purple ground, the colour, especially on the smooth side of the leaf, being for the most part well preserved. It consists of 188 leaves of fine vellum, containing the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, damaged towards the end of the latter Gospel and ending at Mark xvi. 14 (it therefore possesses the disputed verses). The sheets are arranged in quinions (like B), with original signatures in silver uncials at the lower right hand corner¹. The present dimensions are 30.7 centim. (13½ in. Scrivener) high by 26 centim. (10¼ in.) broad. The writing is in two columns of 20 lines to a column and 9-12 letters to a line. The MS. has the Epistle of Eusebius to Carpianus, containing an account of the use of the canons which follow; a table of the Eusebian Canons; the so-called Ammonian sections, and the Eusebian Canons noted in the margin; a table of κεφάλαια or longer sections,

¹ There are two rather important misprints in Scrivener's account of the MS. (Introd. p. 158, ed. 3). It ends at Mark xvi. 14, not xiv. 14; and the gatherings are quinions, not quaternions.

and headings corresponding to the κεφάλαια at the top of the page. It is illuminated and mutilated ; its designation is Σ.

And now to come to the inside of the MS. and the character of its text, which is the subject more especially before me. Our curiosity in respect to this has been only recently satisfied. The editors hoped, when they brought out the first instalment of their description of the MS., to have an opportunity of inspecting it at leisure either in Rome or Naples. Failing this, they were prepared to return to Rossano. And Von Gebhardt set out thither in the spring of 1882, taking with him an artist to reproduce the miniatures and a photographer from Naples to reproduce both the miniatures and specimens of the writing. His disappointment may be imagined when, upon his arrival at Rossano, all access to the MS. was refused him on the pretext that the Chapter themselves were about to publish a complete edition of it. Considering that this learned body, of some forty-eight persons, did not even know in what language the MS. was written, the prospect of an edition brought out under their auspices is not very encouraging. And the world at large would doubtless have been better pleased to see it in the practised hands of the two German scholars. Perhaps the uncomfortable disclosure just mentioned may have had something to do with the refusal. At any rate, it is to be hoped that higher influences may intervene to prevent the work being carried out by altogether incompetent persons or deferred till the Greek Kalends. But in the meantime there was nothing for it but that Von Gebhardt and his cavalcade must return with their purpose unaccomplished. And, as a consequence, we have now to be content with the original collation made by Von Gebhardt and Harnack at their first visit, hurriedly indeed, but with as much care as time permitted. The text of the MS. is printed from the collation in the third issue of the *Texte und Untersuchungen*.

I have not had time to examine with any care more than the readings of the first ten chapters of St. Matthew, and

just those sections of the latter half of the Gospel which Σ (Rossanensis) has in common with its fellow purple MS. N (fragments at London, Rome, Vienna, and Patmos). But this examination, together with the classified collection of readings given by Von Gebhardt in his introduction to the text of the MS., will enable us to form a sufficient idea of its general character.

Turning, then, to the beginning of St. Matthew's Gospel, we observe at once that our MS. has the ordinary spelling of the proper names, Βοός, 'Ωβήδ, 'Ασά, 'Αμών, and not Βοές with \aleph B *k* (Bobiensis) and the Egyptian versions, 'Ιωβήδ with \aleph B C* Δ Egyptt. Aeth. Arm., or the very peculiar 'Ασάφ of \aleph B C (D in Luke iii.) Egyptt. etc., and 'Αμός of the same list of authorities somewhat strengthened. It has Σολομώντα (v. 6) with Δ and a few others, as against Σολομώννα, not only of the best, but of a majority of the MSS. After Δαυείδ δέ it inserts δ βασιλεύς with the mass of the MSS. and Textus Receptus, against \aleph B Γ , Egyptt. Cur. Pesh., *k* of the Old Latin, and others. In fact, so far as the genealogy is concerned, it presents a thoroughly commonplace text, relieved only by a single reading, which does not at all redound to its credit, the insertion of the name 'Ιωακίμ in v. 11, 'Ιωσίας δὲ ἐγγέννησεν [τὸν 'Ιωακίμ. 'Ιωακίμ δὲ ἐγγέννησεν] τὸν 'Ιεχούαν, which is obviously put in to make good an apparent defect in the genealogy; and besides that it does not tally with the express statement that the genealogy contained only fourteen generations between David and the Babylonian Captivity, is only supported by a quite weak body of authorities, M U and others, with the two later Syriac versions. In v. 18, however, Σ has γένεσις with the older MSS., against γέννησις of E K L and the later ones. But this is the solitary spark of originality throughout the chapter. In the insertion of γάρ after μνηστευθείσης, in the compounds παρα-δειγματίσαι and δι-εγερθείς, and in the insertion of τὸν [υἶόν] αὐτῆς τὸν πρωτότοκον it keeps in the most beaten of beaten tracks.

A similar character is observed throughout chap. ii. The order *Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεύς* in v. 3, *ἔστη* for *ἑστάθη* in v. 9, *ὑπὸ* for *διὰ Ἱερεμίου* in v. 17, the insertion of *θρήνος καὶ* before *κλαυθμός* in the quotation that follows, and the form *Ναζαρέθ* all duly appear. In one point *φαίνεται κατ' ὄναρ* in v. 19 Σ goes with *Ν B D Z* and the older versions against the later authorities, and in v. 22 it omits *ἐπὶ* (in the phrase *βασιλεύει ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας*) with *Ν B*, some cursives, and Eusebius.

In chap. iii, of the readings I have noted eight agree with the common text, while *ποταμῷ* is inserted after *Ἰορδάνῃ* (in v. 6) with *Ν B C* M Δ* in what the strong attestation proves to be a right reading, though otherwise it might be suspected, and in v. 8 *καρπὸν ἄξιον* is read instead of *καρπὸς ἀξίους* of the *Textus Receptus*, but only with the great majority both of MSS. and versions.

It will be observed in the last chapter that Σ stumbles just as a commonplace MS. may be expected to stumble. It completes what seem to be defective expressions, adding *αὐτοῦ* after *ἡ τροφή, τὸ βάπτισμα*. It fills in the missing proper name *ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης*, for the sake of clearness. It removes an asyndeton in v. 2, and substitutes *καὶ* for a rather tautological *δέ* in v. 16. The same sort of phenomena may be observed persistently. In chap. iv. there is an insertion of *ὁ Ἰησοῦς* just of this character, *ἵστησιν* and *λέγει* assimilated to surrounding presents in vv. 5, 9, and *ἐπὶ* [*παντὶ ῥήματι*] substituted for *ἐν* because of *ἐπ' ἄρτῳ* preceding. To the credit side may be placed the insertion of an article before *ἄνθρωπος* and omission of a superfluous subject in v. 18, but in each case with overwhelming authority. When Σ is right it takes care, as a rule, to have a substantial backing.

In the Sermon on the Mount it has increased opportunities of going wrong with the multitude, and it makes good use of them. Here are some of its more conspicuous blots. I can only regard in this light the insertion of the Doxology after the Lord's Prayer, against the general consent of all authorities older than the fourth century, with the exception of the Old

Syriac, the Thebaic or version of Upper Egypt and *k* of the Old Latin, the last two in variant forms. We must now add the *Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*, but also with a variation. Without wishing to underrate this last accession to the evidence, it cannot be held to counterbalance the great preponderance of ante-Nicene authority. The long insertion in v. 44 from the parallel passage in St. Luke naturally finds a place. Glosses like [πᾶν πονηρὸν] ῥῆμα and ἐλεημοσύνην for δικαιοσύνην in vi. 1 are adopted. Additions like ἐν τῷ φανερώ in vi. 4, 6 come in to heighten the antithesis; and the various corrections of style by which the later text is characterized are almost all represented. It is noticeable that one reading, ἀντιμετρηθήσεται for μετρηθήσεται in vii. 2, found in Σ, though it has gained a footing in the Textus Receptus, has only cursives and some Old Latin MSS. in its favour. Here, as in a number of other cases, Σ heads the list for the debased text.

Summing up the result for the three chapters Matt. v-vii, I find that there are thirty-six places in which Σ joins the Textus Receptus in what is probably a wrong reading. There are several instances in which Σ joins a long array of weightier authorities in deserting the Textus Receptus. In v. 39 it strikes out a bolder course, ὅστις σε ῥαπίζει (pres.) εἰς (for ἐπὶ) τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα. For the first two variations from the Textus Receptus Σ is allied with Ν B alone of uncials. For σιαγόνα, without σου, it has the solitary support of Ν (with cursives and some MSS. of the Old Latin). Again in the reading προσέχετε δέ in vi. 1, Σ joins a small group, Ν L Z 33, Memphitic version, which I see is followed (with δέ in single brackets) by Westcott and Hort. On the surface one might have been disposed to set it down as rather an Alexandrine correction of style by removing the asyndeton. In vii. 9, 10 ὃν ἐὰν αἰρήσῃ followed by καὶ ἐὰν αἰρήσῃ, Σ has just stopped short of adopting the whole of the amended text: αἰρήσῃ is a single relic of the original reading. In the narrative verses at the end of chap. vii. Σ has rightly the simple verb ἐτέλεσεν and οἱ γραμματεῖς αὐτῶν, but in both cases with a strong backing.

The audacity of v. 39 and vi. 1 has no other parallel in these chapters.

The remaining chapters, viii-x, offer merely a repetition of the same phenomena. Faults of the kind already noticed are plentiful, especially supplementary and explanatory insertions. Once or twice, as in viii. 32 ἡ ἀγέλη without τῶν χοίρων, and ix. 13 ἁμαρτωλούς without the addition of εἰς μετάνοιαν, the temptation has been resisted. But in these cases there is a strong supporting phalanx in the background. The same, or nearly the same, holds good of the two other most important right readings which Σ presents in these chapters, Γαδαρηνῶν in viii. 28, and ἐσκυλμένοι καὶ ἐριμμένοι in ix. 36.

It is hardly necessary to go into further detail. A precisely similar character pervades all the later sections that I have examined. And it is abundantly confirmed by the instances collected by Von Gebhardt. The latter gives several interesting lists. First, two, containing in all some 86 distinct readings, in which Σ is in error with little or no support. Then a list in which Σ joins what had hitherto been singular or subsingular readings of Ν 11 times in the two Gospels, of C 20 times, of D 16 times, of Δ 10 times, and of Φ, the hypothetical uncial which forms the common stock of the cursives 13, 69, 124, 346, 13 times. In this company the other cursives 1, 28, 33, 81, 157 are often included. Besides, 1 is in agreement twice, 33 and 157 each four times, either alone or with a few other subordinate authorities.

Next Von Gebhardt works out a problem which is of special interest. I have said that the MS. which presents the closest external resemblance to Σ is Ν, the other leading Codex Purpureus of the Greek Testament. It is therefore an obvious question to ask, How are they also related as regards their text? The answer is not uncertain. The two MSS. have the closest resemblance. Ν, it will be remembered, is a series of fragments amounting in all to about 334 verses in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark. In these there are as many as thirty-three hitherto singular

readings of N in which Σ joins. And there are thirty-four others in which N and Σ go together, not indeed alone, but with little further support. From these instances Von Gebhardt justly infers that the two MSS. are near descendants of the same common exemplar. In fact he thinks that both may have been copied from it directly.

Lastly, he gives a list of readings in which Σ joins with a comparatively small group of the oldest MSS. These are in all fifty-two for the whole two Gospels with 1749 verses, which certainly cannot be considered a large proportion. Perhaps the most interesting of these readings are: in St. Matthew viii. 28 Γαδαρηνῶν just mentioned, with B C* M and virtually N* Δ, the graphic ἐπέσπειρεν for ἔσπειρεν in the parable of the Wheat and the Tares with N^b B alone of uncials (well supported, however, by the Latin authorities and Fathers), Ἰωσήφ for Ἰωσῆς or Ἰωάννης as the name of our Lord's brother in xiii. 55, κακῶς ἔχει for κακῶς πάσχει with N B L Z in xvii. 15, οἰκετείας for θεραπείας with B I L and others in xxiv. 45. In St. Mark iv. 21, Σ also has that curious clerical error ὑπὸ for ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν with N B* Φ 33. In iv. 28 Dr. Hort contends for the peculiar reading πλήρης σῖτον (πλήρης being treated as indeclinable) on the strength of C* only with two lectionaries and partial support from B D and one cursive. Σ now presents the same reading as C*. With the exception of ταλιθὰ κοῦμ for κοῦμι and τὸ εἰ δύνη I hardly think that there is another reading of even secondary interest in St. Mark. In all such crucial texts as υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ i. 1, ἐν τοῖς προφήταις i. 2, αἰωνίου κρίσεως for αἰωνίου ἁμαρτήματος in iii. 29, εὐθὺς ἀκούσας for παρακούσας in v. 36, ἐποiei for ἡπόρει in vi. 20, καθαρίζον for καθαρίζων in vii. 19, καὶ νηστεία in ix. 29, even the interpolation πᾶσα θυσία ἀλλ' ἁλισθήσεται in ix. 49, and in the retention of the last twelve verses, Σ goes with the crowd.

Summarising then, we should imagine that the Codex Rossanensis was just such a MS. as would delight the heart of the Dean of Chichester. In very many places it supplies

the oldest extant uncial authority for the common reading. In the great majority of other cases it votes steadily on the same side. It shares to a very slight extent in the heresies of *Æ.B.* It is found in the long array with the great mass of later documents and Fathers. It is innocent of Origenian or Eusebian mutilation.

On all these points Σ lends its support decidedly to the defenders of the traditional text. And yet even they, we should think, must accept its alliance with some little misgiving. Of the eighty and odd manifestly wrong and scantily supported readings which it contains, many are obviously mere assimilations of the text of one Gospel to another, or due to other equally unmistakeable causes of corruption. And yet there is no difference in kind between these readings and those which form so large a part of the characteristic text of the great mass of MSS. And the suspicion must ultimately force itself upon the mind, whether, after all, this great numerical majority can be so pure as it is supposed to be, and whether, after all, the process of wholesale correction and emendation which is asserted of it has not some foundation.

As for the Codex Rossanensis it is a typical example of the representatives of this emended and corrected text. Its character is essentially eclectic. It borrows, now from one source and now from another, whatever tends to make the narrative more flowing and more complete. In his original account of the MS. Von Gebhardt laid some stress on the affinities of its text to that of the Old Latin version. To the best of my belief he does not repeat this remark in his later publication. It is true that the MS. has a little sporadic relation to the Old Latin, but hardly more than it has to other forms of ante-Nicene text. Its own fundamental text is a mosaic, like that of the many other MSS. that are allied with it. And the wonder chiefly is that a MS. of such early date should have so few readings that bear the stamp of originality.

VII.

THE CORBEY ST. JAMES (ff), AND ITS RELATION TO OTHER LATIN VERSIONS, AND TO THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF THE EPISTLE¹.

[J. WORDSWORTH.]

TEXT OF THE EPISTLE.

History of the MS. Martianay. P. Dubrowsky. Rediscovery. Belsheim. V. Jernstedt. Description, contents, date.

I. Relation to other Latin versions. Amount of agreement with Cod. Amiatinus. ff ante-hieronymian. How far did St. Jerome revise the Epistles? The Itala (and Vulgate) based on an independent version. The version quoted in the Speculum (m) also independent in its origin. Optatus' evidence ambiguous. Jerome probably used a fourth version. All are as old as the fourth century. Chromatius used our version, which is probably the oldest.

II. Our version made from a Greek text; but from a text differing in a striking manner from the current editions. Instances of the difference. Hypothesis of two Greek versions from an Aramaic original: (A) points in favour of this in the text; (B) parallel cases establishing the *a priori* probability of such an original: our Lord's usage, St. Paul, St. Matthew, St. Peter, (Epistle to the Hebrews,) Josephus; (C) character of the Greek too classical to have been written by either of the reputed authors. Summary.

¹ This Essay is based upon a review which appeared in the *Guardian*, Jan. 9th, 1884, and a paper read on Feb. 11th of the same year. But it has been entirely rewritten, and I hope much improved. The author has to thank his colleagues and Dr. Hort for some very kind help in rendering it less incomplete and inaccurate. The reader is also referred to Dr. Sanday's paper at the end of the volume for further considerations on the relation of the text to other Latin versions. Dr. Hort proposes to edit the Epistle critically and has made large preparations for the purpose. He is not inclined, I may remark, to accept my hypothesis as regards the Aramaic original.

EXPLICIT EPISTOLA BARNA

BE . . INCIP EPISTL IACOBI FELICITER . . .

I.¹ Iacobus dei et dñi ihu xp̃i seruus XII tribus quesunt
in dispersione salī . ²Omne gaudium existimate *fratres* mei
quando in uarias *temptationes* incurritis ³ scientes quod *probatio*
uestra operatur *sufferentiam* ⁴*sufferentia* autem opus consum
matum habeat ut sitis consummati & integri in nullo deficien
tes ⁵ & si cui *uestrum* deest sapientia petat a deo quia dat
omnibus
simpliciter & non inproperat & dabitur illi . ⁶p&at autem in fi
de nihil dubitans . Qui autem dubitat similis est fluctui
maris . qui a uento fertur & defertur ⁷ nec sper& se homo
ille quō accipi& aliquit adñō . ⁸ homo duplici corde incons
tans in omnibus uiis suis . ⁹glori&ur autem *frater* humilis in alti
tudine sua ¹⁰locuples autem in humilitate sua quō sicut flos
feni
transi& ¹¹ori&ur enim sol cum estu suo & siccatur fenum &
flos eius

I. ¹ *Ad initium lineae I-in mg., et sic* U[is] ii. 20, O[mnis] iii. 1, N[umquid]
iii. 12, et S[i] iv. 11.

Fol. 89 B. cadit & dignitas facie ipsius perit sic & locuples in actu suo
marcescit. ¹² Beatus uir quia sustinuerit temptationem
quō probatus factus accipi& coronam uite quam promitt& eis
qui eum diligunt. ¹³ Nemo qui temptatur dicat quō a deo
temp
tatur deus autem malorum temptator non est. temptat ipse ne
minem ¹⁴ unusquisque autem temptatur a sua concupiscentia
abducitur & eliditur. ¹⁵ Deinde concupiscentia concei
pit & parit peccatum. peccatum autem consummatum acquirit
mortem. ¹⁶ Nolite errare fratres mei dilecti ¹⁷ omnis datio
bona & omne donum perfectum desursum descendit a patre lu
minum aput quem non est permutatio uel modicum obumbra
tionis ¹⁸ uolens peperit nos uerbo ueritatis ut simus
primitie conditionum eius ¹⁹ scitote fratres mei dilecti. sit
autem
omnis homo uelox ad audiendum tardus autem ad loquen
dum. tardus autem ad iracundiam. ²⁰ iracundia enim uiri
iustitiam
dei non operatur. ²¹ Et ideo exponentes omnes sordes &
abundantiam malitie. per clemenciam excipite genitum
uerbum
qui potestis saluare animas uestras ²² estote autem factores uer
bi & non auditores tantum aliter consiliantes ²³ quia si quis au
ditor uerbi est & non factor hic est similis homini res
picienti faciem natali sui in speculo ²⁴ aspexit se & recessit

¹² quia m. p., quis corr. eadem manu. temptationem credo, a Merovingica; temptationem Belsheim; temptationem Iernstedt.

¹⁷ perfectum MS., sed pf in rasura.

²¹ clemenciā m. p., sed eadem corr. potestis MS. sine rasura. Belsheim credit -is erasum a m. p. sed deceptus est puncto, a calami lapsu, sub -i- littera (Iernstedt.).

et in continenti oblitus est qualis erat ²⁵ qui autem respexit **Fol. 21. 90.**
 in [l]egem consummatam libertatis & perseuerans non audi
 ens obliuionis factus sed factor operum hic beatus erit in
 operibus suis. ²⁶ si qu[is] autem putat se religiosum esse Non in
 frenans linguam suam sed fallens [co]r suum, huius uana est re
 ligio. ²⁷ Religio autem munda & immaculata apud dominum
 hæc est uisitare orfanos & uiduas in tribulatione eo
 rum seruare se sine macula a seculo. II. ¹ Fratres mei
 Nolite in acceptione personarum habere fidem dñi nostri ihu
 xp̄i honeris. ² si autem intrauerit in synagogam uestram
 homo. anulos aureos in digitos habens in ueste splen
 dida. intr& autem pauper in sordida ueste ³ respiciatis autem
 qui uestitus est ueste candida & dicatis tu hic sede bene
 & pauperi dicatis tu sta aut sede illo sub scamello meo
⁴ diiudicati estis inter uos facti estis iudices cogitationum
 malorum. ⁵ Audite fratres mei dilecti nonne deus elegit pau
 peres seculi locupletes in fide & heredes regni quod expro
 misit diligentibus eum. ⁶ Uos autem frustratis pauperem
 nonne diu[it]es potentantur in uobis & ipsi uos tradunt
 ad iuditia ⁷ nonne ipsi blasphemant in bono nomine
 quod uocitum est in uobis ⁸ Si tamen lege consummamini

²⁵ regem m. p., legem corr.

²⁶ quis corr. ex que, Iernstedt. Contra Belsheim. In cor, oo- est in rasura, ubi uidetur fuisse hu-. Nimirum omissurus erat cor suum scriba, sed cum scrip- sisset hu- animaduertit errorem (Iernstedt.).

II. ¹ acceptione m. p., acceptione corrector, fortasse non m. p., Iernstedt. Contra Belsheim.

⁶ diues m. p., diuites corrector (ut 26, et II. 1).

Fol. 90. B. regale secundum scripturam . Diliges proximum tuum tanquam
 te benefaci
 tis . ⁹ si autem personas accipitis peccatum operamini a lege
 traduc
 ti tamquam transgressores ¹⁰ qui enim tota lege seruauerit
 peccaue
 rit autem in uno factus est omnium reus . ¹¹ Nam qui dixit non
 moechaberis . dixit & no[n] occides . si autem non moecha
 beris
 occideris autem factus est transgressor legis . ¹² sic loquimini &
 sic facite quasi a lege liberalitatis iudicium sperantes . ¹³ iudi-
 tium
 autem non miserebitur ei qui non fecit misericordiam . super
 gloriatur autem misericordia iudicium . ¹⁴ Quid prodest fratres
 mei
 si quis dicat se fidem habere opera autem non habeat .
 numquit potest fides eum sola saluare ¹⁵ siue frater siue soror
 nudi sint & desit eis victus cottidianus . ¹⁶ dicat autem illis
 ex uestris aliquis uadite in pace . calidi estote & satulli
 non dederit autem illis alimentum corporis . quid & prodest
¹⁷ sic & fides si non habeat opera mortua est sola ¹⁸ sed dicet
 aliquis tu operam habes ego fidem habeo ostende mihi fidem
 sine operibus . & ego tibi de operibus fidem . ¹⁹ tu credis quia
 unus deus . bene facis . & demonia credunt & contremescunt
²⁰ Uis autem scire ó homo uacue quoniam fides sine operibus
 uacua
 est . ²¹ Abraham pater noster nonne ex operibus iusti
 ficatus est . offerens Isaac filium suum super aram . ²² uides
 quoniam fides

¹¹ moech-, o ex e facta. non secundum fuit noci, confusione orta ex uerbo sequenti. Post autem sec. punctum addidit corrector.

²⁰ U- extra lineam.

communicat cum operibus suis & ex operibus fides confirmatur ; Fol. 22. 91.

²³ & impleta est scriptura dicens . Credidit abraham domino &

esti

matum est ei ad iustitiam & amicus dei uocatus est . ²⁴ Uidetis

quoniam

ex operibus iustificatur homo & non ex fide tantum ²⁵ similiter

& raab fornicaria nonne ex operibus iustificatus est cum

suscepiss& exploratores ex . XII . tribus filiorum israhel & per

aliam uiam eos eieciss& . ²⁶ sicut autem corpus sine spiritu

mortuum est

sic fides sine opera mortua . est . III . ¹ Nolite multi magistri

esse

fratres mei scientes quoniam maius iudicium accipiemus .

² multa autem

erramus omnes . si quis in uerbo non erat hic erit consum

matus

uir . potens est se infrenare & totum corpus . ³ Si autem

equorum frenos in ora mittimus ut possint consentire

& totum corpus ipsorum conuertimus . ⁴ ecce & naues tam mag

ne sunt & a uentis tam ualidis feruntur . reguntur autem

paruulo gubernaculo & ubicumque diriguntur uolump

tate eorum qui eas gubernant ⁵ sic & lingua paruulum mem

brum

est & magna gloriantur . Ecce pusillum ignis in quam

magna silua incendium facit ⁶ & lingua ignis seculi iniquita

tis . lingua posita est in membris nostris que maculat totum

cor

pus & inflamat rotam natiuitatis & incenditur a gehenna

⁷ Omnis autem natura bestiarum siue uolatilium repentium &

natantium

²³ opera m. p., opera corr. = opere.

III. ⁴ uoluptate m. p., uoluntate corr.

⁷ O. extra lineam.

Fol. 91 B. domatur & domita est . nature autem humane ⁸linguam nemo
 hominum domare potest . inconstans malum plena ueneno
 morti
 fera ⁹ in ipsa benedicimus dominum & patrem & per ipsam
 maledicimus
 homines qui ad similitudinem dei facti sunt ¹⁰ ex ipso ore
 exit bene
 dictio & maledictio . Non decet fratres mei haec sic fieri
¹¹ num
 quit fons ex uno foramine bullit dulcem & salmacidum .
¹² Numquid potest fratres mei ficus oliuas facere . aut uitis ficus
 sic nec salmacidum dulcem facere aquam . ¹³ Quis sapiens et disci
 plinosus in uobis demonstrat de bona conuersatione ope
 ra sua in sapientie clementiam . ¹⁴ si autem zelum amarum
 habetis
 & contentionem in precordiis uestris quit alapamini men
 tientes contra ueritatem ¹⁵ non est sapientia que descendit
 desursum sed terrestris animalis demonetica . ¹⁶ ubi autem
 zelus & contentio inconstans ibi & omne prauum nego
 tium ¹⁷ dei autem sapientia primum sancta est . deinde pacifica
 & uerecun
 die consentiens plena misericordie & fructum bonorum
 sine diiudicatione inreprehensibilis sine hypocrisi ¹⁸ fructus
 autem iustitiæ in pace seminatur qui faciunt pacem . IV. ¹ Unde
 pugne et unde rixe in uobis nonne hinc ex uoluptatibus uestris
 que militant in membris uestris ² concupiscitis & non habebitis
 occiditis & zelatis & non potestis impetrare . rixatis

⁸ Post linguam punctum est, fortasse a scriba digito deletum.

¹² N- extra lineam.

¹⁷ fructum pro fructuum MS.

IV. ² rixatis + & pug- m. p., deinde erasum.

& pugnatis & non habetis propter quod non petitis ³ p&titis **Fol. 23. 92.**
 & non acci
 pitis propter hoc quod male petitis ut in libidines uestras ero .
 getis ⁴ for
 nicatores . nescitis quoniam amicitia secuī inimica dei est .
 Quicumque
 ergo uoluerit amicus seculi esse inimicus dei perseverat ⁵ aut
 putatis quoniam dicit scriptura ad inuidiam conualescit spi
 ritus qui
 habitat in uobis ⁶ maiorem autem dat gratiam . propter quod
 dicit . deus
 superbis resistit . humilis autem dat gratiam ⁷ subditi estote deo
 resistite autem zabolō . & fugi& a uobis ⁸ accedite ad dominum &
 & ipse ad uos accedit . Mundate manus peccatores & sancti
 ficate corda uestra duplices corde ⁹ lugete miseri & plorate
 risus uester in luctum convertatur & gaudium in tristitiam
¹⁰ humiliare uos ante dominum & exaltabit uos . ¹¹ Nolite
 retractare de alterutro frater . Qui retractat de fratre
 et iudicat fratrem suum retractat de lege & iudicat legem .
 Si autem iudicas legem : non es factor legis sed iudex ¹² unus
 est legum
 positor & iudex qui potest saluare & perdere . Tu autem quis es
 qui iudicas proximum . ¹³ Iam nunc qui dicunt hodie aut cras
 ibi
 mus in illam ciuitatem & faciemus ibi annum & negotiamur .
 & lucrum faciemus ¹⁴ qui ignoratis crastinum . ¹⁵ Quæ autem
 uita
 uestra momentum enim est . per modica uisibilis . Deinde &
 exter
 minata propter quod dicere uos oport& . si dominus uoluerit

¹¹ S- extra lineam.

Inter ¹¹ et ¹² lineola addita est a m. recenti inter iudex (index lapsu Belsh.)
 et unus.

¹² + = est.

¹⁵ uita in rasura.

Fol. 92. B. & uiuemus & faciemus hoc aut illud . ¹⁶ nunc autem gloriamini in superbia uestra omnis gloria talis mala est ¹⁷ scientibus autem bonum facere & non facientibus peccatum illis est V. ¹ iam nunc locupletēs plorate ululantes in miseriis uestris aduenientibus ² Diuitiē uestrā . putrierunt res uestrę . tiniauerunt ³ aurum uestrum . & argentum eruginauit & erugo ipsorum erit uobis in testimonium & manducabit carnes uestras tanquam ignis tesorizastis & in nouissimis diebus ⁴ & ecce mercedes operariorum qui arauerunt in agris uestris quod abnegastis clamabunt & uoces qui messi sunt ad aures domini sabaoth introierunt ⁵ fructi estis super terram & abusi estis cibastis cor da uestra in die occisionis ⁶ damnastis & occidistis iustum non resistit uobis ⁷ patientes ergo estote fratres usque ad aduentum domini ecce agricola expectat honoratum fructum terre patiens in ipso usquequo accipiat matutinum & serotinum fructum . ⁸ Et uos patientes estote confortate precordia uestra . quoniam aduentus domini adpropiauit . ⁹ Nolite ingemescere fratres in alterutrum ne in iudicium incidatis ecce iudex ante ianuam stat ¹⁰ accipite experimentum fratres de malis passionibus & de patientia . Prophetas qui locuti sunt in nomine domini . ¹¹ ecce beatos dicimus qui sustinuerunt . sufferentiam iob audistis & finem domini uidistis quoniam uisceraliter dominus misericors est ¹² ante omnia autem fratres mei

¹⁶ & faciemus MS. ; aut faciemus Belshaim.

V. ³ In man- pars n- abraea est.

⁸ In propiauit p- est in rasura.

nolite iurare neque per celum neq; per terram . nec alteru
trum Fol. 24. 93.

iuramentum sit autem aput uos est est non est non est .
ne in iudicium incidatis ¹³anxiat aliquis ex uobis or& . hilaris
est . psalmum dicat ¹⁴ & infirmis est aliquis in uobis uoc&
presbyteros & orent super ipsum ungentes oleo in nomine
domini

¹⁵ & oratio in fide saluabit laborantem & suscitauit illum dominus
& si peccata fecit remittuntur ei . ¹⁶ Confitemini alterutrum
peccata uestra & orate pro alterutro ut remittatur uobis .
Multum potest p&itio iusti frequens . ¹⁷ Helias homo erat
similis nobis & oratione orauit ut non pluer& & non plu
it in terra annis tribus & mensibus sex . ¹⁸ Sed iterum
orauit & celum dedit pluuium & terra germinauit fructum
suum . ¹⁹ Fratres mei si quis ex uobis errauerit a ueritate & ali
quis eum reuocauerit ²⁰ qui reuocauerit peccatorem de erro
ris uia saluat animam de morte sua & operi& multitu
dinem peccati . EXPLICIT EPISTOLA
IACOBI FILII ZAEBEDEI ∴ ∴ ∴

¹³ or & MS., sed m. recentior ligauit.

¹⁴ infirmis m. p., -mus corrector.

¹⁶ In potest petitio, -t p- sunt in rasura et inter eas duae tresue litterae erasae.
Conicio primitus fuisse potest est (Jernstedt.).

²⁰ peccatorem . . . animam MS.; peccatorum . . . annimam Belshheim.

THE manuscript which is the subject of this Essay is not a new discovery like the Codex Rossanensis, nor can it boast anything like so great antiquity. It was written probably not before the tenth century, and the text contained in it has been before the world nearly 200 years. It was in fact one of the first old Latin texts of the New Testament which was ever printed. Yet its peculiarities have I think been much overlooked and deserve attentive consideration¹.

In the year 1695, Dom Jean Martianay, of the congregation of St. Maur, best known as the principal editor of the Benedictine St. Jerome, published a small duodecimo volume of New Testament texts, which has now become extremely scarce². I have not been able to discover a single copy of this book in Oxford, and I believe that the little volume of notes, forming a sort of appendix to it, which I was fortunate enough to meet with in Paris, is scarcely less rare. Martianay's texts were the Corbey St. Matthew usually called ff, to which he added a marginal collation of the same Gospel from the St. Germain Bible (g₁), and the Corbey St. James (ff) which is our immediate subject. It will be unnecessary to occupy time with a discussion of the character and fate of the two MSS. of St. Matthew on which I have written at some length in the introduction to my edition of the latter, in the first number of our *Old-Latin Biblical Texts*³. With regard however to the parentage of two out of Martianay's three MSS, it is just worth while to mention that the most important portion of the great monastic Library of Corbey

¹ Drs. Westcott and Hort have no notes on select readings of St. James in either volume of their edition, except incidental references. Tischendorf however incorporates many readings of ff in his apparatus.

² *Vulgata antiqua Latina et Italica versio Evangelii secundum Matthaeum e vetustissimis eruta monumentis illustrata Prolegomenis ac notis nuncque primum edita* studio et labore D. J. Martianay, Pres. Bui. C. S. Mauri, Parisiis apud Antonium Lambin, 1695.

³ *The Gospel according to St. Matthew from the St. Germain MS. (g₁) now numbered Lat. 11553 in the National Library at Paris, &c.* Oxford, 1883. The Corbey MS. of St. Matthew is now at St. Petersburg, where it is numbered Ov. 3 (D. 326).

or Corbie on the Somme near Amiens (the parent house of Corbey or Corvey on the Weser) was transferred to St. Germain des Prés at Paris in or about the year 1638, and incorporated with that very valuable collection. It naturally shared the fortunes of the St. Germain Library in the troublous times of the French revolution, and was largely pillaged. The two Corbey MSS. edited by Martianay fell at this crisis into the hands of Peter Dubrowsky, secretary of the Russian Embassy at Paris, who transferred them, with the greater part of his other acquisitions, to the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg in or about 1805. But as no sufficient catalogue of this library is accessible, it was long unknown whether these two books still existed. The present home of our MS. was first mentioned (as Dr. Hort informs me) by Muralt in 1848¹. The information was repeated by Oehler in 1856, in his edition of Philastrius, and latterly by Gebhardt in his editions of Barnabas (1875-6) and by Mr. F. T. Bassett in his Commentary on this epistle. Mr. John Belsheim, a Norwegian scholar, who has done good service in the publication of such texts, was, however, unaware of its existence when he transcribed the Corbey St. Matthew in 1880. When he published his edition of the Gospel he therefore reprinted Martianay's text of St. James as an appendix. But soon after hearing that the MS. was still accessible he took another journey to St. Petersburg, and published the Epistle directly from the original in the course of last year (1883).

The book in question when it was in the Corbey and St. Germain libraries contained four treatises, viz. Philastrius on Heresies (folios 1-69), Pseudo-Tertullian on Jewish Meats (ff. 70-77), the unique Latin version of 'Barnabas' (ff. 77-89), and lastly our Epistle (ff. 90-93). At present, however, Philastrius is bound separately and the two volumes are now

¹ Ed. de Muralt, *Bulletin de la Classe Historico-philologique de l'Acad. des Sciences de Pétersbourg*, tom. v. no. 1, 1848. Oehler, *Corpus Haereseologicum*, vol. i. p. ix., 1856.

numbered Qv. I. 38, and Qv. I. 39. In the Corbey Library the MS. first bore the pressmark 635, and in Dom Poirier's catalogue (made about A.D. 1791) it was numbered 717.

The MS. thus consists of ninety-three leaves of parchment in quarto form, being about twenty-four centimeters high and nineteen broad. Each page of the Epistle, except the first and last, contains twenty-one lines. Mr. Belsheim has preserved the original pages and lines, but has not given what is in my opinion more important, namely, the original punctuation, and I have therefore reprinted the text exactly as it stands in the MS. This I am enabled to do by the kindness of Professor V. Jernstedt, of the University of St. Petersburg, who made a careful collation of it in October, 1884.

The date assigned by Dr. Alfred Holder is of the tenth century. Others had previously conjectured it to be of the eighth or ninth. I cannot myself form any opinion worth speaking of, and I have not as yet been able to obtain a photograph, but the great number of the contractions seems rather to suggest the later date.

The object of this paper is chiefly to determine the character of the text in its relation—firstly, to other Latin versions, and secondly, to the Greek of the Epistle. In treating the latter of these topics I shall advance an opinion with regard to the original language of the book.

I. Relation of the text to other Latin versions.

We first naturally ask what is the relation borne by it to St. Jerome's revision. In considering this question we have the advantage of Sabatier's collections of patristic quotations in his great work, *Biblicorum Latinorum Versiones Latinae antiquissimae*, in which he reprinted Martianay's text. I have also collated the Epistle with the Codex Amiatinus. This examination shows that there is no verse of it in which there is not some agreement with the Vulgate, and none in which there is not some difference from it. Occasionally the agreement extends to a whole clause or even to two clauses of from ten to fifteen

words in length—though there is only one instance of an agreement of as many as fifteen continuous words, and that at the commencement of the book¹. The agreements on the whole exceed the differences in amount; but the latter are almost always in the more striking and difficult parts of the sentence, while the agreements are in the simple and commonplace words and phrases. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that there is no single important noun or verb in which the Corbey MS. agrees with the Vulgate. There can therefore, I think, be no reasonable doubt that the text before us is wholly Old Latin or ante-Hieronymian, not *mixed* or constructed on a Vulgate basis. Whatever agreement there is will then be due to the use of our text by St. Jerome, or some of his predecessors, as material for a revision, not to mixture on the part of the scribe of our MS.

Before considering the relations of our text to other Latin versions in detail a few remarks of a general kind may not be out of place. St. Jerome's work on the New Testament was, it must always be remembered, wholly one of revision, not of translation, and he was by no means the first or the last reviser that the Latin Church has known. His method of procedure is only directly revealed to us by some words in his letter to Damasus prefixed to his edition of the Gospels (in A. D. 383). From them and from a comparison of various types of MSS. we infer that he chose the Latin text which had the greatest authority in Italy, and emended it where it was very incorrect with the aid of ancient Greek MSS. and probably of other Latin versions. The basis of St. Jerome's work is therefore provisionally called the *Itala*—to distinguish it from African and other Old-Latin texts—this being the name given by St. Augustine to the text which he commends in a single passage of his book on Christian doctrine (ii. 15). In the Gospels it is now generally looked for in the MSS. of Brescia

¹ 'Iacobus dei et domini [+ nostri] ihesu christi seruus xii tribus que [tribubus quae] sunt in dispersione salutem. Omne gaudium existimate fratres mei.' The words in square brackets are the readings of the Codex Amiatinus.

and Munich—*f* and *q*. In the other books we must, I suppose, regard it as chiefly represented by the writings of St. Augustine and the Freisingen and Gottweig fragments. Jerome's emendation of the Gospels was clearly hurried and perfunctory, and he shrank from giving offence by introducing changes which he knew would be popularly denounced as 'needless.' He left, however, a preface which expressly describes what he had done in that portion of the New Testament. As no such prefaces exist for the other books, it has been sometimes doubted whether he carried his revision any further. This doubt is, however, overborne by other evidence, and we are bound to believe, on his own authority, that he revised the whole New Testament, though he may have treated the other books even more superficially than the Gospels¹.

When we come to inquire concerning the special history of St. James in the Western Church we are at once confronted with the difficulty of its apparently late reception by Latin writers. It is never quoted by Tertullian or Cyprian, nor, I believe, by St. Ambrose². St. Hilary quotes it

¹ Vallarsi's collection of evidence on this point is the best with which I am acquainted: see his edition, vol. x. p. xix. foll. The passages bearing on it are Jerome's own *Catalogue of his Works* and the following four *Epistles*, 112 (to Augustine), 71 (to Lucinius), 106 (to Sunnia and Fretela), and 27 (to Marcella). It is remarkable that in the last letter Jerome refers to three passages which he had emended from the Greek, and that all of them are from St. Paul's Epistles, viz. Rom. xiii. 11, where he read 'serving the Lord,' 1 Tim. iii. 1, 'fidelis sermo' (for *humanus*), and ib. v. 19, 'Against an elder receive not an accusation except before two or three witnesses,' where Cyprian and Ambrosiaster omit the saving clause altogether. Jerome indeed writes here *ne receperis*, while my Vulgate MSS. have *noli recipere*, but he is probably quoting from memory.

² The two passages supposed by the Benedictine editors to be references to St. James in the genuine works of St. Ambrose (tom. i. pp. 1071 and 1312) are both probably to other passages of Scripture. The first is in *Psalms* cxviii, *sermo* 8, § 42, 'Vinculis enim peccatorum suorum unusquisque constringitur, sicut ipse legisti: ligat nos vinculis carnis illecebra,' and is supposed = James i. 14. But without a doubt the reference is to Prov. v. 22, see Sabatier on that place, where this and other old renderings of the verse are given. The second in *Lucam* ii. § 91, 'Purificate igitur vos, ut apostolus dicit; quia purificavit se ille pro nobis, qui purificatione non eguit' is much more likely to be a reference to 1 John iii. 3 and 5 than to James iv. 8. The supposed references in Novatian *de Trinitate* iv. and viii. are equally unsafe, and so are those in Anon. *ad*

apparently only once and that in refuting Arian arguments¹. Its patristic use did not become common till the next generation, that of St. Augustine and St. Jerome, who cite it frequently, the latter especially in controversy with Jovinian (A. D. 393) and the Pelagians (A. D. 416 ?)². It is a remarkable fact that St. Augustine's quotations (representing our supposed Itala) are nearer the Vulgate than St. Jerome's³.

Granting, then, that this Itala, when further revised, became the Hieronymian Vulgate, are we justified in supposing that it was based directly on our Corbey version? Certainly not. Our Corbey version may have been, and probably was, a subsidiary source of the Itala, but the latter must have been chiefly drawn from a wholly different translation. We are led to this conclusion not only by the differences between *ff* and the patristic quotations, but by the singular character of the book as it appears in the Vulgate. The current text of St. James has a colour of its own, which forbids us to regard it as a mere composite, smoothed down to the Hieronymian level. It differs in method of translation almost as much from other books of the New Testament as it does from our *ff*. This may be shown by the following table, based on a note of

Novatianum de Lapsis (Galland. iii. p. 374 D) and S. Zeno Veron. *de spe fide et caritate* (Gall. v. p. 111) and *Tractatus* i. 9. 2, *de avaritia* (ib. p. 122).

¹ Hil. *de Trin.* iv. 8, p. 830, 'quia et Iacobus apostolus dixerit apud quem non est demutatio' = i. 17.

² The Dean of Chichester, who has kindly sent me a long list of references from his great storehouse, adds that there are as many as 123 quotations from this Epistle in St. Jerome and 389 in St. Augustine.

³ The Epistle, though early known and received in the Eastern Church and by such Greek Western writers as Irenaeus, was apparently not received as Scripture by the Latin Church till comparatively late. When St. Jerome wrote his *de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis* (s. v. *Iacobus*) in 392, he implies that it had only recently acquired authority. 'Iacobus qui appellatur frater Domini, cognomento Iustus . . . unam tantum scripsit epistolam, quae de septem Catholicis est, quae et ipsa ab alio quodam sub nomine eius edita asseritur, licet paulatim tempore procedente obtinuerit auctoritatem.' Perhaps (as Dr. Hort has suggested to me) its association in this volume with three other uncanonical writings may imply that the archetype of our book was written before it became canonical in the West. It was, however, acknowledged by the Council of Carthage in 397, in the first Canon of Holy Scripture perhaps ever promulgated by such an assembly. See Westcott, *On the Canon of the New Testament*.

Dr. Westcott's in his book *On the Canon of the New Testament* (note p. 261 foll. ed. 1875):—

CHAP.	GREEK.	VULGATE ST. JAMES.	ELSEWHERE IN VULGATE.	CORBEY ST. JAMES.
I. 5.	ἀπλῶς	affluenter	(simplicitas)	simpliciter
I. 7.	οἰέσθω	aestimēt	(existimo)	speret
I. 16, 19; II. 5.	ἀγαπητοί	dilecti or dilectissimi	carissimi 20 times, but dilecti 1 Cor. xv. 58, and dilectis- simi Heb. vi. 9. Cf. Rom. i. 7; xvi. 9.	dilecti
II. 6.	ἡτμιάσατε	exhonorastis	(inhonorare or contumelia afficere)	frustrastis
I. 21; V. 15, 20.	σώζειν	saluare	(saluum facere, salvus esse or fleri)	saluare
II. 23.	ἐπιπληρώθη	suppleta est	(implere)	impleta est
III. 17.	ἀγνή	pudica	(castus and once sanctus, 1 John iii. 3)	sancta
I. 21.	ἀποθέμενοι	abicientes (ro Rom. xiii. 12.)	deponere six times)	exponentes
V. 11.	μακαρίζομεν	beatificamus	(beatam me dicent, Luke i. 48)	beatos dicimus
IV. 2.	πολεμεῖτε	belligeratis	(pugnare, Apoc. ii. 16; xii. 7, etc.)	pugnatis
V. 11.	οἰκτιρῶμεν	miserator	(misericordes, Luke vi. 36)	misericos.

The striking divergence, even in simple words, between the three Latin columns speaks for itself. We may therefore conclude with safety that the Corbey St. James is not only ante-Hieronymian, but that the Vulgate is founded (not on it, but) on an entirely different version which, for the sake of distinctness, I will call the Itala-Vulgate.

We have thus produced evidence for two early Latin versions of our Epistle. A third equally distinct is known to us by the quotations in the *Speculum* (m),—a late African text, though probably not St. Augustine's. As these are not accessible to everyone I print them from Mai (with Dr. Sanday's help), giving the Vulgate and Corbey parallels¹.

¹ Dr. Hort has recently made the important discovery that MS. Libri 16 of the Ashburnham collection (deposited for a few months in the British Museum) contains thirteen leaves of a better MS. of the *Speculum* than that used by Mai, and 'at least older than any which Wehrich knows of for his forthcoming edition for the Vienna Academy. Moreover, they (with two leaves now lost) make up the Fleury [Floriacensis] 10 and 12, occasionally cited by Sabatier. There can be no doubt about the identification, though Sabatier's inaccuracy is unpleasantly illustrated by it' (Letter from Cambridge, 4 Oct., 1884). M. Delisle has recently described this discovery in a paper headed *Le plus Ancien MS. du Miroir de St. Augustin*, Paris, 1884. The only passage from St. James contained in these leaves is iv. 11-13^a (c. 31 of the *Speculum*). Dr. Hort has noticed two variations from Mai in these verses, viz. 'uobis (for uos) detrahete,' and 'qui autem' (for enim). He adds: 'Mai's text, unchecked by other MSS., cannot safely be treated as more than an approximation' (Letter of 14 Oct., 1884).

SPECULUM (m).

I. 19. Sit uero omnis homo citatus audire, et tardus loqui, piger in iracundia.
20 Iracundia enim uiri iustitiam Dei non operatur.

26 Si quis putat superstitiosum se esse, non refrenans linguam suam, sed fallens cor suum (sic), huius uana religio est.

27 Sanctitas autem pura et incontaminata haec est apud Deum patrem, uisitare orfanos et uiduas in angustia ipsorum et immaculatum se seruare a mundo

II. 13 Iudicium enim sine misericordia his qui non fecit misericordiam; quoniam misericordia praefertur iudicio.

14 Quid prode est, fratres, si fidem quis dicat in semet ipso manere, opera autem non habeat? Numquid potest fide (sic) sola saluare eum?

15 Si frater aut soror nudi fuerint et defuerit eis cotidianus cibus; 16 dicat autem eis aliquis uestrum: Ite in pace, et calefacimini, et satiemini, et non det eis necessaria corporis, quid prode est haec dixisse ei?

17 Sic et fides quae non habet opera, mortua est circa se.

18 Sicut enim corpus sine spiritu mortuum est, sic et fides sine operibus mortua est.

III. 1 Nolite multiloqui esse, fratres mei; quia malus iudicium accipietis: 2 multa enim omnes delinquimus. Si quis in uerbo non delinquit (sic) hic perfectus uir est, potest frenare totum corpus et dirigere. 3 Quare ergo equis frena in ora mittuntur, nisi in eo ut suadeantur a nobis, et totum corpus circumducamus? 4 Ecce et naues quietae (i. e. quae tam) immensae sunt, sub uentis duris feruntur, et circumducuntur a paruissimo

VULGATA (COD. AM.).

19 Sit autem omnis homo uelox ad audiendum, tardus autem ad loquendum et tardus ad iram.

20 Ira enim uiri iustitiam Dei non operatur.

26 Si quis autem putat se religiosum esse, non refrenans linguam suam, sed seducens cor suum, huius uana est religio

27 Religio autem munda et immaculata apud deum et patrem haec est, uisitare pupillos et uiduas in tribulatione eorum, et immaculatum se custodire ab hoc saeculo.

13 Iudicium enim sine misericordia illi qui non fecerit misericordiam; super-exaltat autem misericordia iudicio.

14 Quid proderit, fratres mei, si fidem quis dicat se habere, opera autem non habeat? Numquid poterit fides saluare eum?

15 Si autem frater aut soror nudi sint et indigeant uictu cotidiano, 16 dicat autem aliquis de uobis illis: Ite in pace, calefacimini et saturamini, non dederitis autem eis quae necessaria sunt corporis quid proderit?

17 Sic et fides si non habeat opera mortua est in semetipsa.

18 Sicut enim corpus sine spiritu mortuum est, ita et fides sine operibus mortua est.

1 Nolite plures magistri fieri fratres mei, scientes quoniam malus iudicium sumitis. 2 In multis enim offendimus omnes. Si quis in uerbo non offendit, hic perfectus est uir* potest etiam circumducere freno totum corpus. 3 Si autem equis frenos in ora mittimus ad consentiendum nobis, et omne corpus illorum circumferimus. 4 Ecce et naues cum magnae sint, et a uentis ualidis minentur, circumferuntur a modico

CORBEY MS. (ff).

19 Sit autem omnis homo uelox ad audiendum, tardus autem ad loquendum, tardus autem ad iracundiam.

20 Iracundia enim uiri iustitiam Dei non operatur.

26 Si quis autem putat se religiosum esse non infrenans linguam suam, sed fallens cor suum, huius uana est religio

27 Religio autem munda et immaculata apud Dominum haec est, uisitare orfanos et uiduas in tribulatione eorum; seruare se sine macula a saeculo

13 Iudicium autem non miseribitur ei, qui non fecit misericordiam. Super-gloriatur autem misericordia iudicium.

14 Quid prodest, fratres mei, si quis dicat se fidem habere, opera autem non habeat? Numquid potest fides eum sola saluare?

15 Siue frater siue soror nudi sint et desit eis uictus cotidianus, 16 dicat autem illis ex uestris aliquis: Vadite in pace, calidi estote et satulli: non dederit autem illis alimentum corporis; quid et prodest?

17 Sic et fides si non habeat opera, mortua est sola.

18 Sicut autem corpus sine spiritu mortuum est, sic fides sine opera mortua est.

1 Nolite multi magistri esse fratres mei, scientes quoniam malus iudicium accipiemus. 2 Multa autem erramus omnes. Si quis in uerbo non errat: hic erit consummatus uir. Potens est se infrenare et totum corpus. 3 Si autem eorum frenos in ora mittimus ut possint consentire, et totum corpus ipsorum conuertimus. 4 Ecce et naues tam magne sunt, et a uentis tam ualidis feruntur, reguntur autem paruulo

* Hieron. *Contra Pel.* 17, Si quis in uerbo non peccauit, hic perfectus est uir.

SPECULUM (m).

gubernaculo, ubi impetus dirigentis uoluerit. ⁵ Sic et lingua pars membri est, sed est magniloqua. Et sicut paruus ignis magnam siluam incendit. ⁶ Ita et lingua ignis est: et mundus iniquitatis per linguam constat in membris nostris, quae maculat totum corpus, et inflammat rotam (rotam m. 1) geniturae et inflammatur a genitura. ⁷ Omnis enim natura bestiarum et auium et serpentium et beluarum marinarum domatur et subiecta est naturae humanae: ⁸ linguam autem hominum domare nemo potest, nec retinere a malo, quia plena est mortali ueneno.

¹³ Quis prudens et sciens uestrum? Monstret de bona conuersatione opera sua in mansuetudine et prudentia.

IV. ¹ Unde bella? unde rixae in uobis? nonne de uoluntatibus uestris quae militant in membris uestris, et sunt uobis suauissima?

⁷ Humiliate uos Deo, et resistite diabolo, et a uobis [fugiet?]. ⁸ Proximate Deo et proximaui uobis.

¹⁰ Humiliamini ante conspectum Domini et exaltabit uos.

¹¹ Fratres nolite uos [uobis Flor.] detrahere.

Qui enim [autem Flor.] uituperat fratrem suum et iudicat legem uituperat et iudicat. Si legem iudicas, iam non factor legis sed iudex es.

¹² Unus est enim legum dator et iudex, qui potest saluare et perdere. Tu autem quis es qui iudicas proximum?

V. ¹ Agite nunc diuites plangite uos ululantes super miseras uestras quae superueniunt.

VULGATE (COD. AM.).

gubernaculo ubi impetus dirigentis uoluerit: ⁵ Ita et lingua modicum quidem membrum est, et magna exaltat. Ecce quantus ignis quam magnam siluam incendit. ⁶ Et lingua ignis est: uniuersitas iniquitatis lingua constituitur in membris nostris, quae maculat totum corpus et inflammat rotam natiuitatis nostrae inflammata a gehenna. ⁷ Omnis enim natura bestiarum et uolucrum et serpentium ceterorumque * domantur et domata sunt a natura humana: ⁸ linguam autem nullus hominum domare potest. Inquietum malum, plena ueneno mortifero †.

¹³ Quis sapiens et disciplinatus inter uos? Ostendat ex bona conuersatione operationem suam in mansuetudinem sapientiae.

¹ Unde bella et lites inter uos? Nonne ex concupiscentiis uestris quae militant in membris uestris §?

⁷ Subditi igitur estote Deo, resistite autem diabolo, et fugiet a uobis. ⁸ Adpropinquate Deo et adpropinquauit uobis.

¹⁰ Humiliamini in conspectu Domini et exaltaui uos.

¹¹ Nolite detrahere alterutrum fratres mei.

Qui detrahit fratri aut qui iudicat fratrem suum detrahit legi et iudicat legem. Si autem iudicas legem, non es factor legis sed iudex.

¹² Unus est legislator et iudex, qui potest perdere et liberare. Tu autem quis es qui iudicas proximum?

¹ Agite nunc diuites plorate ululantes in miseriis quae adueniunt uobis.

CORBEY MS. (ff.).

gubernaculo et ubicumque diriguntur uoluntate eorum qui eas gubernant. ⁵ Sic et lingua paruulum membrum autem, et magna gloriantur. Ecce pusillum ignis, in quam magna silua incendium facit. ⁶ Et lingua ignis seculi iniquitatis. Lingua posita est in membris nostris, quae maculat totum corpus et inflammat rotam natiuitatis et incenditur a gehenna. ⁷ Omnis autem natura bestiarum siue uolatilium, repentium et natantium domatur et domata est. Nature autem humane ⁸ linguam nemo hominum domare potest. Inconstans malum, plena ueneno mortifera.

¹³ Quis sapiens et disciplinosus in uobis? demonstrat de bona conuersatione opera sua in sapientie clementiam.

¹ Unde pugne et unde rixe in uobis? Nonne hinc? ex uoluptatibus uestris quae militant in membris uestris?

⁷ Subditi estote Deo resistite autem zabolō, et fugiet a uobis. ⁸ Accedite ad Dominum et ipse ad uos accedit.

¹⁰ Humiliate uos ante Dominum et exaltabit uos.

¹¹ Nolite retractare de alterutro, frater.

Qui retractat de fratre et iudicat fratrem suum, retractat de lege et iudicat legem. Si autem iudicas legem, non es factor legis sed iudex.

¹² Unus est legum positor et iudex, qui potest saluare et perdere. Tu autem quis es qui iudicas proximum?

¹ Iam nunc locupletes plorate ululantes in miseriis uestris aduenientibus.

* No Vulgate MS. as yet collated reads *cetorum*, though one at Paris (Walker's κ) has *ceterum*. But St. Jerome probably wrote *cetorum*.

† Hieron. *Contra Pel.* 17, Linguam autem hominum nullus potest domare; inconstans malum, plena ueneni mortiferi.

§ Hieron. *Contra Pel.* 17, Unde bella et unde rixae inter uos? Nonne ex uoluptatibus quae militant in membris uestris?

SPECULUM (m).

² diuitiis uestris Putruerunt et tiniauerunt uestes uestrae. ³ Aurum et argentum uestrum quod reposuistis in nouissimis diebus aeruginauit et aerugo eorum in testimonium uobis erit et comedit carnes uestras sicut ignis.

⁵ Et uos deliciati estis super terram et luxoriati estis : creastis autem corda uestra in die occisionis.

VULGATE (COD. AM.).

² Diuitiae uestrae putrefactae sunt et uestimenta uestra a tineis comesta sunt. ³ Aurum et argentum uestrum eruginauit, et erugo eorum in testimonium uobis erit et manducabit carnes uestras sicut ignis.

⁵ Epulati estis super terram et in luxuriis enutristis corda uestra in diem occisionis.

CORBET MS. (ff.).

² Diuitiae uestrae putrierunt, res uestrae tiniauerunt, ³ aurum uestrum et argentum eruginauit et erugo ipsorum erit uobis in testimonium et manducabit carnes uestras tanquam ignis.

⁵ Fructi estis super terram et abusi estis. Cibastis corda uestra in die occisionis.

Coincidences between one or other of the three columns are not rare, but very rarely indeed do all three agree even in simple phrases or sentences. The amount and character of the agreement are such as to suggest that both the Speculum and the Corbey text were in the hands of St. Jerome or the editor of the text used by Augustine.

The substantial distinctness of all the three is, however, clearly proved by such triplicate renderings as : ii. 13, praeferitur, superexaltat, supergloriatur ; 15, et defuerit eis, et indigeant, et desit eis ; 16, calificimini et satiemini, calificimini et saturamini, calidi estote et satulli ; 17, mortua est circa se, m. e. in semetipsa, m. e. sola. iii. 1, multiloqui, plures magistri, multi magistri ; 2, delinquit, offendit, errat (*Jerome peccauit*) ; 3, circumducamus, circumferimus, conuertimus ; and many others, in all about thirty-five.

That there may have been even more versions than three in the Latin Church is not, I think, at all improbable ; in fact I believe it to be almost certain, and that without pressing ambiguous evidence, such as that of Optatus (*De Schism. Donat.* i. 5). Sabatier gives the words ' nolite per opinionem iudicare fratres uestros ' as a rendering of James iv. 11, but he does not notice that Optatus refers them to the Epistle of St. Peter. Needless to say no such words occur in either of St. Peter's Epistles, and they may be a bungling reminiscence of the passage of St. James confused with other passages such as Is. xi. 3 and Rom. xiv. 10 ; but they are not near enough to the words *μὴ καταλαίετε ἀλλήλων ἀδελφοί* to rank as a version of them, and must not therefore be pressed into our service on this occasion.

But apart from Optatus, St. Jerome's own quotations of the Epistle are, as I have already intimated, farther from the Vulgate than St. Augustine's, and I am inclined to think that they represent his use of a distinct version at one period of his life. Without going more deeply into this question at present, I would indicate Sabatier's collections as sufficient to make this point easily verifiable. The reader may compare i. 13 with *Adv. Iovin.* ii. 3; i. 16, 20=*ib.* i. 39; i. 22=*ib.* ii. 3; ii. 10, iii. 2, iii. 8, iv. 1, etc.=*Contra Pelag.* 17¹. This version we will call 'Hieronymian,' to distinguish it from the 'Itala-Vulgate' or 'Itala.' Our four versions will then be the Corbey, the Itala-Vulgate, the Speculum, and the Hieronymian, without counting that of Optatus, and possibly Hilary.

It is important to establish this multiplicity of versions, not only for the sake of showing the early diffusion of this particular book in the West, but also as a contribution to the question, which has been often mooted, whether the Old Latin texts of the New Testament are all to be traced to one original. The more the subject has been investigated the more clear does it become that the sources were many rather than one; though absolutely unmixed and original versions have very rarely come down to us. St. Jerome long ago asserted this in general terms in the well-known passage of his preface to the Gospels: 'Si enim Latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda respondeant quibus: tot enim sunt paene quot codices.' We must look to Dr. Sanday to go more thoroughly into the question of the number of what can be called separate translations.

¹ Some of these quotations have already been given as notes to the comparison of the Speculum. Unfortunately the longest do not coincide with the extracts of that compilation. Two others of some length may be given here:—i. 16 (*Adv. Iov.* i. 39), 'Omne datum bonum et omnis perfecta donatio desursum est descendens a patre luminum apud quem non est differentia aut auersionis obumbraculum. Volens genuit nos verbo ueritatis ut simus primitiæ creaturarum eius;' and i. 22 (*ib.* ii. 3), 'Estote factores uerbi et non auditores tantum. Si quis auditor est uerbi et non factor iste similis est uiro qui considerat uultum natiuitatis suae in speculo. Considerauit illud et statim recedens oblitus est qualis sit.'

Of the four versions which we have traced of St. James three of course have been already shown by implication to be at least as old as the fourth century, the Hieronymian, the Itala-Vulgate, and the Speculum.

The Corbey version comes to us in a late MS., but its antiquity might be inferred to be considerably earlier than the Council of Carthage (A. D. 397), from the fact of its association with uncanonical literature. This inference is fortunately substantiated by two quotations in the works of Chromatius, Bishop of Aquileia, the friend of Ruffinus and St. Jerome, and the supporter of St. Chrysostom. The reader will judge from the following parallel :—

Corbey St. James.

Chromatius, *Tract. in Ev.*
S. Matt.

i. 12. Beatus uir qui sustinuerit temptationem quoniam probatus factus accipiet coronam uite quam promittet eis qui eum diligunt.

xiv. 7. Beatus qui sustinuerit tentationem quoniam beatus (*lege* probatus) factus accipiet coronam uitae quam promittit Deus iis qui eum diligunt.

i. 15. Deinde concupiscentia concipit et parit peccatum. Peccatum autem consummatum adquirat mortem.

ix. 1. Concupiscentia parit peccatum. Peccati autem concupiscentia adquirat mortem.

The senseless repetition in i. 12 of 'beatus . . . beatus,' and in i. 15 of 'concupiscentia . . . concupiscentia' shows either that Chromatius is very badly edited or that he quoted from a very bad MS., but the substantial agreement of his citations with the Corbey version is apparent in the use of the unique phrase 'adquirat mortem,' the origin and meaning of which is extremely obscure. The Greek ἀποκτεῖ θάνατον throws little light upon it.

The conclusion, then, of this part of the subject is that the Corbey version is at least as old as the fourth century, and

that it is, in its origin, distinct from three others which were known in the Western Church at the same date¹. Its employment as subsidiary to the Itala probably implies a greater antiquity than that assignable to the rest.

II. We must now pass to the second part of our subject : *Relation of the Corbey version to the Greek text of the Epistle, and its bearing on the question of the language in which St. James originally wrote.*

That the version is made from a Greek text of some kind is clear ; that it is from a text in many respects differing from that received by any modern editor is also evident. The first proposition is proved, amongst other things, by the use of such quasi technical terms as *conditio* = κτῖσμα in i. 18 ; *tracti* = ἐλεγχόμενοι, ii. 9 ; *disciplinosus* = ἐπιστήμων, iii. 13, which we may say without offence belong to the 'jargon' of Latin interpreters from the Greek². Something of the same

¹ I have not entered into a discussion as to the Latin style of the version. There is a certain rude force and eloquence in it, not altogether marred by the numerous anacolutha. The vocabulary is rich in remarkable words, as becomes a translation from an Epistle which contains so many uncommon phrases (see note below, p. 149). It seems worth while to give a rather full list of the rarer words, including those which are found occasionally in other books. It may be possible to trace the local affinities of some of them—especially if some progress is made in the direction in which Sittl has recently attempted to move.

alapamini (κατακαυχᾶσθε)	inreprehensibilis (ἀδιάκριτος)
animalis (ψυχική)	legum positor (νομοθέτης)
anxiat (κακοπαθεῖ)	liberalitas (ἐλευθερία)
bullit (βρύει)	natantium (ἐναλίαν)
conditionum (κτισμάτων)	potentantur (καταδυναστεύουσιν)
datio (δosis)	retractare (καταλαλεῖν)
demonetica (δαμονιώδης)	salmacidum (πικρόν and ἀλυκόν)
disciplinosus (ἐπιστήμων)	satulli (estote) (χορτάζεσθε)
eliditur ? (δευαζόμενος)	scamello (ὑποπόδιον)
exploratores (κατασκοπούς)	tiniauerunt (σπτόβρωτα γέγονεν)
exponentes (ἀποθέμενοι)	tracti (ἐλεγχόμενοι)
exterminata (ἀφανιζομένη)	uisceraliter misericors (πολύσπλαγχνος καὶ οὐκίρμων)
fornicaria (πόρνη)	
fornicatores (μοιχοί ?)	
germinavit (ἐβλάστησεν)	zabolo (διαβόλος).

² *Disciplinosus* is a very rare word, but *disciplina* = ἐπιστήμη is common enough, though not always understood by those who read translations from the

bare equivalence is noticeable in *legum positor*=*νομοθέτης* in iv. 12, and '*faciemus ibi annum*' in iv. 13. Another proof is afforded by the ingenious conjecture, which has occurred independently to Mr. D. S. Margoliouth and Dr. Sanday, that '*momentum enim est per modica uisibilis*' in iv. 15 is due to a confusion in the translator's mind, or in his Greek MS., between *ἀρμός* (*ἀρμός*, editors), *vapor*, and *ἄρομος*, *momentum*. Similarly the dative '*naturae autem humanae*' in iii. 8 appears to me a mere mis-translation of the Greek dative.

The difference of the original text from our existing Greek MSS. must also be evident to every attentive reader, but a collection of the most important variations will bring it home to his imagination with greater distinctness.

In the following list I have not generally registered variations of tense, which are too common phenomena in the unrevised Latin versions to be of great importance for a rigorous criticism¹; nor have I set down a number of cases of the interchange of number in nouns, which seem usually due to mere carelessness. The Greek text is generally that of Tischendorf.

i. 3. probatio uestra opera- τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως
tur sufferentiam κατεργάζεται ὑπομονήν.

The omission of the words *τῆς πίστεως* agrees with B³ and Syr. philox., but they are found apparently in all other authorities (since probably here 81=B). The words may possibly be a gloss or expansion from 1 Pet. i. 7 rightly omitted by ff.

i. 14. abducitur et eliditur ἐξελκόμενος καὶ δελεαζόμενος.

The reader may conjecture *elicitur* or *eluditur*, but neither seems quite satisfactory. Possibly our Greek text had *ἐκκρούμενος* or *πακρούμενος* in the sense of 'deluded,' 'cheated.'

Greek, or *vice versa*. A good Græco-Latin glossary with reverse index, embracing Irenæus and the early versions of the Apostolic Fathers, and the Greek translations of Latin documents and laws in the Church Historians, as well as the Scriptural matter, is still a desideratum.

¹ In the first draft of this paper I was inclined to lay stress on these variations of tense as pointing to the influence of a Hebrew original; but a careful examination of them, which Dr. Driver has kindly made for me, proves that this method of explanation will not hold good as regards these tenses. Nor had I then observed how common such variations are in other Old-Latin texts. They seem to be due to defective knowledge of Greek grammar as much as to any other cause.

- i. 15. *adquirīt mortem* ἀποκνεῖ θάνατον.

This is at present unexplained. Dr. Hort suggests a western gloss ἐργάζεται; cf. Oecumenius here, and Rom. vii. 13, 2 Cor. vii. 10. Dr. Driver compares Job xv. 31 (LXX), where the similar Hebrew metaphor is obliterated.

- i. 17. *apud quem non est permutatio uel modicum obumbrationis* παρ' ᾧ οὐκ ἐνι παραλλαγή ἡ τροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα.

Here, as is well known, \aleph^* B have the apparent conflation τροπῆς ἀποσκίασματος, and c of Scrivener adds a gloss, apparently based on a misconception of Oecumenius, οὐδὲ μέχρι ὑπονοίας τινος ὑποβολὴ ἀποσκίασματος, meaning 'not even the least suspicion of an idea of shadow.' The Vulgate has *viciassitudinis obumbratio*, Jerome (*Iovin.* i. 39), *aversionis* (or *conversionis*) *obumbraculum*, and Augustine (passim) *momenti obumbratio*. It is clear to me that ff is a translation of *ροπή ἀποσκίασματος*, 'a moment of shadow,' and Augustine's of *ροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα*, 'shadow of a moment,' which is in fact the same thing, i.e. shadow lasting for a moment. This sense of *ροπή* is justified by the use in Wisdom xviii. 12 and δ' Ἑβραῖος in Job xx. 5 = Heb. 227. See Field ad loc. and I. p. lxxv. f. I am myself inclined to believe that either *ροπή ἀποσκίασματος* or *ροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα* is right, notwithstanding the wealth of astronomical learning which has been spent on illustrating *παραλλαγή* and *τροπή*.

- i. 18. *primitiae conditionum eius* ἀπαρχήν τινα τῶν αὐτοῦ κτισμάτων.

The word *τινα* is omitted also by 81 (cf. i. 3) and 95* as well as by Jerome, *Adv. Iovin.* i. 39, 'primitiae creaturarum eius.' I am inclined to think that the reading of ff is right, and that *τινα* is a softening of the phrase, perhaps merely for literary elegance, but more probably to avoid any idea of collision with the use of *ἀπαρχή* of Christ (1 Cor. xv. 20 and 23). Cp. the glosses in ff and the Sahidic in ii. 14.

- i. 22. *aliter consiliantes* παραλογιζόμενοι ἑαυτούς.

This is an unique variation. But it is to be noticed that St. Jerome, *Adv. Iovin.* ii. 3, omits the clause altogether, and possibly rightly. The sort of explanation of our reading that occurs to me is that the archetype had in the text something like *male suadentes vosmet ipsos*, with a gloss in the margin *aliter* (= otherwise read) *consiliantes*. *Consiliantes* was of course intended as a variant only on *suadentes*, but the scribe stupidly copied the two words as if they were a substitute for the whole clause. It is perhaps even more likely that the corruption arose in the Greek stage, since ἄλλως is used in Greek in such cases, and *uel*, more often than *aliter*, in Latin. It is less likely, though not impossible, that *aliter consiliantes* is a rough translation of *παραλογιζόμενοι*, set at first in the margin as a variant for *seducetes* or *fallentes*.

- ii. 4. *Diudicati estis inter uos* Οὐ διεκρίθητε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς;

Here ff agrees with B* alone in omitting the οὐ. Cp. v. 20 for another case. Similarly, in verse 26, the only Greek MS. which omits γάρ is B with Syr. Arm.

Aeth.; while ff and Origen represent δέ. Westcott and Hort not unnaturally read ὥστερ τὸ σῶμα κ.τ.λ. without a particle.

ii. 7. nonne ipsi blasphemant in bono nomine, etc. οὐκ αὐτοὶ βλασφημοῦσι τὸ καλὸν ὄνομα, κ.τ.λ.

This will be discussed below. Cf. v. 10, 15.

ii. 14. numquid potest fides eum sola saluare μὴ δύναται ἡ πίστις σῶσαι αὐτόν;

The addition of *sola* is evidently a gloss from verse 17, in order to soften what seemed a hard expression. It is found only in the Speculum besides, but the Sahidic version adds in a similar spirit 'save him *without works*.'

ii. 25. *exploratores ex XII tribus filiorum Israel* τοὺς ἀγγέλους.

Exploratores is evidently a translation of τοὺς κατασκόπους, which is found in some Greek MSS. including CK^m L Syr^{sch} p^{mar} (exploratores Iosue) and Arm. Arab^o Aeth. The exact form of the gloss seems to occur nowhere else. See below.

iii. 4. The version is very free, but the sense is the same as the Greek.

iii. 6. et lingua ignis seculi iniquitatis καὶ [om. Tisch. with N*] ἡ γλῶσσα πῦρ ὃ κόσμος τῆς ἀδικίας.

This verse will be discussed below. There is no reason to change *seculi* to *seculum* as Martianay suggests.

iii. 14. *quid alapamini* . . . ? μὴ κατακαυχᾶσθε.

Alapamini is merely a rare word. See the gloss in Ducange, *alapator*, *καυχῆτης*. But *quid* seems really a variant and an unique one. See on ii. 4.

iii. 16. *inconstans ibi et omne prauum negotium* ἐκεῖ ἀκαταστασία, κ.τ.λ.

See below.

iii. 17. *sine diiudicatione inreprehensibilis* ἀδιάκριτος.

This is merely a conflation either from the use of two Latin texts or the introduction of a marginal gloss. See on i. 22.

iv. 4. *Fornicatores nescitis*, μοιχαλίδες κ.τ.λ. N* A B 13 etc. Tisch., and μοιχοὶ καὶ μοιχαλίδες N^o K L P and most others.

Fornicatores appears to be an African word. The Vulgate has here *adulteri*: both point to a reading μοιχοί, with possibly a variant πόρνοι, which is not, how-

ever, found at present alone in any Greek MS. The common reading *μοιχοι και μοιχαλιδες* is, however, seemingly a conflation of the two words which were read separately in older MSS. *Μοιχαλιδες* being at first sight the harder reading is probably correct. I do not, however, think it refers to spiritual unfaithfulness, as some do, or that it is a feminine for masculine, like the (supposed) *ποταγωγιδες*, instanced by Tischendorf ad loc. The Apostle seems rather to address verse 2, referring to acts of violence, to men who do not pray at all, but are zealots (assassins) and murderers : while women pray, but ask amiss, uniting seeming devotion with incontinence and worldly ambition in a way not wholly unknown to any age. It makes little difference whether we subjoin *μοιχαλιδες* (with Tischendorf) to verse 3, or (as usual) prefix it to verse 4.

iv. 5. aut putatis quoniam ἡ δοκεῖτε ὅτι κενῶς ἡ γραφή
dicit Scriptura : Ad invidiam λέγει πρὸς φθόνον ἐπιποθεῖ τὸ
conualescit Spiritus qui hab- πνεῦμα δὲ κατ' ὥκεισεν ἐν ἡμῖν ;
itat in uobis ?

The variants of ff are (1) omission of *κενῶς*, else unexampled ; but cf. the varying order of the Armenian, teste Griesbach, ἡ κενῶς δοκεῖτε ; (2) *conualescit*, which is almost inexplicable ; (3) *habitat* = the common Greek reading *κατ' ὥκεισεν*, and so the Latin Vulgate and the versions ; (4) *in uobis*, also in the Vulgate = *ὑμῖν*, which is apparently not now found in Greek MSS. The varying place of *κενῶς* in the Armenian makes it not impossible that the word is a gloss : at any rate, it is evidence, taken with the reading of ff, that some Greek MSS. omitted it. (On the Latin affinities of the Armenian, see Westcott and Hort, *G.T.* vol. 2, p. 158.) *Conualescit* would naturally be the translation of *ἐνδυναμούται* (as in Acts ix. 22 ; Heb. xi. 34) or *κραταιοῦνται*, not of *ἐπιποθεῖ*. The whole passage is one of extreme difficulty, but the Corbey text, whether right or wrong, gives an intelligible view of it, which is at any rate worth considering. It may be paraphrased, 'Do not love the world and strive to get the better of your neighbours. It cannot be of our Christian spirit, of the Spirit of God dwelling in us, that the Scripture speaks as growing strong in envy of its neighbours. It is of the wicked that we read (Prov. xxi. 10) "The soul of the wicked desireth evil : his neighbour findeth no favour in his eyes." But the Christian spirit giveth its possessors greater grace than this. Wherefore he saith, "God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble" (= Prov. iii. 34, Surely he scorneth the scornors : but he giveth grace unto the lowly).' There is perhaps also a tacit reference to Prov. xx. 27. 'The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord, searching all the inward parts of the belly.'

iv. 11. nolite retractare de μὴ καταλαλεῖτε ἀλλήλων ἀδελ-
alterutro *frater* φιλ.

This seems more than a simple case of interchange of number : cf. v. 9, 'nolite ingemescere *fratres* in alterutrum.' See below.

iv. 14. *momentum* enim est ἀτμὶς γάρ ἐστε.

The translator, as we have said, probably had *ἀτμός* in his copy, and confused it with *ἀτμος*. Dr. Hort suggests, however, *flamentum* corrupted to *momentum*. Many MSS. have *ἐστιν*, and it is the reading of the Vulgate.

v. 2. *res uestrae tiniauerunt* τὰ ἱμάτια ὑμῶν σητόβρωτα γέγονεν.

See below. The Greek of ff may have been *χρήματα* or *σκεύη* instead of *ἱμάτια*. Dr. Hort suggests a possible loss of *ues-* before *res uestrae*.

v. 4. *qui arauerunt* τῶν ἀμησάντων.

The contrast between ploughmen and reapers makes the picture more complete, and is one we should have expected in such an Epistle: but no extant Greek MS. or other authority has *ploughed*. Cf. however 1 Sam. viii. 12 (LXX) for the converse change.

v. 10. *accipite experimentum, fratres, de malis passionibus et de patientia prophetas* ὑπόδειγμα λάβετε, ἀδελφοὶ τῆς κακοπαθείας καὶ τῆς μακροθυμίας τοὺς προφήτας.

v. 15. *oratio in fide* ἡ εὐχὴ τῆς πίστεως.

These two cases stand together, and may be compared with ii. 7.

v. 16. *oratio iusti frequens* δέησις δικαίου ἐνεργουμένη.

The Vulgate *assidua* has much the same sense. The Greek may have been *ἐκτενής* or *ἐνδελεχής*.

v. 20. *Qui renocauerit, etc.* γινωσκέτω ὅτι ὁ ἐπιστρέψας, κ.τ.λ.

Greek MSS. vary between *γινωσκέτω ὅτι* and *γινώσκετε ὅτι*. The words are omitted by the Sahidic as well as ff, and probably by Ambrosiaster and Cassiodorus.

de morte sua ἐκ θανάτου.

Here again B alone of the Greek MSS. agrees with ff in adding *αὐτοῦ*, as does Aeth. Cp. on ii. 4.

Lastly, the subscription runs, *Explicit Epistola Iacobi filii Zebedei*. We shall return to this presently.

In the above collection of passages we have some which clearly point to a Greek text differing from that current in any known MS. It must have had for instance the following readings, if our arguments are sound, *ῥοπή ἀποσκιδσματος* in i. 17, *καθ' ἐαυτὴν σῶσαι αὐτόν* in ii. 14, *ἡ γλῶσσα πῦρ τοῦ κόσμου τῆς ἀδικίας* in iii. 6, *μοιχοὶ* or *πόρνοι* in iv. 4, *τὰ χρήματα* or *σκεύη ὑμῶν σητόβρωτα γέγονεν* in v. 2—and others of which the original form is less certain, though the fact of its variation is indisputable.

Can any explanation be offered of these differences? I know

of none which covers *all* the facts; but I think that the hypothesis of a Hebrew or Aramaic original (probably the latter) from which were formed two independent or quasi-independent Greek versions, does explain some of the phenomena, and is in itself extremely probable. Our current Greek text and the Greek archetype of ff will thus have stood to one another and to the Aramaic in much the same relative position as two of the Latin versions do to each other and to the original Greek. They will also have suffered just the same chance of mixture and assimilation, so that we are not surprised to find ff sometimes standing quite alone, sometimes agreeing with a single Greek copy or with a larger group of authorities, but almost always having a reading which sets us thinking as to wider probabilities.

The arguments in favour of this hypothesis may be considered under three heads: (A) passages which it helps to explain; (B) probability from parallel cases; (C) probability against St. James' having written in Greek like that before us in the Epistle.

(A) The passages which this hypothesis helps to explain are (1) ii. 7, where *in bono nomine* for the accusative seems to be a Hebraism; cp. 2 Sam. xxiii. 9, and 2 Chron. xxxii. 17, where *châraph* is followed by the preposition. The same construction is found in Syriac with ܐܠܝܢ (Acts xxvi. 11: see Payne Smith, *Lexicon*, I. col. 659).

Perhaps we may class v. 10 *oratio in fide* and v. 15 *experimentum de malis passionibus*, etc., where the Greek has simple genitives, in the same category. Both Hebrew and Syriac, certainly the latter, would use prepositions here.

(2) ii. 25, *exploratores* is, as we have seen, a point of contact with the Syriac version. The gloss *ex XII tribus filiorum Israel* is a confusion between the two occasions when spies were sent, since Rahab only received two men (Josh. ii. 1). It may be connected with i. 1, *ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς*.

(3) iii. 6. *Et lingua ignis seculi iniquitatis* has a striking point of contact with the Peshitto Syriac which reads, 'The

tongue is a fire: the world of iniquity is as it were a wood.' The latter is apparently a gloss or expansion of our reading. Certainly the conception, 'The tongue is a fire which lights the world of iniquity,' i.e. the whole mass of iniquity, lying dormant till some evil word sets it in a blaze—is much clearer than that usually attributed to these words. It is said that the 'world of iniquity' is not a Hebrew idea, but that is a difficulty in any case whichever way we interpret it. For the Epistle comes from a man who thought in Hebrew whether he wrote in it or not. It is true that in Prov. xvii. 6, ὅλος κόσμος τῶν χρημάτων in LXX has nothing to correspond to it in the Hebrew. But עולם I presume came to be used very broadly in the later language including not only *alôn* (as in Eccles. iii. 11), but *kósmos*. Delitzsch, it may be noticed, uses it here, paraphrasing, 'the tongue is a fire, a world full of iniquity (עולם מלא עולה).'

We may notice also here that the reading *fornicatores* (instead of *adulterers* or *adulteresses*) is a point of contact with the Peshitto in iv. 4.

(4) iii. 16. *inconstans* (ἀκατάστατον), for ἀκαταστασία is easily explicable if the original of the two types of text was (unpointed) Hebrew or Aramaic. A confusion of פָּחַז and פָּחַז for instance, or of any one of several other pairs of words in either language, might have been the occasion of the blunder. With this we may plausibly connect *frater* = ἀδελφοί in iv. 11, since 'my brother' and 'my brethren' are written with exactly the same consonants both in Hebrew and Syriac.

(5) v. 2. *res* uestrae tiniauerunt. The confusion of 'things' and 'garments,' which is impossible in Greek, points most probably to the double sense of the Syriac and Chaldee *mān*. It is the word used here and elsewhere for ἱμάτια in the Peshitto, and is also a common word for 'goods,' or 'stuff' of any kind, e.g. it is used in translating τὰ σκεύη (τοῦ λαχοῦ) in the Gospels, Matt. xii. 29; Mark iii. 27, and τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ, Luke xvii. 31. For other instances see Payne Smith, *Lexicon*, I. col. 1991, which sufficiently establish the use of the

word in the sense of ornaments, household furniture, baggage, as well as vessels. I had at one time thought of a somewhat similar double sense of the Hebrew כלי; but though a word of broad signification it is not so broad as *mán*.

(6) The subscription *Explicit Epistola Iacobi filii Zaebedei* has often been compared with the Syriac note prefixed to the Catholic Epistles in the editio princeps of Widmanstadt (Vienna, 1555), which may probably be translated, 'we here print¹ the three Epistles of James, Peter, and John, who were witnesses to the revelation from our Lord when He was transfigured.'

We cannot indeed see in this note the judgment of the Syrian Church in general, for such a statement does not appear in the oldest MSS. of the Peshitto known to us², which simply ascribe the letter to 'James the Apostle.' It represents, however, almost certainly the judgment of the Syrian ecclesiastics who were associated with Widmanstadt in his edition, and if so is a distinct link of connexion between our MS. and the country of Syria. A similar tradition is hinted at rather than expressed by St. Jerome in his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers³.

The positive evidence, then, for our hypothesis—of the force of which the reader will judge—is in favour of an Aramaic rather than a Hebrew original for our Epistle.

(B) I will next add a few words as to the *a priori* probability from parallel cases that the Epistle was written in Aramaic—including the evidence which may possibly point to the use of Rabbinical Hebrew.

(1) It seems certain that our Lord spoke in general the

¹ This is now generally agreed to be the meaning of the Syriac *ch'tham* (σημειούν, τελειούν, τυπούν) in this place. See also Payne Smith's Lexicon, I. col. 1408, where one instance is given of the use of the word for *printing*.

² This is frankly acknowledged by Mr. F. T. Bassett in the Introduction to his edition of the Epistle, p. viii. He is, as is well known, strongly in favour of the authorship of the son of Zebedee.

³ 'Jacobus Zebedaei filius duodecim tribubus quae erant in dispersione omnibus praedicavit Euangelium Domini nostri Jesu Christi.'

vernacular language rather than Greek or Hebrew. Not only have we certain well-known Aramaic words, reported as noteworthy utterances of His when addressing common people, but it would seem that upon the Cross, in speaking from the depths of His soul, He used an Aramaic version of the Psalter rather than the original. He preferred, that is, to say

אלהי אלהי למה שבקמני

to the original

אלי אלי למה עזבתני

This was indeed one of the most striking proofs of His condescension, of His wish to be in all things like unto His brethren, and to enforce the lesson of preaching the Gospel to the poor¹.

(2) St. Paul, when addressing his countrymen on the stairs of the Castle, 'spoke unto them in the Hebrew tongue,' and so gained a readier hearing (Acts xxi. 40, xxii. 2). This may mean Rabbinical Hebrew, but being a discourse to a mob who had just before nearly torn him in pieces, it is more likely to have been the vernacular dialect². It is of course matter of general knowledge that 'Εβραϊστί covers both languages. In John v. 2, and xix. 13 and 17, *Bethesda* (*Bethzetha*, *Bethsaida*), *Gabbatha*, and *Golgotha* are obviously Aramaic forms, while in the Prologue of Jesus son of Sirach, and Apoc. ix. 11 (*Abaddon*), Hebrew seems to be intended.

(3) St. Matthew, according to well-known tradition, wrote in 'Hebrew,' and as Papias³ tells us, 'each one [at first] interpreted as he was able,' i.e. before the single ecclesiastical version at present known to us obtained supremacy. Papias'

¹ On the language spoken by our Lord, see a paper by Delitzsch in the Jewish Missionary Magazine, *Saat auf Hoffnung*, Deichert, Erlangen, 1874, and cp. the discussion in Kautzsch's recent Grammar of Biblical Aramaic, pp. 7-12.

² See I. H. R. Biesenthal, *Trostschreiben an die Hebräer*, p. 46, Leipzig, 1878, in favour of the view that St. Paul spoke Rabbinical Hebrew on this occasion. This is also the opinion of Delitzsch (*The Hebrew New Testament of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, Leipzig, 1883) and apparently also of Kautzsch, *Gramm. der Bibl. Aram.* pp. 19, 20, Leipzig, 1884.

³ Papias in Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 39, *Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο* (or *συνετάξατο*), *ἡμῆμενσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἑκαστος*. Observe the aorist *ἡμῆμενσε*, and see Lightfoot in *Contemporary Review*, August, 1875, vol. 26, p. 397.

pregnant words imply (as Bishop Lightfoot has seen) a time of concurrent rivalry of several versions of St. Matthew, such as we suppose was the case with our Greek versions of St. James, and such as we know to have been the case with the Latin versions before St. Jerome. We need not stop to discuss what is meant here by 'Hebrew,' though for my own part I incline to Aramaic.

(4) St. Peter, the Apostle of the circumcision, according to ancient tradition, needed an 'interpreter.' St. Mark, as all are aware, is named by Papias as 'having become (*γενόμενος*) his interpreter,' that is to say, we may suppose, as having joined himself to St. Peter after having left the service of St. Paul; and Glaucias, who was claimed by the Gnostics as the teacher of Basilides, is named as another 'interpreter' of the same Apostle. By this we understand that when preaching in a synagogue, where Hebraists and Hellenists were both assembled, the Apostle himself used Aramaic, for the benefit of one half of the congregation, while his interpreter translated his discourse into Greek for the benefit of the Hellenists and proselytes. This practice, it may be remarked, obviously accounts for St. Mark's competence as an Evangelist, and for certain peculiarities in his book. Such interpreters would also be used in translating epistles intended for groups of churches, such as the Epistles of St. Peter. Jerome, it will be remembered, takes it for granted that they were not originally written in Greek, and thinks that the difference between them was due to the employment of different men as interpreters¹.

Dr. E. G. King (now Vicar of Madingley) has written a paper on the subject of the relation of the Second Epistle of St. Peter to that of St. Jude which requires mention here². His thesis

¹ See Papias, l. c.; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 17, § 106, p. 898, for Glaucias; Hieron. *Ad Hedibiam*, ep. 120, ch. xii. (tom. i. p. 838, Vallarsi; iv. p. 183, Martianay), 'Denique et duae epistolae quae feruntur Petri stilo inter se et caractere discrepant, structuraque uerborum. Ex quo intelligimus pro necessitate rerum diuersis eum usum interpretibus.' If Glaucias had translated the Second Epistle, this might perhaps have discredited it to some extent in Catholic circles.

² *Did St. Peter write in Greek? Thoughts and criticisms tending to prove the*

is that St. Peter wrote this Epistle 'in Hebrew or Aramaic,' and 'that St. Jude read (it) in Hebrew, and wrote his Epistle—probably in Chaldee—as a Targum, or explanatory paraphrase thereon.' This paper was published in 1871, and Dr. King informs me that he still adheres to the theory, but is 'far from satisfied with the mode in which it is propounded,' and thinks that he could now make out a far stronger case for it. We may hope that he will have leisure to restate his position. Whatever may be the value of his arguments in detail (on which I am little qualified to pronounce an opinion) the theory is an attractive one, as offering a plausible solution of a most difficult question. Students of the New Testament need hardly be reminded that the relation of St. James to the first Epistle of St. Peter is in some degree parallel (as to the presence of common and possibly borrowed matter) to the relation between the pair of letters discussed by Dr. King.

(5) The supposition of a Hebrew original for the Epistle to the Hebrews is not unknown to antiquity, and has recently been forcibly maintained by Biesenthal. On this question I do not now wish to express any opinion.

(6) Josephus wrote his book on the *Wars of the Jews* first in his 'national language' and sent it to the 'upper barbarians,' by which he tells us that he means 'the Parthians, Babylonians, the most remote of the Arabians, the Jews beyond the Euphrates, and the Adiabeniens.' Their national language would clearly be Aramaic, not Hebrew, which last would not be easily intelligible to the people of those countries. He tells us further that he used the assistance of others in making the translation into Greek, an assistance which he must have employed with great effect, as the style of his book is fairly classical—certainly not so Hebraistic as the Gospel according to St. Matthew or the Epistle of St. James¹. It will be

Aramaic origin of the Second Epistle of St. Peter and the Epistle of St. Jude, by Edward George King, M. A., Tyrwhitt University Scholar, etc. Cambridge, J. Hall and Son, etc., 1871.

¹ See Josephus, *B. J. Proem.* § 1; *Contra Apion.* i. 9.

noticed that Josephus first addressed himself to the Eastern dispersion, not to the Hellenistic Jews of Syria and Asia Minor, etc.

These parallels, when taken together, and compared with the evidence collected by Dr. Neubauer in another paper contained in this volume, make it very probable, *a priori*, that St. James would have written to 'the twelve tribes of the dispersion' in the language familiar to the Jews of Palestine and the East. In so doing he was following the example of his Master, who thus secured that the Gospel should be preached to the poor; he was acting with St. Matthew and St. Peter, the two other Apostles who specially addressed the 'circumcision'; he was doing what the Apostle of the Gentiles would certainly have commended; he was doing what the renegade Josephus actually did in propagating his views about the great national struggle with Rome. *We* are apt to forget the Jews of the Persian empire, but we may be sure that the Apostles of Palestine did not. 'To the Jew first'—and of Jews they were likely to put 'Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and dwellers in Mesopotamia' in the first rank when their thoughts were turned towards the dispersion (cp. Acts ii. 9). Next to them would probably come the Jews of Antioch and its neighbourhood, who would, notwithstanding the surrounding Hellenism, be more accessible in Aramaic than in Greek.

(C) The negative probability that St. James would not have written such Greek as that in which the Epistle has come down to us is also, I think, very strong. The letter contains some striking Hebraisms and its whole spirit and tone is Jewish, but its vocabulary is distinctly Hellenic.

An analysis of the more striking words of the little book shows that it contains 49 which are not found elsewhere in the New Testament; of these 7 are very rare and scarcely found anywhere else in the whole of Greek literature, except in lexicons and late writers who may have borrowed from St. James; 13 are classical and not found in the LXX; 27 are

classical and also found in the LXX ; while only 2 are confined to LXX usage. That is to say the ascertained non-biblical element is 20 out of 49, or about two-fifths of the whole number, while as to the remaining three-fifths, which *may* be drawn from the LXX, many of the words have strong classical associations and few of them any distinct Biblical colouring.

Making then all allowances for the proximity of the LXX as a literary source to a Christian author, we are forced to the conclusion that even if it was largely used by the writer of this Epistle, he was also familiar with Greek on his own account, and was a scholar who had rather a wide range of classical reading.

Besides these 48 words peculiar to St. James, there are at least 27 others which occur only in one other New Testament writer, and generally in one single place of his writings¹.

¹ The full lists of these words may be interesting. In making them (as I hope) complete, I am much indebted to my friend, Mr. H. Deane, Fellow of St. John's College, Vicar of St. Giles', Oxford.

The *seven very rare words* are ἀνέλκος, (ἀνιλέως in Hippolytus, quoting from this place), ἀνεμιζόμενος, ἀπείραστος (for ἀπείρατος), ἀποσκίασμα, δαιμονιώδης, θρήσκος, χρυσοδακτύλιος. The *thirteen classical non-Septuagint words* are ἀλυκός, ἀμάω, ἀποκυνέω (twice), βρώω, δύνυχος, ἐνάλιος, τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, εὐπειθής, ἐφήμερος, κατήφεια, ρυπαρία, χαλιναγωγέω, χρή. The *twenty-seven Classical and Septuagint words* are ἀδιάκритος, ἀκατάστατος, ἀπλῶς, βοαί, ἐξελεγκόμενος, ἐπιλησμονή, ἐπιστήμη, εὐπρέπεια, θανατηφόρος, κακοπάθεια, κατίωνται, μαρανθήσεται, μετάρω, μεγαλαυχέω, νομοθέτης, ὀλολύζω, ὄψιμος, παραλλαγή, πρόμιος, ριπιζόμενος, σέσηπε, ταλαιπωρέω, τροπή, τρόχος, τρυφάω, φλογίζω, φρίσσω. The *two* which are confined to LXX are ἀφυστερημένος and στήτόβρωτος.

The *twenty-seven* found only in one other New Testament writer are ἀλαζόνεια (1 John ii. 16), ἀκροατής (Rom. ii. 13), ἀποτελεσθεῖσα (Luke xiii. 32), ἀτμός (Acts ii. 19 from Joel), δαμάσαι (Mark v. 4), δελεάζόμενος (2 Peter ii. 14, 18), δόσις (Philip. iv. 15), δώρημα (Rom. v. 16), εἰρηνικός (Heb. xii. 11), ἐμπορεύομαι (2 Peter ii. 3), ἔσποτρον (1 Cor. xiii. 12), ἰός (Rom. iii. 13 from the Psalms), καταδυναστεύω (Acts x. 13), κατακαυχόμαι (Rom. ii. 18), κριτήριον (1 Cor. vi. 2, 4), κύριος Σαβαώθ (Rom. ix. 29), μακαρίζω (Luke i. 48), ὀπή (Heb. xi. 38), ὀρμή (Acts xiv. 5), ὄφελος (1 Cor. xv. 32), πηδάλιον (Acts xxvii. 40), πόρεια (Luke xiii. 22 in rather different sense), πραότης (1 Peter iii. 15), ρυπαρός (Apoc. xxii. 11), σπαταλῶν (1 Tim. v. 6), σπιλῶν (Jude 23), χαλινός (Apoc. xiv. 20). All of this group of words have some parallel (sometimes only a single one) in the Greek Old Testament or Apocrypha, with the exception of δώρημα and πηδάλιον, for which there is no LXX precedent. To this list we must add χαίρειν in the classical epistolary sense, which would appear strange in St. James, were it not for the formula of the Apostolic letter in Acts xv. 23. Cp. xxiii. 26. It answers to οἰῶν in Is. xlviii. 22, lvii. 21 (LXX).

This rich vocabulary is not unlike that which may have been possessed by a professional interpreter, but is very remarkable if we attribute it to an unlearned Jew writing perhaps the earliest book of the New Testament. I have purposely not discussed the question whether James the Just or James the son of Zebedee were the author, though I incline to follow the ordinary opinion which assigns the Epistle to the former. Those who, like Mr. Bassett, assign it to James the son of Zebedee, must of course date it before A.D. 44, in which case the difficulty becomes even greater. But if we suppose the Epistle to have been written (as I incline to do) soon after the *καλὸν ὄνομα* of 'Christians' had been given to the disciples at Antioch, and before St. Paul had definitely stirred the question of faith and works, we get an early date which hardly allows time for James the Just to have made such an advance in the Greek language as the current text implies.

To sum up in a few words. The hypothesis of an Aramaic original (1) accounts generally for the divergence between the present Greek and that which must have been the parent of our Corbey version, and specially explains some of the more curious phenomena of this divergence.

(2) It is probable from the striking parallel cases of the use of this language by our Lord and His apostles and by Josephus.

(3) It removes the difficulty as to the authenticity of the Epistle, which otherwise might arise from the highly classical and elaborate vocabulary which is employed in the Greek text.

In any case I think it is clear that ff represents a separate class of Greek MSS. (somewhat in the same way that the Codex Bezae does), and is therefore entitled to more consideration than it has hitherto received from editors.

VIII.

AN ACCOUNT OF
A SYRIAC BIBLICAL MANUSCRIPT
OF THE FIFTH CENTURY
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ITS BEARING ON
THE TEXT OF THE SYRIAC VERSION
OF THE GOSPELS.

[G. H. Gwilliam.]

It is well known to Syriac scholars that the *Textus Receptus* of the Peshito depends upon very limited manuscript authority. Such is the case with both the Old and the New Testaments in that version: on the present occasion, however, our attention will be directed to the latter alone, and indeed confined to certain points connected with the text of the four Holy Gospels.

The Syriac *Textus Receptus* is read at the present day either in the pages of the valuable edition of Schaaf, or in some more convenient modern reprint; and these, while presenting some few variations, both among themselves, and from the original type, are substantially only reproductions of the *editio princeps* of Widmanstadt, published at Vienna, in 1555. Widmanstadt professes to have based his edition on two manuscripts¹. Subsequent editors have collected a few

¹ Widmanstadt, in the course of a long preface, giving an account of the circumstances connected with the publication of his work, says, 'Anno MDXXIX in Divi Caroli Caesaris invictissimi, Sacri diadematis causa Bononiam proficiscentis, comitatu essem, et mihi contubernalibusque meis, Regii Lepidi, a metatoribus hospitium juxta coenobium, ubi Theseus jam senex vitam agebat, forte attributum fuisset . . . qui, ut me de coenobii bibliotheca sciscitari intellexit, e vestigio in conclave introduxit, et arreptis e pluteo Sacrosanctis Evangeliiis Syriace scriptis, "Hospes," inquit, "peregrinis his studiis deditus

various readings, and have also corrected the text in certain passages, while Schaaf has brought together all that had been accomplished by his predecessors in these labours up to the publication of his edition at Leyden in 1708. Yet his text is practically that of Widmanstadt. Very little progress has yet been made by any editor in the way of emendation¹.

And in the judgment of some there is but little work for the textual critic in this department of literature. It is thought that the *Textus Receptus* of the Peshito, although possessing but slender support from external authority, is substantially correct; that the ancient witnesses, to which we now have access, would only demand that we should make a few changes in the text of Widmanstadt, and these chiefly in points of grammar and orthography. This opinion, whether true or false, is derived from conjecture rather than experiment. Until recently no one has attempted to sift the question, although materials for a decision were not wanting. But now manuscripts lie ready to hand at the British Museum, which, in conjunction with other sources of evidence, would enable us to settle permanently what was the text current, as their vernacular version, in the early Syrian Church².

sum annis circiter xv," etc. And a little further on, 'Quarto post anno in Bibliotheca Lactantii Ptolemaei reperi quatuor Evangelistarum libros.' On these two MSS. his edition was based, so that he says, in the preface to St. Matthew, 'Sanctum hoc Jesu Christi Evangelium, Syriaco sermone, ad duo vetustissima exemplaria exprimi.'

¹ Good work was done by Richard Jones, at the beginning of this century, but he had not then the materials now available. The full title of his book explains his scope and method, and is as follows:—'*Textus Sacrorum Evangeliorum Versionis Simplicis Syriacae juxta Editionem Schaafianam collatus cum duobus ejusdem vetustis Codd. MSS. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana repositis, necnon cum Cod. MS. Commentario Gregorii Bar-Hebraei ibidem adservato, a Richardo Jones, A. M., e Coll. Wadham., 1805.*' The MSS. of the Peshito which he collated are the Codd. Dawk. iii. and xxvii. Jones was inclined to ascribe to them too high an antiquity. Besides a very careful collation, he proposes a number of emendations. Wichelhaus does not mention his work, and Philip Pusey apparently did not know of it when he made his independent collation of Dawk. iii.

² For an account of the critical materials which were available before the Tattam Collection was made public, and the use which had been made of them, see J. Wichelhaus, *De Novi Testamenti versione Syriaca antiqua, quam Peshito vocant*, Halis, 1850.

When some forty years ago our National Library was enriched with the priceless additions of the Tattam Collection, a few of the MSS. of the Peshito New Testament in that Collection were examined by occasional readers; but it does not appear that any collations were made; certainly no results have been published; and for years the volumes remained unnoticed upon the shelves, until the late Philip Pusey proposed to himself the task of publishing a critical edition of the Peshito New Testament¹. It is believed that his design was to maintain the value and authority of the Peshito *as it has come down to us*; to demonstrate that it has not been tampered with in later times, but that it presents to us the text of the Holy Scriptures of the New Testament, as they were read in the Syriac-speaking Churches, in the early days of Christianity. In pursuance of this object he collated a number of copies of the Holy Gospels with the Textus Receptus of Widmanstadt; but other studies interfered with this work, and he was suddenly called to his rest before he had published any of the results of his labours. In 1879 the present writer undertook for the Acts and Catholic Epistles what Philip Pusey had commenced for the Holy Gospels, and it was intended at a future time to combine and publish together the results of their labours. After Philip Pusey's death, his Syriac note-books were entrusted to the writer, and Dr. Pusey intimated that he might be willing to publish the revised Syriac text, at his own expense, if completed in his lifetime. His death was a fresh discouragement; but still the work of collating has been continued, though with many interruptions; and now the result has been obtained that, after a little further investigation, it will be possible to produce a text of the Peshito Gospels based, not as in Widmanstadt's edition, on two MSS. of unknown age², but on

¹ He would seem to have begun his collations about fourteen years ago, for in one of his note-books is an entry to this effect:—'A (i.e. the Cod. Mus. Britan. Add. 14454) finished June 29, 1872. Laus Deo.'

² The general character of the codices used by Widmanstadt, that they were Jacobite, and not of great antiquity, is pretty plain from the text, and Church

a number of copies of very great antiquity, and high critical value. The text of the rest of the New Testament could not be published for some time, little having yet been done for it in comparison with the labour bestowed by the two collators on the four Holy Gospels¹.

In the present paper it is proposed to offer a specimen of the kind of authority to which hereafter appeal will be made in settling the text of the Peshito New Testament, by giving an account of one very ancient MS., and indicating some conclusions towards which the study of the text it preserves would seem to tend.

Among the treasures of the Tattam Collection is an ancient book, denominated in the *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum*, Codex Additionalis 14459, foll. 1-66, and described in the first volume of that work, p. 64. It is not indeed the oldest MS. of the Collection, but is apparently the most ancient of those which contain any part of the Peshito New Testament, and is possibly the oldest book of this kind in the world. Certainly it was written before the majority of those uncial Greek MSS. so highly prized in the emendation of the text of the Greek Testament. It is written on vellum, as are all the more ancient codices of the Tattam Collection, and contains the Gospels of SS. Matthew and Mark, and is bound up with another MS., the Codex Additionalis 14459, foll. 67-169, which is of a later date, in a different hand, and contains the other two Holy Gospels. The first few leaves were lost before the book reached this country, so that the Gospel of St. Matthew is now defective, wanting from i. 1 to vi. 19 inclusive.

The other MS. of a later date, referred to above, has on Lessons, of the printed edition; but it would be interesting to know more of them. They are probably still in existence, doubtless at Vienna. Jones (Preface) and Wichelhaus (p. 217) refer to Adler as having seen a MS. at Vienna (Cod. Lambecii 258), which was used in Widmanstadt's edition; but as it is 'Mosis Meredinaei ipsis manu exaratus,' it is probably a copy prepared for the press.

¹ It should be mentioned that the Rev. E. J. Perry, of Worcester College, has most kindly devoted many hours, in the midst of parochial work in London, to assisting the writer in the collation of MSS. of the Gospels.

the last page a note recording the date of transcription, and the circumstances under which it was written. This note is nearly illegible, but the first two lines have been decyphered to the following effect¹:—‘This book was finished in the month . . .;’ the name of the month is illegible, and so is the rest of the line; at the beginning of the next line are the words ‘eight hundred and forty.’ There may be another word expressing a unit figure; but it is clear that the date is anterior to the year 850, i. e. of the Greek era². Reducing this to our own era, we get a date not later than A. D. 540, and which might be that of any year between A. D. 540 and 530, according to the unit assumed after the ܐܘܬܝܬܝܬ.

But the MS. which is to engage our special attention in this paper is of still older date than that with which it has been bound. Dr. Wright, in the description already quoted, speaks of it, as being written in a beautiful Edessene Estrangela, apparently of the fifth century, with the exception of one leaf, which is perhaps of the tenth century, inserted to supply the lost, or defaced, original. Unfortunately there is no note recording the date, at the end, or elsewhere; but the writing, more elegant and flowing, in contrast with the somewhat larger and stiffer characters of the sixth-century MS. with which it is now associated; and the different forms of some of the letters, especially the ܐ, the ܦ and ܦ, and the ܠ, points which cannot be fully discussed within the present limits, indicate the work of such an age as Dr. Wright supposes: indeed, we may accept his expressed opinion with much confidence. For it is to be observed that there are peculiar facilities for determining the date of an undated

¹ They stand thus in the MS. :—

. ܐܘܬܝܬܝܬ ܐܘܬܝܬܝܬ
. ܐܘܬܝܬܝܬ ܐܘܬܝܬܝܬ

N. B.—The characters are Estrangela, as in all ancient Syriac MSS., but throughout this paper the common type has been used for convenience.

² Dates in Syriac MSS. would seem always to be given according to the Greek era, called also the Era of the Seleucidae, and which commenced with the year B. C. 311. Sometimes this era is mentioned by name, as in Cod. Add. 14460; see Catalogue already referred to, vol. i. pp. 52, 53.

Syriac MS. The number of those actually dated is considerable. In the British Museum alone there are eighty-five bearing dates ranging between A.D. 1000 and A.D. 411, the date of the famous Cod. Add. 12150, besides many bearing later dates. These documents afford evidence of the style of handwriting prevalent in particular centuries, and also show that the older writing was very rarely, if ever, imitated in later times. Old MSS. were frequently repaired, particularly (as in the case of the one now under consideration) in the tenth century, but the new leaves substituted were transcribed in the current hand. Rubrics and marginal annotations were frequently added later, but it would seem always in the characters common at the period. So in the case of the codex before us, we may compare its handwriting with that of others known to have been written in the fifth century, and contrast it with the different style which prevailed later, and thus arrive at a date as nearly *proved* as the conditions of the problem will admit. Hereafter, then, it will be assumed that our MS. was written between A.D. 450 and 500, being probably as old as the former date. The question is of paramount importance, because the conclusions to be indicated later on in this paper derive all their value from the supposed early date of the MS. from which they are drawn; yet it is plainly impossible now to do more than indicate the method by which the date may be determined.

Before examining the text of the Cod. Add. 14459, it may be well to give a brief description of the book. It consists of 66 vellum leaves, about $7\frac{7}{8}$ inches \times $4\frac{5}{8}$. The writing is in a single column, and is divided into paragraphs by the mark [o o] in red, which is sometimes, for want of room, put in the margin. In a very few instances about a quarter of the line is left blank at the conclusion of a paragraph. These divisions are not numbered, nor are the sections and canons indicated, as in some Syriac MSS. There are no rubrics in the text, but many have been noted in the margin by rude and late hands. They are of the ordinary type, but

(I) That in St. Matt. xxviii. 18, 19 the text stands thus:—
 اَللّٰهُمَّ اِنَّا مَعَكَ حَمْدًا وَّ شُكْرًا وَ تَسْبِيحًا وَّ ثَنًّا

صحة: لا حجة. انه من اصل الحصة فله حصة. ك.ت.ل.

Widmanstadt reads **أَنَا أَرْسَلُ** **أَيْضًا**, 'I also send ;' but the

اسم و محل جمع و تعداد افراد. و نام پدر و مادر و محل
و محل جمع و تعداد افراد و نام پدر و مادر و محل
جمع و تعداد افراد و نام پدر و مادر و محل

The mark $\circ \circ \circ$, in red in the MS., is the usual indication

II. We may next examine certain consecutive passages,

viii. 1-22, and xv, setting down the text of Widmanstadt first, and the variations afterwards, and noting how far the readings of our MS. are confirmed by other ancient Syriac codices¹.

St. Matt. vi. 21, Widmanstadt ܐܠܗ ܕܡܪܝܡ | 14459 ܐܠܗ, and so the other MSS., the Curetonian has also ܐܠܗ, but the sentence is differently expressed. Ver. 25, ܠܐ | the MSS. have ܠܐ, and so apparently 14459, but the edge of the page is worn. Curetonian different. Ver. 27, ܡܢ ܢܪܐ | ܡܢ ܢܪܐ, with the MSS. Curetonian omits. Ver. 29, ܡܠܟܡܢ | ܡܠܟܡܢ, with MSS. and Curetonian. Ver. 32, ܡܠܟܡܢ | ܡܠܟܡܢ, omits ܡܠܟܡܢ with MSS., except one. Cur. has ܡܠܟܡܢ. It will be observed that the omission brings the text into conformity with the Greek. vii. 3, ܡܠܟܡܢ | MSS. have ܡܠܟܡܢ, but 14459 is doubtful, edge of page being worn. Cur. ܡܠܟܡܢ, but the sentence is inverted. Ver. 12, ܡܠܟܡܢ | ܡܠܟܡܢ, with the MSS. and Cur. Ver. 13, ܡܠܟܡܢ | ܡܠܟܡܢ, with most MSS., but not the Curetonian. ܡܠܟܡܢ | omits ܡܠܟܡܢ with MSS., except two, and Cur. ܡܠܟܡܢ, with the MSS. and Cur. This reading would perhaps represent *eis avrhn* rather than *di' avrns*, but there is no var. lect. in the Greek. Ver. 15, ܡܠܟܡܢ | here the Curetonian and several MSS. omit ribui, but 14459 agrees with Widmanstadt. Ver. 21, ܡܠܟܡܢ | our MS. and four others have the form ܡܠܟܡܢ, but not the Curetonian. Ver. 23, ܡܠܟܡܢ | ܡܠܟܡܢ, which appears to be the usual form in the ancient MSS.; so the Curetonian. Vers. 25, 27, ܡܠܟܡܢ | ܡܠܟܡܢ, and so the Curetonian. In this form of the verb all the ancient MSS. omit ܡܡܡܡܢ and ribui. viii. 1, ܡܠܟܡܢ | ܡܠܟܡܢ, with the MSS. Cur. omits ܡܠܟܡܢ. Ver. 4, ܡܠܟܡܢ | ܡܠܟܡܢ, with several MSS., perhaps reading *to δωρον σου*. Curetonian agrees with Widmanstadt. Ver. 8, ܡܠܟܡܢ | ܡܠܟܡܢ, with the MSS. and Cur. Ver. 9, ܡܠܟܡܢ | here 14459 agrees with Widmanstadt, while many MSS. and the Curetonian have ܡܠܟܡܢ, singular. Ver. 10, ܡܠܟܡܢ | ܡܠܟܡܢ, but Cur. has the form more common in

¹ These are for the most part of the Tattam Collection, but include two at Florence, and one in the Bodleian.

the ancient MSS., ܫܠܡܐ. Ver. 15, ܫܠܡܐ | ܫܠܡܐ, one of the var. lect. apparently peculiar to 14459, as though it read *ὁ πρεσβυτερος αὐτῆς*. ܫܠܡܐ | here our MS. agrees with Widmanstadt and with the Curetonian; but the other MSS. give ܫܠܡܐ, which must be accepted as the correct reading of the Peshito; i.e. the Peshito supports *αὐτῶ*, not *αὐτοῖς*. Ver. 20, ܫܠܡܐ | ܫܠܡܐ, with four others, but not Cur. ܫܠܡܐ | all ancient MSS. and Cur. spell this word ܫܠܡܐ. Ver. 22, from end of this verse the Curetonian is defective to x. 32. xv. 1, ܫܠܡܐ | ܫܠܡܐ, with many others, but not Curetonian. Ver. 5, ܫܠܡܐ | ܫܠܡܐ, with two others, but not Cur. This reading is nearer to the Greek, which has *δωρον* alone, the Peshito apparently reading *δωρον μου*. Ver. 6, ܫܠܡܐ | ܫܠܡܐ, with the rest, but Cur. has ܫܠܡܐ. Ver. 7, ܫܠܡܐ | ܫܠܡܐ | omits ܫܠܡܐ, with the rest, but Cur. has it. It is a gloss in Widmanstadt, and thus the true text of the Peshito agrees with the Greek. Ver. 14, for ܫܠܡܐ, ܫܠܡܐ; and for ܫܠܡܐ, ܫܠܡܐ; apparently without support in other MSS., or the Curetonian. The former variation suggests the reading *ἀφες*, but the latter not necessarily *γὰρ*, for ܫܠܡܐ is occasionally used in the Peshito for *δε*, e.g. Luke ii. 44. Ver. 24, ܫܠܡܐ | here ܫܠܡܐ, with several MSS., but Cur. ܫܠܡܐ, with two others: cf. viii. 10. The spelling of this word varies in MSS. Ver. 26, omits ܫܠܡܐ, with most MSS., thus bringing text of Peshito into harmony with the Greek; cf. ver. 7 above. The Curetonian is quite different. Ver. 27, ܫܠܡܐ | ܫܠܡܐ, with two others. The words ܫܠܡܐ ܫܠܡܐ are written over the line in 14459, being apparently omitted *prima manu* by homœoteleuton. Ver. 31, ܫܠܡܐ | ܫܠܡܐ, with others; but Cur. has here ܫܠܡܐ, and does not mark a paragraph here, as do the other MSS. Ver. 34, ܫܠܡܐ | omit ܫܠܡܐ with the other MSS., but Cur. has ܫܠܡܐ. Ver. 36, ܫܠܡܐ | here 14459 and three others agree with Widmanstadt, but the best supported reading is ܫܠܡܐ. Cur. omits the word. Ver. 39, the Curetonian and two MSS. begin the new section at this verse, but not 14459.

The results obtained by the above collation with the text of Widmanstadt may be summarized as follows. In 105 verses there are 30 variations from the received Syriac text, exclusive of the case of chap. vii. 3, which may be omitted as doubtful, though the probability is great that the codex would agree with the mass of MSS. Of these variations, only nine find any support in the Curetonian, and it cannot be affirmed of even these few that all agree with Curetonian readings. There are also four readings—viz. the ܡܚܡܐ, with ribui, vii. 15; the ܡܬܒ, plural, viii. 9; the ܡܚܡܐ, viii. 15; the ܡܚܡܐ, xv. 36—where 14459 sides with Widmanstadt, while the best supported text is different; and in one of these cases only, viz. viii. 15, is the reading in harmony with the Curetonian text. It will be seen, however, that while the very ancient text of our codex is seldom in agreement with Cureton's, it is commonly supported by the mass of ancient codices of the Peshito. It will be also noticed that the majority of the variations are of a trivial character, being only differences of spelling, or of the order of words, so that in the 34 readings collected above, there are only eight—viz. those in vi. 32; vii. 13; viii. 4, 15; xv. 5, 7, 14, 26—which have any bearing on the Greek from which the Syriac was translated. But yet the real value of the collation consists in the barrenness of the results. The verses examined in this paper afford a very fair specimen of conclusions fully admitted by those few who have devoted some years to the study of the text of the Peshito, and who are therefore alone qualified to express an opinion about it. Without anticipating what can only be fully set forth when (if ever) the revised text of the Peshito New Testament shall be published, it may be here affirmed, however, that the collation of ancient Syriac MSS. tends to confirm, in all important respects, the traditional text. A certain number of corrections will be made, but these, for the most part, will be in comparatively unimportant points of grammar and orthography.

III. The passages already considered will serve as specimens

of the general text of the codex 14459; and as they occasionally present some modification of the printed Syriac text, it will be well next to examine the readings of the MS. at certain selected places, where such modification, if found, might have a value in the criticism of the Greek text. The following twelve passages may be chosen, where variations of considerable importance occur in the authorities on which the Greek text is based, and where, in consequence, the evidence of the Peshito has been adduced on one side or the other.

(1) St. Matt. x. 3. The Greek Textus Receptus is *Λεββαιοι ὁ ἐπικληθεῖς Θαδδαιος*, but there are several variations in the authorities, and in consequence some editors omit the first three words, others the last three; but the Peshito has ܠܒܒܝܐܝܐܝܐ ܬܐܕܕܝܐ, and 14459 confirms the longer reading.

(2) xvii. 21. Tischendorf (8th edition), with *ℵ** and B, omits this verse, but the Peshito, confirmed by our MS., has it.

(3) xix. 17. The traditional reading of the Peshito, ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ, is confirmed by 14459.

(4) The remarkable addition after xx. 28 in D, the Curetonian, and others, is entirely unknown to 14459, as to every other MS. of the Peshito.

(5) xxiv. 36. Text. Rec. *οὐδε οἱ ἄγγελοι τῶν οὐρανῶν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ μου μόνος*. Lachmann and Tischendorf add *οὐδε ὁ υἱος* after *οὐρανῶν*, but the Peshito, confirmed by 14459, omits. This is an instance of a rigid adherence in the Syriac MSS. to what was deemed the true text, against the temptation to borrow from parallel passages, as here from St. Mark xiii. 32, where the addition occurs. While admitting that the Peshito text is often fuller than that of *ℵ* and B, it has yet to be proved that its scribes indulged in careless amplification.

(6) xxvii. 35. Text. Rec. *ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥῆθὲν ὑπο τοῦ προφῆτου· Διεμερισαντο τὰ ἱμάτια μου ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμὸν μου ἔβαλον κληρὸν*. Tischendorf, who omits the passage, quotes indeed in its favour 'some editions of the

Peshito.' He refers to the editions of Tremellius¹, and of others who follow him ; for the editio princeps of Widmanstadt knows nothing of the words. With the help of Cod. Add. 14459, and other ancient MSS., we are now able to determine that they form no part of the Peshito. This case may be compared with the preceding ; the text of St. Matthew is preserved without addition from St. John xix. 24.

(7) St. Mark vi. 11. MSS. **N** and **B** omit the words ἀμην λεγω ὑμιν, ἀνεκτοτερον ἐσται Σοδομοις ἢ Γομορροις ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως, ἢ τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ, but they were in the Bible of the ancient Syrian Church. The text of Widmanstadt is assured by the testimony of No. 14459 and all the MSS.

(8) ix. 44, 46. Our MS. shows that the Peshito read these verses, although they are omitted by codices **N** and **B**.

(9) xi. 3. The Text. Rec. has καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτον ἀποστέλει ὧδε, but **N**, **B**, and others read ἀποστέλλει παλιν ὧδε. Our MS. confirms the reading of Widmanstadt, ܠܚܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܝܢ, showing that the παλιν was unknown to the Peshito in the earliest times : also that it read ἀποστέλλει and not ἀποστέλει.

(10) xi. 8, the words καὶ ἐστρωννουν εἰς τὴν ὁδόν : (11) xiii. 14, the parenthetical clause το ῥῆθεν ὑπο Δαυιηλ του προφητου : (12) xv. 28, the whole verse ;—are omitted by **N**, **B**, and other authorities ; but Cod. Add. 14459, with other ancient Syriac MSS., confirms the text of Widmanstadt. The several passages were all included in the Peshito of earliest days.

It will be seen that in these twelve important passages the traditional readings of the Peshito are confirmed by the venerable codex now under examination. It shows that the Syriac New Testament was not tampered with in the middle ages, but was read substantially by the ancient Syrian Church as Widmanstadt printed it. What, however, may be the precise value of the testimony of the Syrian Church, when in opposition to the old Greek MSS., is a question for further consideration : but it must be admitted that the researches

¹ Tremellius' Edition was published at Heidelberg in 1568. According to Wichelhaus he used a MS. which was subsequently removed to Rome.

among the Tattam MSS. have established for certain the nature of that testimony.

IV. It has already been noticed (II. above) that the text of our MS., where it differs from that of Widmanstadt, is usually supported by other ancient Syriac MSS. Yet the Cod. Add. 14459 has also a number of independent readings. Future collations may discover support for some of them, but the majority must be idiosyncrasies: a few, however, are found in the Curetonian. The following is a list of them:—

St. Matt. viii. 15, Widmanstadt ܐܠܗܐ | ܐܠܗܐ. Ver. 29, ܠܗܐ | ܠܗܐ, Curetonian defective. x. 2, ܬܥܒܐ | ܬܥܒܐ, Cur. defective. xi. 7, ܐܠܗܐ | ܐܠܗܐ, Cur. ܠܗܐ. xii. 13, ܠܗܐ | ܠܗܐ, and so the Curetonian. xiii. 53, ܠܗܐ | ܠܗܐ, so Cur. Ver. 54, omits ܠܗܐ; Cur. has it. xiv. 19, ܠܗܐ | ܠܗܐ. Ver. 23, ܠܗܐ | ܠܗܐ, a mistake probably; but in Cod. Dawk. iii, in St. Matt. xv. 19, there is a similar reduplication of letters in the form ܠܗܐܠܗܐ for ܠܗܐ. xv. 14, ܠܗܐ | ܠܗܐ; Ver. 27, the words ܠܗܐܐܠܗܐ were omitted *prima manu*, perhaps by homœoteleuton, and are now written over the line. xvii. 12, omits ܠܗܐܐܠܗܐ. xviii. 6, ܠܗܐ | ܠܗܐ. Ver. 19, ܠܗܐ | ܠܗܐ. Ver. 33, ܠܗܐ | ܠܗܐ. xx. 3, ܠܗܐ | ܠܗܐ. Ver. 8, ܠܗܐ | ܠܗܐ, and so the Curetonian. xxi. 25, ܠܗܐ | ܠܗܐ; Cur. ܠܗܐ, but the sentence is different. Ver. 32, ܠܗܐ, with ribui. xxii. 1, ܠܗܐ | ܠܗܐ. Ver. 7, ܠܗܐ | ܠܗܐ, and ܠܗܐ | ܠܗܐ, the latter with the support of two other MSS. Ver. 14, ܠܗܐ | ܠܗܐ. Ver. 26, ܠܗܐ | ܠܗܐ; also ܠܗܐ | ܠܗܐ, and so Cur., but the resemblance is accidental, as the context is differently expressed. Ver. 72, ܠܗܐ | ܠܗܐ. xxiii. 25, from this place the Curetonian is defective to St. Mark xvi. 17. xxvi. 38, omits ܠܗܐ. Ver. 42, ܠܗܐ | ܠܗܐ. Ver. 43, ܠܗܐ | ܠܗܐ; also ܠܗܐ | ܠܗܐ. xxvii. 41, ܠܗܐ | ܠܗܐ, but the ܐ apparently added later. Ver. 42, omits ܠܗܐ. Ver. 55, ܠܗܐ | ܠܗܐ. Ver. 63, ܠܗܐ. St. Mark i. 3, ܠܗܐ | ܠܗܐ. Ver. 10, ܠܗܐ | ܠܗܐ, but it is a

correction. ii. 3, ܠܐܠܐ | ܠܐܠܐ. Ver. 12, ܠܐܠܐܠܐ | ܠܐܠܐܠܐ. iii. 20, ܠܐܠܐܠܐܠܐ | ܠܐܠܐܠܐܠܐ. iv. 2, omits second ܠܐܠܐ. Ver. 6, ܠܐܠܐ | ܠܐܠܐ, mistake. Ver. 25, ܠܐܠܐ | ܠܐܠܐ. v. 9, ܠܐܠܐ | ܠܐܠܐ. Ver. 14, ܠܐܠܐ | ܠܐܠܐ. Ver. 30, ܠܐܠܐ | ܠܐܠܐ, with ribui. Ver. 34, ܠܐܠܐܠܐ | ܠܐܠܐܠܐ. vi. 31, ܠܐܠܐܠܐ | ܠܐܠܐܠܐ. Ver. 34, ܠܐܠܐ | ܠܐܠܐ. Ver. 41, ܠܐܠܐ | ܠܐܠܐ. viii. 3, ܠܐܠܐ | ܠܐܠܐ. ix. 1, ܠܐܠܐ | ܠܐܠܐ; now, by correction. x. 29, omits ܠܐܠܐ. Ver. 46, ܠܐܠܐ | ܠܐܠܐ, but in the second place where the word occurs it is spelled as in the received text. This is an instance of the fluctuations which occur in the MSS., and even in the same codex, in the spelling of proper names, and of some other words. Also ܠܐܠܐ | ܠܐܠܐ. Ver. 31, ܠܐܠܐ | ܠܐܠܐ. Ver. 32, ܠܐܠܐ | ܠܐܠܐ. xii. 18, ܠܐܠܐܠܐ | ܠܐܠܐܠܐ. xiv. 3, omits ܠܐܠܐ. Ver. 4, ܠܐܠܐܠܐ | ܠܐܠܐܠܐ. Ver. 29, ܠܐܠܐܠܐ | ܠܐܠܐܠܐ, a mistake, no doubt, as there is no change of the word in ver. 27. Ver. 39, omits ܠܐܠܐ. xv. 1, ܠܐܠܐܠܐ | ܠܐܠܐܠܐ. Ver. 29, ܠܐܠܐ | ܠܐܠܐ. Ver. 36, ܠܐܠܐ | ܠܐܠܐ. Ver. 41, ܠܐܠܐܠܐ | ܠܐܠܐܠܐ. xvi. 8, ܠܐܠܐ | ܠܐܠܐ.

Among the passages now examined where readings peculiar to Codd. Add. 14459 occur, there are twenty-two in which comparison may be made with the Curetonian, that version being defective in the other places. Among these twenty-two it will be observed that there are only *three* (St. Matt. xii. 13; xiii. 53; xx. 8) where the readings of our very ancient text approximate more nearly than does the common text of Widmanstadt to the version considered by many to be the earliest Syriac translation.

These peculiarities of our codex are not only of some interest in themselves, but they are evidence of the individual and independent character of the several MSS. of the Tattam Collection. It has been already observed (p. 161) that where the ancient text of Codd. Add. 14459 differs from the printed text of Widmanstadt, such variations are usually supported by the concurrent testimony of a number of other ancient codices. But it is not to be supposed that these witnesses

are mere echoes of the same evidence, servile copies of a prototype, and only representing the tradition of some one school or monastery. Their character may be well illustrated by the case of the cursive manuscripts of the Greek Testament. These have indeed all a resemblance, more or less marked, to the type of text preserved in the Codex Alexandrinus. But (to quote the words of a competent judge), 'No one who has paid adequate attention to them can fail to be struck with the *individual character* impressed upon nearly all¹.' And these words apply with equal force to the MSS. of the Peshito in the Tattam Collection. All, as well as the Cod. Add. 14459, have their peculiar readings, and in reference to that particular MS. it will be noticed that in three instances (St. Matt. xxvii. 41; St. Mark i. 10 and ix. 1) the peculiarities are due to correction leading the text further from the type preserved in the mass of MSS., and conforming it to some ancient model, which has now perished. It is unfortunate that the Curetonian is not extant in these places, to allow of comparison. Further evidence of the independence of these MSS. appears in the different arrangement of the paragraphs of the sacred text in the different copies. In some the paragraphs are numerous; in others few, and differently placed. For example, in St. Matt. x. the Cod. 14459 makes a break in our Lord's discourse at the end of verse 10, and seems to stand alone in so doing. In c. xi. it makes its division at the end of verse 1, thus not so distinctly connecting the message of the Baptist with the preaching of Christ recorded in verse 1, as do other authorities. And similarly in other MSS. divisions are constantly made, more or less arbitrarily, according to the fashion of some scribe or school. The MSS. also show their mutual independence in their manner of dealing with the orthography of proper names and some other words. Thus, amid a remarkable agreement which greatly assists the critic in reconstructing

¹ Scrivener, *Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, First Edition, 1861, p. 407.

the ancient text, there is yet such independence as gives weight to the testimony of each individual codex.

Having now described the Cod. Add. 14459, and given a sufficient account of its contents, it remains to point out some conclusions which seem to follow from the facts thus brought to light.

I. The text of our codex reproduces that of the version read in the Syrian Church at a period anterior to the two historical revisions of the Peshito. Had we only possessed MSS. written subsequently to the labours of Philoxenus, and of Thomas of Harkel, it might justly have been doubted if what professed to be the original Peshito had not been to some extent modified through the influence of the two later revisions. The well-known date of Thomas of Harkel's work is A.D. 616; but his revision of the Syriac Vulgate would seem to have been based on the translation made by the Chorepiscopus Polycarp for, and perhaps with the aid of Philoxenus, who was Bishop of Mabug from A.D. 488-518. The date assigned to this work is A.D. 508: we have already concluded, on evidence which almost amounts to a demonstration, that the Cod. Add. 14459 was written before the year A.D. 500, and is probably as old as 450. At the latest date assignable to it, it must have been written some years before Philoxenus' work, and may well be half a century older. It therefore cannot have been affected by those two subsequent revisions; and it is found that its text is substantially the same which Widmanstadt printed as the text received in the Syrian Churches. And the remarkable agreement between MSS. of the Peshito from the sixth century downwards is thus seen to have arisen, not from an enforced harmony produced by a new translation or critical revision, but rather because the text had so existed from earliest times, and was jealously transmitted intact. Cod. Add. 14459 assures us that we possess in the received Peshito text the same version, in all important particulars, which was read in the Church of Edessa in the middle of the fifth century.

It may indeed be objected that it is assuming too much to assert of the translation of the New Testament, as a whole, that which is true *prima facie* of only two Gospels. But the remarkable agreement found between the ancient MSS. of the Peshito will convince an unprejudiced critic that from other ancient codices, which are found to agree with this codex, he could reproduce what is lacking therein. Hence we may be assured that the scribe who in the middle, or the latter half, of the fifth century copied out SS. Matthew and Mark in the form preserved in No. 14459, would have produced a New Testament, if he had continued his work, of the same type of text as these two Gospels. From the nature of the case this cannot be demonstrated, but study of documentary evidence produces conviction that so it must be.

II. But every MS. preserves a text older, often far older, than itself, except it be the very autograph of the author. The text of Cod. Add. 14459 carries us back in our inquiries concerning the origin of the Peshito to a period far anterior to the middle of the fifth century; for what reason is there to doubt that the two Gospels which it preserves for us are a part of that Syriac New Testament which St. Ephraem quotes so frequently, and which Aphraates cites in almost every sentence of his Homilies¹? And if those Gospels, in the form preserved in our codex, are a part of their New Testament, we are assured by the considerations already suggested that the complete Testament in use among the early Syrian Fathers must have been substantially the same as that known for centuries as the Peshito. This point can only be satisfactorily settled by an exhaustive examination of the quotations in the early Syriac writers. It is usually assumed that the quotations in St. Ephraem are made from the Peshito, but the question deserves full investigation, which should extend to all the early Syriac literature. It might be found

¹ St. Ephraem flourished about a century before Cod. Add. 14459 was written, his period being A.D. 299-378. The period of Aphraates is not yet precisely determined, but many of his Homilies are dated for different years between A.D. 337 and 345.

that those writers employed, as their vernacular New Testament, some other version which has now perished, being succeeded by the Peshito, in the early years of the fifth century, but that has yet to be proved¹.

III. The importance of these facts and inferences in their bearing upon the criticism of the Greek Testament is obvious. It has hitherto been an easy task to disparage the testimony of the Peshito by the retort that we can only quote it in evidence as it has come down to us : we do not know what it read in the third and fourth centuries. Recent investigations, of which a specimen is given in this paper, enable us to trace back the text of the Peshito to the very verge of St. Ephraem's days, and we think we can follow the stream much further yet. And as far as we follow it, we find it the same : and we know what the great Church of Edessa received as the text of the New Testament in the fifth century, if not indeed in the fourth, and even earlier. That is to say (not to *overstate* the case) at the period when the celebrated uncial Greek MSS. of the New Testament were written, we find the Syrian Church accepting a text which is not altogether in accordance with them, but which rather inclines to that type of text which most modern critics have rejected in favour of one based on those uncial MSS., and in particular on two of them, codices \aleph and B². It is not within the scope of this paper to weigh the evidence of those great codices against that of the venerable version accepted in the Churches of the East. It may be (no opinion is now offered on the point) that the early Syrian Church was so unfortunate as to possess a very corrupt Vulgate. But it is to be observed that we *must commit ourselves to that view* if we resolve to base our text on the evidence of a few early Greek MSS. alone, and

¹ It would seem that G. L. Spohn had examined the quotations in St. Ephraem in his *Collatio Versionis Syriacae cum S. Ephraemi Commentario*, Lipsiae, 1785, but the book is very scarce, being neither in the Bodleian nor the British Museum. See also Note, p. 173.

² Referring to the twelve passages examined in pp. 162-3 f., and omitting (4) as being of a different character from the others, we find that except in (6) the Peshito disagrees with \aleph , B, and other uncials.

always to reject the witness of the Peshito where it disagrees with them.

IV. The comparison which has been made between some of the readings of the Cod. Add. 14459 and Cureton's Syriac suggests in conclusion a further inquiry as to the relation of the one to the other. It would seem that the two codices were written about the same time. There is no indication of a date in the Curetonian; but as we assign the Cod. Add. 14459, from the character of the handwriting, to the middle or latter half of the fifth century, so did Dr. Cureton assign his manuscript to about the same age, for the same reason. Dr. Wright, in the British Museum Catalogue, vol. i. p. 73, assents to this opinion, and it appears to be held on very good grounds.

It is well known that the illustrious discoverer of the Curetonian Syriac, and after him others, have held that it represents the oldest form of the Syriac New Testament, and that it was succeeded by the more polished, if not more accurate, Peshito; being ultimately so completely supplanted by the latter that it was no longer copied, and has survived to our day, as far as we know, in only one MS. If this were the true account of the relation to one another of the two versions, we should expect to find, in the most ancient text of the Peshito, many traces of the readings of the older version which it had supplanted. These might not be very numerous in the printed text of Widmanstadt, for it has been ascertained that the later MSS. of the Peshito underwent some revision, though this extended for the most part only to grammatical forms and orthography; but the most ancient MSS., and notably that now under particular examination, would surely contain at least some of them. Whether this be so or not can only be determined by an exhaustive comparison of the ancient text of the Peshito with the Curetonian text, but even the passages examined in this paper will afford grounds for an opinion. Among the 34 variations noted in the careful collation of texts made in pp. 159, 160, it was observed that only nine readings

of Cod. Add. 14459 found any support in the Curetonian, and the resemblance of some of even that small number was doubtful. But a much more significant fact remains to be noted. In eleven passages, where the text of our ancient codex has a different reading from the text of Widmanstadt, sometimes with, sometimes without, the support of other Syriac codices, the Curetonian text, instead of agreeing with the ancient Peshito, approximates to, or even agrees with, the text of Widmanstadt. The passages shall be set down, that the reader may judge for himself.

- | | | | |
|-------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------|
| (1) | St. Matt. vii. 21, | Widmanstadt, | ܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ |
| | | Curetonian, | ܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ |
| | | 14459 and others, | ܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ |
| (2) | „ viii. 4, | Widmanstadt, | ܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ |
| | | Curetonian, | ܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ |
| | | 14459 and others, | ܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ |
| (3) and (4) | „ 15, | Widmanstadt, | ܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ |
| | | Curetonian, | ܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ |
| | | 14459 alone, | ܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ |
| (5) | „ „ 20, | Widmanstadt, | ܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ |
| | | Curetonian, | ܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ |
| | | 14459 and four others, | ܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ |
| (6) | „ xv. 5, | Widmanstadt and Curetonian, | ܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ |
| | | 14459 with two others, | ܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ |
| (7) | „ „ 7, | Widmanstadt and Curetonian, | ܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ |
| | | 14459 and other ancient MSS. omit | ܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ |
| (8) and (9) | „ 14, | Widmanstadt, | ܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ |
| | | Curetonian, | ܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ |
| | | 14459 alone, | ܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ |
| (10) | „ „ 27, | Widmanstadt, | ܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ |
| | | Curetonian, | ܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ ܕܡܥ |

	14459 and two others,	ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ
(11) St. Matt. xv. 34,	Widmanstadt,	ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ
	Curetonian,	ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ
	14459 and all MSS.,	ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ

It may be remarked in the above examples that not only does the Curetonian approximate to the historically later text of Widmanstadt, but several of the readings are of a more modern character. Thus (2) may be suspected of having been conformed to the Greek; (3) is apparently an epexegetis; and (7) is evidently a gloss, while (1), (5), (10), and (11) look like linguistic corrections. In fine, there is nothing in results derived from our present investigations to warrant the belief that the true text of the Peshito would more nearly resemble the Curetonian type of text, than does the current Syriac text with which scholars are familiar in the pages of Widmanstadt. The bearing of this position upon the question of the age of the Curetonian is obvious, but it is not within the scope of this paper to pursue the subject further than to remark, that, if it should hereafter be proved that the Curetonian, rather than the Peshito text, can be traced in the writings of the earliest Syrian Fathers, it will by no means follow that the Peshito was derived from the Curetonian *as we have it*, although it is possible that both are derived from still earlier versions made in the very first days of Syrian Christianity. But no conjectures are offered. We insist, however, on the evidence which has been adduced of the great age of the text of the Peshito, and we affirm that while it has thus the unimpeachable credentials of immense antiquity, and the authority of universal acceptance in the Syrian Church, the Curetonian presents itself as a solitary, an unique, and an unsupported work.

It may be convenient to summarize the results arrived at in this paper under four heads:—

1. That we possess, in the hitherto almost unexplored treasures of the Tattam Collection in the British Museum, manuscripts of the Peshito of such value and antiquity (one

of the most important being described in these pages) that by their aid, and in conjunction with other materials, we can restore the text of the Peshito at least as it existed in the fifth century of the Christian era.

2. That this restoration involves very little alteration of the received text of Widmanstadt.

3. That these alterations are moreover of such a character that they affect but very slightly the relation of the Syriac Version to the original Greek Text.

4. That the ancient text thus restored does not, on the whole, approximate to the Curetonian type of text, but shows as great an independence of it as does the received text of Widmanstadt.

Note referred to on page 169.

THE Rev. F. H. Woods, of St. John's College, Oxford, who has lately collated all the New Testament quotations in the *Opera Omnia S. Ephraemi Syri, Romae*, MDCCXXXVII, with the Syriac text of Widmanstadt, and also those made by the same Father from the portions of the Gospels extant in the *Curetonian Fragments* with the published edition of that version, has kindly supplied me with the following results of his investigations:—

1. The text of the Syriac version employed by St. Ephraem was one resembling very closely that published by Widmanstadt.

2. The differences, which are certainly very considerable in number, are mainly such as naturally arise from a careless or free quotation, it being the habit of the writer generally to interweave passages of Scripture into his argument instead of quoting directly.

3. Some few of these differences are true variants, and correspond to similar variations in the Greek text or other versions. Thus, in quoting Acts v. 41 (vol. iv, p. 371) St. Ephraem has ܐܘܪܝܬܐ, corresponding to *τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ*, the reading of some cursive manuscripts, the Aethiopic version, and Origen, instead of ܐܘܪܝܬܐ, *τοῦ ὀνόματος*, the reading of \aleph A B C D, etc.

4. In some cases his quotation agrees with the Greek text as against the Peshito. Thus, again in Acts v. 41 he has ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ, *προσώπου του συνεδρίου*, while the Peshito has only ܐܘܪܝܬܐ. In

quoting St. Luke i. 75 (vol. i. p. 438 c) he adds ܕܝܚܝܬܐ, καὶ δικαιοσύνη, as in the Greek ¹.

5. In those quotations where comparison can be made with the Curetonian version, St. Ephraem's words agree rather with the Peshito. There is only one exception (vol. iv. p. 18 E), where, quoting St. John i. 3, St. Ephraem has ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ, with the Curetonian, whereas the Peshito has ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ. The passage is too short to prove anything. On the other hand, there are at least ten passages where the quotation either agrees entirely with the Peshito, and differs from the Curetonian, or agrees more closely with the former than with the latter. In many other passages the quotation differs verbally from both, especially where they agree with each other; but this is to be accounted for by the obviously loose manner in which St. Ephraem quotes. In vol. vi. p. 585 D, St. Ephraem, quoting St. Matt. xv. 27, has ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ for ܕܡܝܬܐ, a word which occurs neither in the Peshito nor the Curetonian, but is found in the Harkleian version.

On the whole, Mr. Woods concludes that it is obvious that St. Ephraem did not use the Curetonian version.

¹ Though Widmanstadt did not print the ܕܝܚܝܬܐ, the evidence of ancient MSS. requires its restoration to the text of the Peshito.—G. H. G.

IX.

THE DATE OF S. POLYCARP'S MARTYRDOM.

[T. RANDELL.]

A. = Aristides' *Sacred Discourses*. These *τεροὶ λόγοι* are contained in Vol. i. of Dindorf's *Aristides*, published at Leipzig in 1829; and to that volume the pages given in the following notes refer.

M. = *Joannis Masson Collectanea Historica ad Aristidis Vitam*, as reprinted in Vol. iii. of Dindorf's *Aristides* (see above).

P. = Vol. ii. of Pearson's *Minor Theological Works*, edited by Churton.

W. = W. H. Waddington's Memoir on the Chronology of the Life of Aristides, as printed in the first part of Tome xxvi. of the *Mémoires de l'Institut Impérial de France: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* (Paris, 1867).

Wo. = Bp. Chr. Wordsworth's *Church History to the Council of Nicaea* (3rd ed. Rivingtons, 1883).

A LONDON bookseller of the seventeenth century, Featherstone by name, speculated in a bold way by a transaction that may fairly rank with the greatest exploits of Mr. Quaritch. He bought what seems to have been the bulk of the manuscript portion of the library of a Venetian gentleman, and brought it to England for sale. The fact was of course made known to the literary men of the time, as well as to the wealthy patrons of literature; and fortunately the valuable collection was not seriously broken up or scattered. There was an English nobleman who saw what a rare opportunity was offered him to testify his esteem for literature and to benefit future generations of students. Moreover, he had been well 'bred'—to use his own expression—by the University of Oxford, which had also lately honoured him by electing him to the high dignity of Chancellor; and he would fain show gratitude for both the past privilege and the recent compliment. Accordingly, he entered into negotiations with Mr. Featherstone before many volumes of the Venetian gen-

tleman's collection had been sold, and the result of the negotiations was that he purchased and presented to this University the 242 valuable manuscripts now known as the Barocci Collection in the Bodleian Library. The name given to the collection is that of the Venetian gentleman, Giacomo Barocci, to whom the manuscripts had formerly belonged. The munificent donor of them to Oxford was William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, whose name is over the inner entrance of the passage that leads out of the old 'Schools' quadrangle, on the south side towards the Camera Radcliviana. The price he paid for the manuscripts was £700, a sum which (Mr. Thorold Rogers kindly informs me) may fairly be considered as equivalent to at least £2000 at the present day. The benefaction was made in the year 1629¹.

The Barocci MS. No. 238, assigned by the late Mr. Coxe to the eleventh century, contains, among other things, the original Greek text of the 'Martyrium Polycarpi'; and from it Archbishop Ussher published the *editio princeps* of that work in 1647. Even now no other manuscript in England is known to contain it, although there are three others in continental libraries².

A Latin version of the Martyrium was apparently made at a very early date, and the extant manuscripts of this are more numerous than those of the Greek original, at least seven having been used by editors. The translation is, however, so very free that it is of but little service for the criticism of the Greek text.

More help is obtained from Eusebius, who has quoted *verbatim* a great part of the Martyrium in his 'Historia Ecclesiastica,' iv. 15. Some portions are also transcribed *verbatim* in the tenth-century manuscript of the 'Chronicon Paschale,'

¹ Macray's *Annals of the Bodleian Library*, pp. 53, 54. At p. 55 Mr. Macray tells us that 'a further portion of the collection (consisting of twenty-two Greek MSS. and two Russian), which had been retained by the Earl, was subsequently purchased by Oliver Cromwell, and given by him to the Library in 1654.'

² One at Paris (No. 1452), formerly at Florence; one at Vienna (*Hist. Graec. Eccles.* No. 3); and one at Moscow (No. 159).

a work otherwise known as the 'Fasti Siculi' and as the 'Alexandrian Chronicle.'

There are thus seven authorities practically available for the establishment of the Greek text of the Martyrium, viz. the four Greek manuscripts, Eusebius, the Latin version, and the Paschal Chronicle.

The Martyrium is the only original account of the death of S. Polycarp. So far as I am aware, the event is not elsewhere mentioned with anything like a date until we find it in the writings of Eusebius; and, seeing that he used the Martyrium as apparently his only authority or source of information on the subject, we may well suppose that all later writers have depended solely on the same account.

From internal evidence it is fairly inferred that the Martyrium was written within a year of the event which it describes, and although some modern critics have suspected parts of it to be interpolations, or the whole of it to be untrustworthy, yet most scholars have accepted it as genuine and authentic.

When, at the suggestion of Professor Wordsworth, I undertook to prepare a paper on the date of S. Polycarp's Martyrdom, I naturally began by making a careful investigation of this document. I have used the recent edition of the 'Patres Apostolici' by Funk. The Barocci MS.—the only original material within my reach—I collated with Funk's text: although that may perhaps seem to have been a work of supererogation, and has certainly furnished no additional information as to the date.

The Martyrium appears at first sight to afford abundant materials for fixing the date. Not only does it mention the names of several persons, some of whom held important public offices in Smyrna, but it states the hour, the day of the week, the day of the month—and that according to two reckonings—as well as the name of the proconsul who was holding office when the martyrdom took place. And as the proconsulate was an annual office, naming the proconsul may be considered

equivalent to stating the year. Hence it would seem that no chronological question could well be found easier to answer than that which asks the date of S. Polycarp's martyrdom. Yet, as a matter of fact, hardly any question of the kind has been answered in so many ways. This may be seen from the foot-note¹, in which are shown some of the dates that have been actually assigned to S. Polycarp's death by various scholars, all of whom have some claim on our attention.

These dates will be seen to range over nearly thirty years, viz. from A.D. 147 to A.D. 175; and to belong to the reigns of two Roman Emperors, viz. Antoninus Pius, who died in March, 161, and his successor, Marcus Aurelius. Some writers, who do not assign the martyrdom to any particular year, place it in the reign of the latter emperor, and so far favour one of the later dates.

Of all the clues to the date which are found in the Martyrium by far the most important is the name of the proconsul under whom S. Polycarp suffered; and the investigation of the time during which the person bearing that name held office will occupy most of our attention. The genitive of the name is given in the Barocci MS. as *Σπαρlov Κοπάρο[v]*, but editors have all agreed to correct this (in conformity with the Latin version) into *Σπαρlov Κοναδπάρο*². The name, therefore, in its Latin form is Statius Quadratus.

¹ The martyrdom of S. Polycarp has been assigned to the year—

147 by Pearson; Dodwell; Gallandi.

155 by Waddington; Zahn; Renan; Hilgenfeld; Lightfoot; Letronne; Borghesi; de Rossi.

156 by Lipsius.

158 by Pagi (with some hesitation).

161 by Baratier; Idatius.

163 by the Paschal Chronicle.

164 by Greswell.

166 by Clinton; Noris; Tillemont; Masson; Wieseler; Uhlhorn.

167 by Valesius.

168 by Eusebius and S. Jerome (as some think).

169 by Baronius; Mosheim; Ussher.

175 by Petit.

² Or *Κοδπάρο*, according to the orthography found in the editions of

From the 'Fasti Romani' we learn that a person of this name was *consul* in the year A.D. 142: he would thus have been eligible for the *proconsulate* in any of the years assigned to S. Polycarp's martyrdom. Doubtless, therefore, the consul of 142 and the proconsul who conducted S. Polycarp's trial are one and the same person. This Quadratus is frequently mentioned in the extant works of Ælius Aristides, the rhetorician, who was not only a contemporary of S. Polycarp, but lived much in the same city. From the data furnished by Aristides modern scholars have attempted to fix the year of the proconsulate of Quadratus, and I will now proceed to show the method by which (as I believe) they have obtained a correct result.

As a basis for calculating the date of Quadratus from the writings of Aristides, it may be best to investigate the date of another proconsul of Asia, whose name was Julianus; and we shall be able to fix the date of Julianus with remarkable precision. Two contemporary inscriptions enable us to do this.

The first is an inscription¹ from the ruins of the Odeum of Ephesus; it was discovered in March, 1864, by Mr. J. T. Wood, the English architect, and is now in the British Museum. It is mutilated, but its purport and dates are clear and certain. It is the transcript of a letter from Antoninus Pius to the magistrates of Ephesus, dated in his eighth possession of tribunician power, which is definitely known to have been the year 145; and at the end it mentions 'Julianus, the most excellent proconsul.'

The second is an inscription² on a medal, also from Ephesus, now in the National Library at Paris. On one side it exhibits

Aristides (e.g. Dindorf's ed. vol. i. p. 521, lines 3 and 15): this would only imply the omission of one letter (δ) in the Barocci MS.

¹ Appendix A, Inscription No. 3. The other inscription (No. 4) given in Appendix A suggests or confirms many of the conjectural readings in the lost portions of No. 3, and the comparison of the two is very interesting.

² W., p. 211. Also Mionnet's *Description de Médailles antiques*, tome iii. Ionie, No. 321 (p. 103). The British Museum possesses a sulphur cast of this medal, a full description of which has been kindly sent me by B. V. Head, Esq.

the heads and names¹ of Verus Cæsar and Faustina; on the other side the legend² informs us that the medal was struck when Julianus was governing the people of Ephesus. Beyond doubt, therefore, Julianus was proconsul at the time of the marriage of Verus Cæsar and Faustina, which this medal commemorates. And we know, from quite independent historical testimony, that this marriage took place early in 146, the Verus Cæsar being the person better known to us under his subsequent imperial title of Marcus Aurelius, and his bride being his cousin Annia Faustina, daughter of the reigning emperor, Antoninus Pius.

The year of the proconsulate in the province of Asia was not reckoned from January to January, but from May to May. So that these two inscriptions, fixing the proconsulate of Julianus to the years 145 and 146 respectively, are not discordant with each other. On the contrary, the two in combination give us the date of Julianus' proconsulate with greater precision than could be attained from either of them separately; and we may consider it absolutely certain that Julianus was proconsul of Asia in 145-6, from May 145 to May 146.

It also appears that he was proconsul during the second year of the long malady of Aristides, of which that author gives so many and such curious details in his 'Sacred Discourses.'

This, however, by no means appears on the surface, and I have to endeavour to explain how it is arrived at.

Towards the end of the fourth Sacred Discourse, Aristides recounts several transactions that had happened between himself and different proconsuls; 'the first of all which transactions was,' he says³, 'a service rendered him by Julianus:' and we learn that this happened:—

- (1) Not long after the series of travels that had kept Aristides many years from home;

¹ ΟΥΗΡΟΣ · ΚΑΙCΑΡ · [Φ]ΑΥCΤΕΙ[N]Α · CΕ.

² ΕΠΙ · ΦΑ · ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ · ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ.

³ A., p. 532 (esp. line 10, τὸ πρῶτον ἀπάντων τούτων).

- (2) When Aristides was residing at Pergamos ; and
- (3) While he was ill, and (in particular) suffering from difficulty of breathing—*εἶχον μὲν οὕτως τὸ σῶμα ὥστε ἀναπνεῖν μόλις*¹.

Now we know that his series of travels immediately preceded his long malady, or rather that the malady began just before the travels ended. He also tells us that at the end of a year and some months after the commencement of his malady, having made a short stay at Smyrna, he went to reside at Pergamos—*καὶ παρελθόντος ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ μηνῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν Περγᾶμῳ καθέδραν ἦλθομεν*².

Again, in the Second Discourse, he mentions that after his return from Italy he had been troubled by some asthmatic complaint, and he describes it in precisely the same words as he uses in the Fourth Discourse about his suffering at Pergamos—*Χαλεπώτατον δ' ἀπάντων ὅτι τοῦ πνεύματος ἀπεκεκλείμην, καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς πρᾶγματι καὶ ἀπιστίας μόλις ἂν ποτε ἀνέπνευσα βιαίως καὶ ἀγαπητῶς*³.

It seems quite certain, therefore, that about the middle of the second year of his malady Aristides was residing at Pergamos, and suffering from great difficulty of breathing ; precisely as was the case when the transaction took place between him and Julianus the proconsul. But after he had stayed some little time at Pergamos, he was able to resume his professional occupation, and once more to deliver his rhetorical discourses in public. We may reasonably infer that the resumption of public speaking did not take place until the difficulty of breathing had passed off : and this justifies us in fixing the proconsulate of Julianus to the second year of Aristides' malady.

As this synchronism is of the utmost importance, I should like to say that I quite recognise the element of uncertainty in it. It is, in my opinion, absolutely certain that Julianus was proconsul in 145-6 ; also that Aristides was at Pergamos

¹ A., p. 532, lines 23-4.

² A., p. 483, lines 32-3.

³ A., p. 466, lines 17-20.

at the same time ; also that the date of his transaction with Julianus was not *earlier* than the second year of his malady. I do not think it is quite certain that it may not have been *later* than the second year of the malady. Nevertheless, the indications that I have mentioned as being furnished by his condition of health, and the references to his recent travels, point to the very earliest stage of his residence in Pergamos, and render the hypothesis that Julianus was proconsul in any later year of the malady highly improbable ; and the later the year the more improbable the hypothesis. I therefore consider the synchronism between Julianus' proconsulate and the second year of Aristides' malady to be only slightly removed from positive certainty ; and the element of uncertainty is made still less important by the discovery that other data fit in conveniently when we adopt this synchronism as a working hypothesis.

From this starting-point let us now advance a step. Not yet, however, to the proconsulate of Quadratus, but to that of a certain Severus. This step gives us very little trouble. For, in his 'Sacred Discourses,' Aristides definitely states¹ that Severus was proconsul in the tenth year of his malady. As we have fixed the second year of this sickness at 145-6, we must, of course, fix the tenth year by adding on eight, making the date of the proconsulate of Severus to be 153-4².

¹ A., p. 502 ab init., and p. 505, lines 5 and 6. Cf. M., p. cxx. bottom.

² Here, however, I must point out the possibility of making a mistake of a year.

Aristides' malady began in the autumn, so that, if he reckoned the years of the malady strictly, every one of those years would begin at autumn-time, say October 1. But the proconsular years began (as I have already said) in the early summer, about May 1. Hence any given year of Aristides' malady would be contemporaneous, roughly speaking, with the second half of one proconsulate and the former half of the next.

It follows that unless we know at what part of the year of the malady (whether early or late) any particular event happened, we may assign it to the wrong proconsulate. In the present case our argument really proves only that Severus was proconsul either in 153-4 or in 154-5 : it cannot decide between the two.

But as we have supposed an event of the second year of the malady to have happened in the proconsular year 145-6, we now suppose an event of the tenth

One step more will bring us to Quadratus. But to take it requires what some may deem a venture of faith rather than an exercise of reason. It can only be done by interpreting in a definite manner a sentence of Aristides' which some may deem too indefinite to bear such an interpretation.

In a certain place¹ Aristides says that he thinks Severus was proconsul the year before his friend, without naming the friend—'Ο Σεβήρος ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας ἡγεμὼν ἦρξεν, οἶμαι, ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἐταίρου. In order to take the final step in fixing the date of proconsulate of Quadratus we have to suppose—

- (1) That Aristides' οἶμαι is equivalent to an οἶδα: in other words, that we may trust the accuracy of his memory as regards such a matter.
- (2) That Aristides' unnamed friend was none other than Quadratus.

As regards the force of οἶμαι, I will only say that I have found it elsewhere in the writings of Aristides in passages where it could scarcely have implied any serious doubt, and that I therefore look upon it as practically of no more weight to disparage a statement than our own oft-heard expression 'if I remember rightly.' It is also just to remark that if Aristides had made a mistake on this point, in the rough draft of his book, he would surely have afterwards discovered and corrected a statement which could so easily have been tested.

As to the identification of Aristides' unnamed friend with Quadratus, I do not think doubt would be felt on the point by anyone who had read the context in which the above-quoted passage occurs. Quadratus was a rhetorician by profession, as was Aristides; and when they met, Quadratus treated Aristides with many marked expressions of courtesy and honour. Aristides, who is fond of flattery if of anything, has

year to fall in 153-4. Such reasoning is fair; but it must be allowed to involve the unexpressed condition that both the events happened in the same half (in this case it would be the earlier half) of the year. Cf. Appendix G.

¹ A., p. 523, lines 3-5.

been delighted to recount all this, and at the end of the recital says :—‘Severus, if I remember rightly, was proconsul the year before my friend.’ Surely the friend was Quadratus.

I may add that, after reading carefully through the whole of the Sacred Discourses, I have found in them no person named or alluded to who is *so* likely to have been the friend here referred to as Quadratus is. Further, if we accept the common identification of the proconsul Quadratus with the ‘Quadratus’ who is mentioned by Philostratus in his *Lives of the Sophists*¹, we have there additional evidence that Aristides and Quadratus were men of similar tastes and pursuits.

Assuming, therefore, that Quadratus was the immediate successor of Severus in the proconsulate of Asia, it follows that, as we have fixed the date of Severus’ period of office at 153–4, we must fix the year of office of Quadratus at 154–5, that is, from May 154 to May 155. Thus we have at length reached our goal.

It further follows that since, on any interpretation of the month and day of the event, S. Polycarp’s martyrdom happened in the spring of the year, before the month of May, it must have taken place in the latter part of the proconsulate of Quadratus, that is, in the year 155.

Assuming that the Martyrium is correct in assigning the death of the Saint to the early part of the year and to the proconsulate of Quadratus, and that the foregoing calculation of the period of this proconsulate is correct, we therefore conclude that *S. Polycarp was put to death in the spring of A.D. 155*.

But when we come to compare our conclusion with the date assigned to the same event by Eusebius, S. Jerome, and the largest number of historians, we find that our conclusion by no means agrees with their date. True, it is not easy to say precisely what their date is. Eusebius and S. Jerome seem to differ from one another, and their modern interpreters are not

¹ ii. 6.

of one mind as to what date either Eusebius or S. Jerome meant to give for S. Polycarp's death. But decidedly it was not 155, nor, indeed, in that decade at all. Decidedly it was in the next decade, whether 166¹, 167², 168³, 169⁴, or some earlier year. Decidedly, Eusebius' date falls within the reign of Marcus Aurelius : whereas our date is, quite as decidedly, within the reign of Antoninus Pius. How then are we to choose between the two ?

The learned Bishop of Lincoln, in his recent 'Church History,' states⁵ that he does 'not feel justified in abandoning' the later date ; and he opposes a series of objections to the earlier date, which, out of respect to such a writer, I propose now to consider.

OBJECTION 1.—Quadratus was proconsul in the *sixth* year of the malady of Aristides⁶, and not in the *eleventh*, as the advocates of the earlier date wrongly maintain.

ANSWER.—That Quadratus was proconsul in the sixth year of the malady was indeed the opinion of Masson, who, with great industry, endeavoured to construct a chronological account of the life of Aristides from the many scattered notices in his writings. But, even on Masson's own interpretations of some of Aristides' statements, it becomes impossible that Quadratus could have been proconsul in the sixth year of the malady ; and Masson could only defend his theory by attributing looseness and inaccuracy of statement to Aristides.

As a matter of fact, Aristides distinguishes between different stages of his malady, two of the chief of which stages he describes as τὸ τοῦ ἥτρου and τὸ τοῦ φύματος, characterized respectively by abdominal pains and by a troublesome tumour. The proconsulate of Quadratus synchronised with the abdominal pains. But this stage of the malady was preceded, many years before—πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν πρότερον—by the appearance of the

¹ As Bp. Wordsworth.

² As von Gutschmid.

³ As Waddington.

⁴ As Schoene.

⁵ Wo., p. 164, lines 32-35 of note.

⁶ Wo., p. 162, lines 18-20 of note.

tumour, which itself followed after the asthmatic complaint of the second year of the malady. Clearly, therefore, Masson's date must be wrong, and thus this objection falls.

OBJECTION 2.—The emperor was in Syria during the proconsulate of Quadratus, and therefore cannot have been Antoninus Pius, who never left Rome¹.

ANSWER.—Merivale² certainly states that Antoninus Pius resided constantly at Rome; but he gives no authority for the statement. This is rather remarkable, for when he has occasion to repeat the assertion, he refers the reader for proof of it to his own previous mention of it.

The extant original records of the age of the Antonines are very meagre; and Merivale seems to have supposed that, because he found in his authorities no mention of any journey from Rome undertaken by Antoninus Pius, he was at liberty to conclude that no such journey had ever been made. But such an inference is quite unwarrantable. And students have since had their attention drawn to a passage in a Byzantine historian, which, if Merivale had known it, would pretty certainly have prevented him from making the rash statement that has apparently been accepted by the Bishop of Lincoln.

The passage is in Malalas, p. 280 of the Bonn edition, and is to the following effect—conclusively proving that Antoninus Pius visited Syria. Malalas was himself a Syrian, a native of Antioch, and therefore may claim some credit for his contributions to the history of his native land: he lived probably in the sixth century, though some have assigned him to the ninth.

He sketches the reign of Antoninus Pius³, and devotes quite half the sketch to that emperor's doings in the East at Heliopolis in Phœnicia, at Laodicea in Syria, at Alexandria and elsewhere in Egypt, at Antioch in Syria, at Cæsarea in

¹ *Wo.*, p. 162, lines 21 and 27 of note.

² Vol. vii. pages 500 and 512, referred to by Bp. Wordsworth.

³ The sketch is given in full in Appendix B.

Palestine, at Nicomedia in Bithynia, and at Ephesus. The emperor's presence in person at some, at least, of these places is necessarily implied in the language, and at the end of this list of Eastern places visited we have the words: *καὶ ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ 'Ρώμην*, he did so and so.

OBJECTION 3.—In the proconsulate of Quadratus, Aristides refers to an interview between the elder emperor and Volongesus, king of Parthia, to a Parthian war, and to the prospect of peace between Rome and Parthia: all of which tallies with the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and not with that of Antoninus Pius¹.

ANSWER.—This reference does not tally in one important point with the reign of Marcus Aurelius, for it alludes to the emperor who was in the East as the *elder* emperor, whereas in the reign of Marcus Aurelius it was not the elder emperor that was engaged against the Parthians, but the *younger*, viz. Verus. On the other hand, if we compare it with the reign of Antoninus Pius, then (as we have just learnt from Malalas) the *elder* emperor *was* himself in Syria. Again: although Capitolinus² may be literally correct in saying that there was no Parthian war in the reign of Antoninus Pius, he may only have meant that there were no actual passages of arms, no battles, no great slaughters, as there were afterwards in the days of Marcus Aurelius. For there certainly were military preparations so far carried out as to be popularly spoken of as a Parthian War, in the reign of Antoninus Pius.

Capitolinus probably had this in mind when he wrote³ that Antoninus Pius stopped the attacks of the Parthians by his mere letters. The letters would certainly have carried more weight if they were known to be seconded and supported by military preparations.

But the fact is placed beyond doubt by an inscription⁴ still

¹ Wo., p. 162, lines 22-37 of note.

² In M. Aurel., c. 8 (referred to by Bp. Wordsworth).

³ In Anton. Pi., c. 9.

⁴ Appendix C.

to be seen over the public fountain at Sepino¹. There we are informed that, at least four years before the death of Antoninus Pius, a certain Neratius was entrusted with some of the preparations for the Parthian war: 'Missus ab imperatore Augusto Pio ad deducendas vexillationes in Syriam ob bellum Parthicum.'

Moreover, Aristides makes no reference to any actual conflicts: so that the mere imminence of a war, and preparations for it, would quite satisfy all the requirements of the case.

OBJECTION 4.—An ἀτέλεια, or immunity from official service, was confirmed to Aristides in the proconsulate of Severus (having been granted to him by Pollio, the previous proconsul); and yet we find that, in the proconsulate of Quadratus, Aristides was elected to an onerous public office, and did not plead his ἀτέλεια. Therefore it is unlikely that Quadratus succeeded Severus².

ANSWER.—We are not sure that Aristides did not plead his ἀτέλεια. All he tells us on this point is that, at the public meeting which had by acclamation elected him to this honourable dignity, he obtained permission to speak, and succeeded in persuading his hearers to desist from their request: λόγον δὲ αἰτήσας, οὕτως ἔπεισα ὥστε ὁ δῆμος ταύτης μὲν ἀπέστη τῆς ἀξιώσεως³.

I do not find that he tells us what arguments he used. Of course it may have been the case that 'he prayed the people to excuse him, in order that he might be relieved from so burdensome and expensive an office,' as the Bishop of Lincoln thinks; but his fondness for popularity, his delight in receiving flattering distinctions, and his high estimate of his own powers of persuasion by oratory, may well have combined to make him refrain from pleading his ἀτέλεια. Such a plea

¹ The ancient Sēpinum, a Samnite town, half-way in a direct line between the mouth of the Tiber and the seaport of Bari.

² Wo., p. 162, lines 37-42 of note; and p. 163, lines 14-28 of note.

³ A., p. 531, lines 17-18.

would in all likelihood have been far from popular with his audience.

In connexion with this objection the Bishop of Lincoln says¹ that Aristides 'goes back' to Quadratus 'in a retrograde course as by a ladder upward to Pollio' (Severus' predecessor): but, after carefully reading the page of Aristides to which reference is made in support of it, I am inclined to think that there must be some misprint or mistake in this statement.

OBJECTION 5.—In the proconsulate of Severus, Aristides received letters 'from the emperor, καὶ τοῦ παιδός, i. e. and from his son.' This accords better with Marcus Aurelius and Commodus than it does with Antoninus Pius².

ANSWER.—Those who hold to the later or Masson's chronology fix Severus' proconsulate in or about the year 169; whereas those who advocate the earlier (or Waddington's) chronology fix it in 153-4 or thereabouts. Let us consider each date separately.

Even in 169 there are difficulties in the way of understanding the expression 'the emperor and his son,' of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. For firstly, *Verus* did not die till the end of the year; and as he was during his lifetime co-emperor with Marcus Aurelius, all imperial decrees being issued by the '*Augusti fratres*,' it is surprising (even though he may have been absent from Italy) that his name is not mentioned. And as to Commodus, he was born in 161, and so could not have been more than eight years old—hardly old enough to send letters to anyone. And if it is argued on the one side that he had been made Cæsar in 166, it is also alleged on the other side that he was not associated in the actual government of the empire until 176.

But in 153-4 we can explain the expression much more easily. True, that then the emperor Antoninus Pius had *two* adopted sons; yet one, Verus, was too young to be likely

¹ Wo., p. 163, lines 22-23.

² Wo., p. 162, line 41 of note; p. 163, line 8 of note.

either to ratify an ἀρέλεια or to write a letter to Aristides, whereas the other, afterwards Marcus Aurelius, had already made Aristides' acquaintance.

The use of the word παῖς instead of υἱός does not seem to present any insuperable difficulty to the adoption of this view. And there is a very strong argument in favour of it, to which the Bishop of Lincoln has made no allusion.

The same messenger who delivered to Aristides the gratifying communications sent by his imperial correspondents, whoever they were, brought him other letters also from another correspondent of distinction, viz. Heliodorus, the prefect of Egypt¹. Aristides had made his acquaintance during his travels in Egypt, before the commencement of his malady. These Egyptian tours had occupied some time, for in the course of them Aristides had (as he himself tells us²) gone the whole length of the land, up to the cataracts, four times. He had also acquired so much fame in that country that at least one statue was erected with an inscription³ to his honour⁴. And Heliodorus had now not only written to him, but had written also to the proconsul Severus, highly eulogising Aristides.

It so happens that we possess an item of very definite information respecting the date of Heliodorus' prefecture in Egypt. In an inscription⁵ over the door of a temple at Kasr-Zayan, in the oasis of Thebes, he is mentioned as prefect of the country : and the inscription is dated the eighteenth of the month Mesori, in the third year of Antoninus Pius, i.e. August 12, 140.

Of course it is *possible* that a man who was prefect of Egypt in 140 may still have been prefect of Egypt in 168 or thereabouts, but it is not very *probable*, especially as there are reasons for supposing that he had been appointed to the office some years prior to 140. The passage of Malalas previously referred to increases the probability to a very high degree : for

¹ A., p. 524, lines 8-10.

² Aristides, ed. Dindorf, ii. p. 437, line 7.

³ Appendix D.

⁴ Letronne : *Recherches pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Égypte*, p. 294.

⁵ Appendix E.

it mentions another prefect of Egypt, whose name was Deinarchus, as holding office in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and as having been slain by Egyptian insurgents. Nay more, it informs us that Antoninus Pius conducted a campaign in Egypt for the purpose of quelling the insurrection, that he was successful in this campaign, and at the end of it went to Alexandria and beautified that city with new gates and a race-course. Since Antoninus Pius was upwards of seventy when he died, it is hardly likely that this journey of his was undertaken towards the close of his reign : so that in all probability Deinarchus had succeeded (whether immediately or not) to Heliodorus some years before the death of Antoninus Pius.

This harmonises well with the earlier date, 153-4, assigned to Severus' proconsulate in Asia ; but it is almost irreconcilable with the later date of 168.

In fact, it was the difficulty of harmonising the Kasr-Zayan inscription with the commonly-received date of Severus' proconsulate that led Letronne¹ to re-examine the data furnished by the writings of Aristides, and to point out other hindrances in the way of accepting Masson's chronology. To Letronne is due the credit of having shown how much more in harmony with other records the writings of Aristides would become if an earlier chronology were applied to them, and of detecting the two cardinal errors into which Masson had fallen. These were the following :—

- (1) Of two dates for Aristides' birth, 117 and 129 A.D., which equally fulfilled the conditions required by the astronomical data furnished in his writings, Masson chose the later².
- (2) Masson accepted without hesitation Eusebius' date for S. Polycarp's martyrdom, as he understood it,

¹ *Recherches pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Égypte pendant la domination des Grecs et des Romains*, pp. 253-259 [published at Paris in 1823]. These pages are reprinted almost *verbatim*, in the same author's *Recueil des Inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Égypte*, tome i. pp. 131-135 [published at Paris in 1842].

² M., p. xxiii. paragraph 3.

viz. 166 ; and made all the other dates of Aristides' narrative square with that as nearly as he could¹.

But Letronne's hints, after having been taken up and strengthened by Bartolomeo Borghesi, 'the celebrated epigraphist of San Marino,' were much more fully worked out in 1866 by Mons. W. H. Waddington, who is at present the French Ambassador to our English Government ; and his name has therefore become inseparably connected with the theory of the earlier dates.

We may the more readily acquiesce in giving him the credit for it when we remember that—Frenchman though he chooses to consider himself—he has an English name, comes of an English family, was brought up at the English public school of Rugby, and was educated at the English University of Cambridge.

But we must return to the Bishop of Lincoln's objections.

OBJECTION 6.—Aristides says that Severus was proconsul soon after the great plague, which was presumably the same that raged in Italy in 167².

ANSWER.—The advocates of the earlier date for Severus' proconsulate quite recognise the mention of this great plague : but they find that it raged in Asia Minor, not *before* the proconsulate of Severus, but *several years after*³ that time. Aristides was himself attacked by it ; so were all his servants : his physician was obliged to do servant's work for him in consequence, he tells us⁴. But all this was after the termination of his long malady, which was itself not cured until seven years or so after the proconsulate of Severus. The epidemic may therefore be easily identified with the great plague that raged in Italy in 167, especially as it is well known that that particular pestilence (like so many later ones) gradually travelled westward from Asia across Europe.

¹ M., p. lxxxix, paragraph 7 ; W., p. 207.

² Wo., p. 163, line 39 of note ; p. 164, line 3 of note.

³ A., pp. 475 and 504.

⁴ A., p. 475.

OBJECTION 7.—The martyrdom of Polycarp does not seem to be in harmony with the times of Antoninus Pius, but agrees very well with those of Marcus Aurelius¹.

ANSWER.—I do not know what Archdeacon Farrar might say on being told that a martyrdom such as that of S. Polycarp 'agrees' 'very well' with the times of Marcus Aurelius. For myself, I will only venture very respectfully to remark that, considered as an act of intolerant cruelty, it ill accords with the character of either of these excellent emperors; but, considered as the result of mistaken state-policy, it may be reconciled with the rule of the one as easily as with that of the other². It was (I would fain believe) not so much the persecution of a Christian as the execution of one who was deemed a disaffected subject. The *Martyrium* tells us that Polycarp was the twelfth Christian who suffered death at that time in the two cities of Philadelphia and Smyrna, and that his own death *ended the persecution*. And although his death was certainly preceded by all the forms of a regular judicial process, yet his offence was not so much his being a Christian as his refusing to obey imperial orders—his stubborn denial when urged to acknowledge imperial authority in the usual way.

Melito's statement that 'Antoninus Pius wrote to certain cities that they should not raise tumults or commit outrages against the Christians,' seems to imply the occurrence in his reign of some such events as the martyrdom of S. Polycarp, to which the proconsul was incited by the clamours of the populace: and the decrees put forth by Marcus Aurelius, of which Melito complains, may have been new ones, without implying the previous non-occurrence of such events as attended S. Polycarp's death.

These are all the objections which the Bishop of Lincoln makes against the earlier date, unless we add to the list two others which he expresses in a less pronounced manner.

¹ Wo., p. 164, lines 4-6 of note.

It may be noted that Valesius (according to Pearson, *Minor Works*, ed. Churton, ii. 526) thought Justin was martyred in the reign of Antoninus Pius.

OBJECTION 8.—Eusebius, S. Jerome, and others, give the later date ; and their testimony is important. Eusebius particularly is usually correct in events relating to the East¹.

ANSWER.—S. Jerome and the rest all follow Eusebius, and therefore add nothing to his authority. And a plausible explanation can be given of his mistake—supposing it to be a mistake—about this date. Another Quadratus was *consul* in the year 167. If we may conjecture that Eusebius, who did so much literary work that he must have done some of it hurriedly, mistook the *consul* Quadratus of 167 for the *pro-consul* Quadratus of the Martyrium, the difficulty is at once satisfactorily solved.

OBJECTION 9.—Irenaeus tells us that Polycarp visited Rome during the bishopric of Anicetus, which has generally been dated between 157 and 168².

ANSWER.—But, as Bishop Wordsworth acknowledges³, reasons have recently been given for placing the pontificate of Anicetus at an earlier date than that to which it has hitherto usually been assigned. Lipsius, who has probably studied the chronology of the early Roman bishops more carefully than any one else of our own time, quite recognises the possibility of harmonising the date of Anicetus with the early date of S. Polycarp's martyrdom ; although he prefers so far to take advantage of the one uncertain link, which I pointed out⁴ in the chain of evidence for the earlier date, as to assign the martyrdom to 156 instead of 155.

All the objections of the Bishop of Lincoln have now been fairly stated, and should, of course, be allowed their due weight. But I do not think any one of them or any combination of them is unanswerable, or sufficient to justify the retention of the later date.

Let me more briefly state a series of objections of another

¹ Wo., p. 161, lines 1-8 of note.

² Wo., p. 161, lines 9-15 of note.

³ Wo., p. 161, line 25 of note—p. 162, line 3 of note.

⁴ See p. 182.

kind, made by another learned English prelate, whose name will similarly command profound respect for every word he says. I refer to John Pearson, Bishop of Chester.

Pearson minutely studied the chronology of the early bishops of Rome, and his researches for ascertaining the date of Anicetus caused him to investigate that of the martyrdom of S. Polycarp. So far from feeling the interview which Anicetus had with Polycarp to be in harmony with the later date of the latter's death, which was in his days universally accepted, he felt so strongly the difficulty of reconciling that date with several historical considerations, that he boldly asserted—without any knowledge of the inscriptions I have mentioned—without any Letronne or Borghesi or Waddington to guide or support him—he boldly asserted that the later date must be given up as hopelessly devoid of historical probability. At great labour and pains he set himself to find a truer date, more in harmony with known history than was the date given by Eusebius; and he persuaded himself that he had found it in the year 147. I will presently explain¹ how he arrived at this conclusion, and it will easily be seen why we cannot accept it. At this point I will only say that I sincerely believe, if Bishop Pearson had possessed the data which Waddington possessed, he would have arrived at Waddington's conclusion.

I have now to state his objections to the later date.

1. An anonymous manuscript Chronicle of ancient date, lent to Pearson by Isaac Vossius, puts the martyrdom of S. Polycarp in the reign of Antoninus Pius².

2. Irenaeus, *contra Haer.* iii. 3, in a passage which was written certainly not later than 185, speaks of *οἱ μέχρι νῦν διαδεγμένοι τὸν Πολύκαρπον*³: therefore we may fairly suppose that he knew of several men who had, one after the other, succeeded to Polycarp's office in the interval between that saint's martyrdom and the writing of this passage. This

¹ See p. 197 N.B.

² P., p. 526.

³ A various reading for *Πολύκαρπον* is *τοῦ Πολυκάρπου θρόνον*.

suggests that the interval was greater than twenty years, whereas the later date for Polycarp's martyrdom would reduce the interval to less than twenty years¹.

3. Irenaeus, in the same chapter, also says that Polycarp was a disciple of apostles, had conversed with many who had seen the Christ, and had been appointed bishop for Asia in Smyrna by apostles. Therefore he is scarcely likely to have lived until 166 or later: for few who had seen Christ, and certainly no apostle, survived the year 100; nor is it probable that Polycarp was appointed bishop for Asia sixty-six years or more before his martyrdom.

4. Irenaeus further says that he himself had seen Polycarp and listened to him: but deems it necessary to remove the inherent improbability of this assertion by stating two things in explanation, viz.—

- (1) That Polycarp had lived to old age before suffering martyrdom; and
- (2) That at the time of seeing and hearing Polycarp, he (Irenaeus) was himself very young.

Would he have felt any necessity for making these statements, particularly the latter, if Polycarp had suffered martyrdom less than twenty years before the time at which he was writing?

5. In the celebrated passage of Irenaeus' Epistle to Florinus, preserved in Eus., H. E., v. 20, the writer describes his vivid recollection of his juvenile visits to Polycarp, thanks God that the details thereof were so well impressed upon his memory, and observes—'I remember those things' better than others which have happened recently.' Such remarks are scarcely harmonious with the theory that Polycarp had been dead less than twenty years; in which case S. Irenaeus might have listened to him year after year as an adult, and a vivid recollection of his person and teaching would have been in no way remarkable.

6. The Martyrium represents S. Polycarp as having said to

¹ P., p. 527.

the proconsul:—Ὁγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑξ ἔτη ἔχω δουλεύων τῷ Χριστῷ. All the ancients, both Greeks and Latins, understood this to mean that Polycarp was eighty-six years of age at the time of his martyrdom. Halloix, in 1633, was the first to suggest that the eighty-six years referred (not to Polycarp's age, but) to the period during which he had professed Christianity. Very soon Blondel went further, and asserted that Polycarp had been in the Christian *ministry* eighty-six years! Such theories, however, have no internal probability or external support. Believing therefore that S. Polycarp was martyred at the age of eighty-six, and that he had associated with apostles (even if he were not made bishop by them), it is incredible that the date of his death was so late as 166 A.D. or any time in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

7. Nicetas, father of the Irenarch, mentioned in the Martyrium as a very old man, is perhaps to be identified with Nicetas the Smyrnaean, mentioned by Philostratus¹ as flourishing under Nerva (who died in 98). This identification would be rendered absurdly improbable if the later date for the martyrdom be taken.

8. The Quadratus of the Martyrium was consul in 142. It is in the highest degree unlikely that there was an interval of more than twenty years² between his consulate and his proconsulate.

N.B.—Pearson knew that the ordinary interval between a consulate and a proconsulate was five years, and hence he arrived at the conclusion that Quadratus was proconsul in 147, five years after his consulship in 142.

9. There certainly were early errors, even in good authors, about the date: for example, Socrates actually placed it in the reign of Gordian (238–244 A.D.). Hence we need not feel

¹ *Vitae Sophistarum*, i. 19.

² Wo., p. 162, lines 14–16 of note, remarks that 'Marquardt quotes several instances of a seventeen years' interval, and one of nineteen, between the consulship and proconsulate.' But this does not justify us in assuming an interval of *twenty-four* years, which the date 166 would involve.

obliged to accept the date given by Eusebius, if it is shown to be intrinsically improbable.

On a review of the whole question, therefore, I feel constrained to adopt the earlier date for S. Polycarp's martyrdom. I find that almost all continental writers have adopted it, except—

- (1) Keim¹, who throws discredit on the whole of the Martyrium in its present form ;
- (2) Wieseler², who refuses to accept the identification of Aristides' friend with Quadratus ; and
- (3) J. Reville³, a young French savant, who concludes an essay on the subject with the philosophic sentence,—*' nihil prodest affirmare ubi dubitare tutius est.'*

The Bishop of Durham has also expressed his acceptance of the earlier date⁴.

As to the day on which S. Polycarp suffered, similar certainty cannot be felt. As I have already observed, the Martyrium appears to fix it very precisely ; but, owing partly to variations in the text and partly to our ignorance of the meaning of some of the chronological terms, each of the items of information given is shrouded in uncertainty.

Twice in the Martyrium we are told that the event happened on a 'great Sabbath.' But we are not sure what a 'great Sabbath' was. It has been variously supposed that it was—

- (1) The Saturday before Easter,
- (2) The 15th Nisan,
- (3) The 16th Nisan, and
- (4) An ordinary Saturday made great either by
 - (i) Some civil and local festivity, or by
 - (ii) The martyrdom of S. Polycarp itself.

¹ *Aus dem Urchristenthum*, Band i. pp. 90–170 (published at Zürich in 1878).

² *Die Christenverfolgungen der Cäsaren* (1878), pp. 34 et seqq.

³ *De Anno Dieque quibus Polycarpus Smyrnae Martyrium tulit* (Geneva, Schuchardt, 1880).

⁴ *Contemporary Review* for May, 1875, vol. xxv. pp. 828 and 838.

In giving the day according to the Roman Kalendar, our witnesses agree in the formula 'VII. Kal.' but differ in the month, which is diversely designated as 'Feb.,' 'Mart.,' 'Apr.,' and 'Mai.'

By the Eastern reckoning we are told that the day was the second of Xanthicus; but the name Xanthicus was given to almost every month in the year by some or other of the inhabitants of the sea-board of the Levant¹.

Although Pearson and others take the 26th of March as the most likely day, I am inclined (without now going into the tedious details of my reasons) to agree with the majority in preferring to think that the day meant is the 23rd of February.

A few moderns have given up what they term the 'Appendix,' i.e. the paragraph of the Martyrium which contains the date of the event, as spurious or at least incorrect.

But this so-called 'Appendix,' and indeed the whole Martyrium, have been signally corroborated by the discovery (on Dec. 30th, 1879) of the last inscription² I wish to lay before you, my knowledge of which I owe to the kindness of Professor Sanday. It will be seen that this also strongly favours the earlier date for the martyrdom.

The inscription informs us that Philip the Trallian was Asiarch in A.D. 149. It so happens that Philip the Trallian is mentioned in one passage of the Martyrium and Philip the Asiarch in another: now we are sure that the two are identical, which previously we could only conjecture. And since the passage where Philip is denominated 'the Trallian' forms part of the so-called 'Appendix' we see that the author of that 'Appendix' is in undesigned harmony with the author of the rest of the Martyrium (if not, as is most probable, the same person), and may be trusted as giving genuine items of information. Again, the Asiarch was presi-

¹ Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, Band i. pp. 393-476.

² Appendix F.

dent of the provincial council, and chief priest of the cultus of the emperor connected therewith: the sittings of this council were held in rotation at the great cities of the province: and hence we have an explanation of the otherwise strange circumstances that both proconsul and Asiarch were present in *Smyrna* in connexion with the celebration of public games. And with regard to the date, it is far more likely that a man who was Asiarch in 149 was again (or still) Asiarch in 155 than that he was so in 166.

It will have long since become quite evident that I cannot, in the face of so many contrary facts and real difficulties, consider the later date of S. Polycarp's martyrdom to be any longer tenable: it rests solely on the authority of Eusebius, and is opposed to all probability.

On the other hand, I think it almost absolutely certain that 155 is the true date of the event. I do not believe it possible that this date is more than two years in error: it is just possible that it may vary one year from the truth. On the strength of this bare possibility the high authority of Lipsius favours the choice of 156: but while I admit that as a possibility, I feel that it does not amount to a probability. I do not therefore shrink from avowing my own conviction that S. Polycarp was martyred in the year 155 A.D.

Every student of early Christian literature and antiquities will recognise the importance of settling this point; and most of my hearers (I have reason to hope) will consider that its bearing upon questions touching the Fourth Gospel is of itself a sufficient justification for having detained them so long over the discussion of 'a mere date.'

APPENDIX A.

INSCRIPTIONS FOUND AT EPHESUS IN THE
RUINS OF THE ODEUM

BY MR. J. T. WOOD.

3. [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καί[σα]ρ, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ
[υἱός, θεοῦ Τραϊ[ανοῦ Παρθ]ικοῦ υἱὸς υἱός,
[θεοῦ Νερούα] ἐκγον[ος Τίτος] Αἴλιος Ἀδρι[ανὸς]
[Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβ]αστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρ-]
- 5 [-χικῆς ἐξουσίας τ]ὸ ἦ, αὐτοκράτωρ τ]ὸ β, ὑπάτος [τὸ δ]
[πατὴρ πατριδός, Ἐφεσί]ων τοῖς ἀ[ρχουσι καὶ τῇ] βουλῇ καὶ [τῷ]
[δημῷ χαί]ρειν.] Τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἡ[ν] φιλοτιμ[εῖται]
[πρὸς ὑμ]ᾶς Οὐ[ν]ήδιος Ἀντωνεῖνος ἔμαθον οὐχ οὕτω[ς ἐ]κ
τῶν ὑμετέρων γραμ[μάτων] ὥς ἐκ τῶν [ἐκ]είνου βουλόμε-
10 -νος γὰρ παρ' ἐμοῦ τυχεῖν βοηθείας [εἰς τὸ]ν κόσμον τῶν
ἔργων ὧν ὑμεῖν ἐπηγγελάτο ἐδήλ[ωσεν] ὅσα κα[ὶ] ἡλικα οἱ-
-κοδομήματα προστίθῃσιν τῇ πόλ[ει], ἀλλ' ὑμ[εῖς] οὐκ ὀρ-
-θῶς ἀποδέχεσθε αὐτόν· ἀγῶ καὶ συ[ν]ωμολόγησα] . . .
δ ἡγήσατο] καὶ ἀπεδεξάμην ὅτι [συ]νπο-
15 -λειτενομένων τρόπον οἱ του εἰν χά-
[-ρ]ιν εἰς θέας καὶ διανομὰς καὶ τὰ τῷ[ν] ὦ
[τῇ]ν φιλ[οτιμ]ίαν, ἀλλὰ δι' οὗ πρὸς τὸ ἐμνο
. σειν τὴν πόλιν προήρ[ηται]. *Τὰ γράμματα ἐπεμψεν]
. [Ἰ]ουλιανὸς ὁ κράτιστος ἀνθ[ύ]πατος. Εὐτυχεῖτε.]

4. Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ
Ἀδριανοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Τ[ραϊαν]οῦ
Παρθικοῦ υἱόνος, θεοῦ [Νερ-]
-σούα ἐκγονος, Τ[ίτος Αἴλιος Ἀ]δριανὸς
5 Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβασ[τός, ἀ]ρχιερεὺς
μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξ[ουσίας] τὸ
ἱγ, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β, ὑπάτο[ς] τὸ δ,
πατὴρ πατρ[ίδος, Ἐφεσί]ων τοῖς]
ἀρχουσι καὶ τῇ β[ουλῇ] καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
10 χαί[ρειν].
Εἰδότε μοι δηλοῦτε τὴν φιλ[οτιμ]ίαν
ἣν Οὐ[ν]ήδιος Ἀντ[ωνεῖνος] φιλοτιμ[εῖ]-
ται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ο παρ' ἐμοῦ
χάριτας εἰς τὸν [εὐεργέτην] τῆς πό-
15 -λεως.
[τὸ ψῆ]φ[ισμα] ἐπεμψεν]
.
ἀνθύπατος. Εὐτυχεῖτε.

* Τὸ ψήφισμα (?)

APPENDIX B.

ACCOUNT OF ANTONINUS PIUS AND HIS
REIGN

AS GIVEN BY JOANNES MALALAS.

Pages 280-1 of the Bonn edition of 1831 in the 'Byzantine Historians.'

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀδριανοῦ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἡλῖος Ἀντωνίνος Πῖος εὐσεβῆς ἔτη κγ'. ἦν δὲ εὐήλιξ, εὖστολος, λευκός, πολὺς καὶ τὴν κάραν καὶ τὸ γένειον, εὐρινος, πλάτοψις, οἰνοπαῆς τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, πυρρᾶκής, ὑπογελῶν ἀεὶ, μεγαλόψυχος πάνυ.

Ὅστις ἔκτισεν ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει τῆς Φοινίκης τοῦ Λιβάνου ναὸν τῷ Διὶ μέγαν, ἕνα καὶ αὐτὸν ὄντα τῶν θεαμάτων. ἔκτισε δὲ καὶ ἐν Λαοδικεῖ τῆς Συρίας τὸν φόρον, μέγα θέαμα, καὶ τὸ Ἀντωνιανὸν δημόσιον λουτρόν. Ἐπεστράτευσεν δὲ κατὰ Αἰγυπτίῳ τυραννησάντων καὶ φονευσάντων τὸν αὐγουστάλιον Δείναρχον· καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκδίκησιν καὶ τὴν νίκην ἔκτισεν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ κατελθὼν τὴν Ἡλιακὴν πύλην καὶ τὴν Σεληνιακὴν καὶ τὸν δρόμον. Ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐποίησε τὴν πλάκωσιν τῆς πλατείας τῶν μεγάλων ἐμβόλων τῶν ὑπὸ Τιβερίου κτισθέντων καὶ πάσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως, στρώσας τὴν διὰ μύλτου λίθου, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀγαθῶν λίθους ἀπὸ Θηβαΐδος καὶ τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀναλώματα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων φιλοτιμησάμενος, καθὼς καὶ ἐν λιθύνῃ πλακὶ γράψας ταύτην τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἔστησεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ πύλῃ τῇ λεγομένῃ τῶν Χερουβίμ· ἐκείθεν γὰρ ἤρξατο. ἦτις στήλη ἐστὶν ἕως τῆς νῦν ἐκεῖ, ὡς μεγάλης οὔσης τῆς φιλοτιμίας. Ἐκτισε δὲ καὶ ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης λουτρόν, καὶ ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ τῆς Βιθυνίας, καὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῃ τῆς Ἀσίας· ἅπερ δημόσια λουτρά εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἐπεκάλεσεν ὄνομα.

Καὶ ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ἔκτισεν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἀγῶνὸν μέγαν· καὶ ἔκαυσε τοὺς χάρτας τοῦ ταμείου, ἐφ' οἷς ἡ σύγκλητος ἐγγράφως ὡμολόγησεν ἐπὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος Ἰουλίου Γαίου, παρ' αὐτοῦ κελευσθέντες, μὴ ἐξεῖναι συγκλητικὸν διαθήκην ποιεῖν εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἥμισυ μέρους τῆς αὐτοῦ περιουσίας διατίθεται εἰς τὸν κατὰ καιρὸν βασιλέα, εἰρηκῶς ὁ αὐτὸς εὐσεβεστάτος Ἀντωνίνος διὰ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ τύπου ἕκαστον ἀπολαύειν τῶν ἰδίων καὶ βουλευέσθαι ὡς θέλει.

Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Ἀντωνίνος, ὡς ἐστὶν ἐν Λωρίῳ, νοσήσας ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἀπέθανεν, ὧν ἐνιαυτῶν ος'.

APPENDIX C.

INSCRIPTION AT SEPINO, S. ITALY.

Borghesi : Œuvres, v. 373, &c.

L . Neratio . C . F .

Vol . Proculo .

X . Vir . Stlitibus . Iudican .

Trib . Militum . Legion .

5 VII . Gemin . Felic . et . Leg .

VIII . Aug . Quaest . Ædil .

Pleb . Cerial . Praet . Leg .

Leg . XVI . Flaviae . Fidel .

Item . Misso . Ab . Imp .

10 Antonino . Aug . Pio . ad . Deducen

das . Vexillationes . in . Syriam . ob .

Bell . Parthicum . Praef . Ærari .

Militaris .

Cos .

15 Municipes . Saepinat.

APPENDIX D.

INSCRIPTION IN HONOUR OF ARISTIDES

FOUND IN EGYPT AND NOW AT VERONA.

[See *Museum Veronense*, pp. xli-ii.]

Ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν Ἀλεξαν-
 -δρέων, καὶ Ἑρμούπο-
 -λις ἡ μεγάλης, καὶ ἡ βου-
 -λῇ ἡ Ἀντινοέων νέ-
 -ων Ἑλλήνων, καὶ οἱ
 ἐν τῷ Δέλτα τῆς Αἰ-
 -γύπτου καὶ οἱ τὸν Θη-
 -βαϊκὸν νομὸν οἰκοῦν-
 -τες Ἕλληνες, ἐτίμη-
 σαν Πόπλιον Αἴλιον
 Ἀριστείδην Θεόδωρον,
 ἐπὶ ἀνδραγαθίᾳ καὶ
 λόγοις.

NOTE.—The above inscription was first edited in Giuseppe Bartoli's *Due Dissertazioni, etc.*, published at Verona in 1745: the second of his dissertations is entirely devoted to the elucidation of it.

APPENDIX E.

INSCRIPTION AT KASR-ZAYAN

IN THE OASIS OF THEBES.

Letronne, Recueil des Inscriptions de l'Égypte, i. 125.

Ἀμενήβι θεῷ μεγίστῳ Τχονεμέρεως καὶ τοῖς
συννόοις θεοῖς, ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς αἰῶνα διαμονῆς Ἀντωνεῖνου
Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τοῦ σύνπαντος αὐτοῦ οἴκου, ὁ σηκὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τὸ
πρόναον ἐκ καινῆς κατεσκευάσθη, ἐπὶ Ἀουιδίου Ἡλιοδώρου ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου,
Σεπτίμιου Μάκρωνος ἐπιστρατήγου, στρατηγοῦντος Παινίου Καίπλωνος
ἔτους τρίτου αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου,
Σεβαστοῦ, Εὐσεβοῦς, μεσορῇ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ.

APPENDIX F.

INSCRIPTION DISCOVERED DEC. 30, 1879,
AT OLYMPIA.

Described by Dittenberger in *Archäolog. Zeitung* for 1880, pp. 61-2.

Ἡ ΟΛΥΜΠΙ[ΚΗ]
ΒΟΥΛΗ Γ. ΙΟΥΛΙΟ[Ν]
ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΝ ΤΡΑΛ-
-ΛΙΑΝΟΝ ΤΟΝ ἈΣΙ-
-ΑΡΧΗΝ ἠΘῶν ἐνε-
-κα ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΔΙ
ΣΛΒ

APPENDIX G.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE MALADY OF ARISTIDES.

PROCONSULS OF ASIA. Year of Office commencing May 1st (approximately).		Years of the Malady of Aristides, commencing Oct. 1st (approximately).		Events.
Less probable name	More probable name.	More pro- bable year.	Less pro- bable year.	
		143		
		144		
		145	I	
	JULIANUS	146	II	
		147	III	
		148	IV	
		149	V	
		150	VI	
		151	VII	
		152	VIII	
	POLLIO	153	IX	
	SEVERUS	154	X	
	QUADRATUS	155	XI	
		156	XII	
		157	XIII	
		158	XIV	
		159	XV	
		160	XVI	
		161	XVII	

—Ephesian inscription mentions Julianus as proconsul 145.
 { Julianus rendered a service to Aristides at Pergamos.
 { Marriage of Verus (Marc. Aurel.) and Faustina, early in 146.

—Olympian inscription names Philip of Tralles as Asiarch.

[Emperor's son (Marc. Aurel.); 3. Heliodorus, præf. of Egypt.
 —Aristides receives letters from 1. The Emperor (Antoninus Pius); 2. The
 —The elder Emperor is in Syria, treating for peace with Volageus III.
 —Martyrdom of S. Polycarp, February 23, 155.

—Death of Antoninus Pius and accession of Marcus Aurelius.

X.

ON SOME NEWLY-DISCOVERED TEMANITE
AND NABATAEAN INSCRIPTIONS.

[AD. NEUBAUER.]

UNEXPECTED discoveries have been made during the past year relating to Aramaic epigraphy and philology. Three travellers of various nationalities have lately visited that part of Arabia which borders on the Hedjâz, viz. Mr. Charles Doughty, an Englishman; Dr. Euting, of Strasbourg; and M. Huber, an Alsatian, sent out by the French Academy. Alas! a violent death has overtaken him, though fortunately his materials have been recovered¹. Dr. Euting happily escaped the fate of his fellow-traveller, and has secured a large number of inscriptions², Nabataean, Himyaritic, and four Aramaic from the land of Tema. Tema is mentioned in the Bible as an Ishmaelitic land and tribe in the neighbourhood of the land and tribe of Dedan³, through which a caravan-road passed in the time of Job⁴, just as it passes now. The Tema of the Bible is undoubtedly identical with the Arabic Taïma⁵, and the Θέμμη of Ptolemy⁶. Teman⁷, in the land of Edom, is identified by Gesenius with Tema; it is indeed mentioned, like Tema, in connexion with Dedan⁸. According to Eusebius, however, Taïman⁹ was a Roman city

¹ See *Nouvelles Inscriptions nabatéennes de Medain Salih*, par Philippe Berger (*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscr. et Belles Lettres*, Paris, 1884, p. 377 seqq.). See below, p. 231.

² See David Heinrich Müller in the *Anzeiger der philos.-histor. Classe*, 17 Dec., Wien, 1884, No. xxviii.

³ Isaiah xxi. 14, 15; Jeremiah xxv. 23.

⁴ Job vi. 19.

⁵ تَيْمَاء, Jacut's *Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. Wüstenfeld, a. v.

⁶ Ptolemy, V. xix. 6.

⁷ Jer. xlix. 7, 20; Amos i. 12; Obadiah 9; Hab. iii. 3.

⁸ Ezekiel xxv. 13.

⁹ Onom. Θαυμάν.

five miles (Jerome says fifteen) from Petra or the Hebrew סלע. The inhabitants of Teman, together with the Edomites, had a reputation in antiquity for wisdom. Jeremiah¹ writes, 'Thus saith the Lord of hosts: Is wisdom no more in Teman?' And Obadiah², 'Shall I not in that day, saith the Lord, even destroy the wise men out of Edom, and understanding out of the mount of Esau? And thy mighty men, O Teman, shall be dismayed.' Here Edom and Teman are mentioned together. The most eloquent speaker in the book of Job is Eliphaz the Temanite³. We read in the apocryphal book of Baruch: 'It hath not been heard of in Canaan, neither hath it been seen in Theman. The Agarenes that seek wisdom upon earth, the merchants of Meran⁴ and of Theman, the authors of fables, and searchers out of understanding⁵.' Of the inscriptions brought, as I said, by Dr. Euting from Tema, four have been published and explained, first by Prof. Nöldeke⁶, and afterwards by M. Joseph Halévy⁷. Prof. D. H. Müller, of Vienna⁸, and M. Clermont-Ganneau⁹ have contributed valuable notes elucidating particular passages. I shall give first the text and the translation of the three short ones:—

(1) [מ]יתבא זי קר
 ב מענן בר עמ
 רן לצלם אלה
 א לחיי נפשה

'A seat which Ma'anān, son of Amran, offered to the god Zelem¹⁰ for the life of his soul (*or*, for his own life).'

¹ xlix. 7.

² Verses 8 and 9.

³ Job ii. 11; iv. 1.

⁴ Medan (?), Gen. xxv. 2.

⁵ Baruch iii. 22, 23.

⁶ *Sitzungsberichte der . . . Akademie zu Berlin* (July 10, 1884), xxxiv, xxxv, p. 813 seqq.

⁷ *Revue des Études juives*, t. ix. p. 2 seqq.

⁸ *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient*, 1884, p. 208 seqq.

⁹ *Revue critique d'Histoire et de Littérature*, 1884, pp. 265 and 442 seqq. See below, p. 230.

¹⁰ According to M. Clermont-Ganneau, *l.c.*, p. 442. See below, p. 231. Others translate 'to the statue of "Allah."'

We observe that the name אלהא is in use among heathen as early as 3-4 century B.C., for upon palæographical grounds the inscriptions of Tema cannot be later than the time of Alexander the Great¹, and they may even be earlier.

(2) נפש עלן ² ברת שבען

‘Monument of ‘Alân, daughter of Shabân.’

Ān being merely a determinative syllable, it is plain that ברת שבען ³ is analogous to the well-known name of Bath Sheba, wife of Uriah the Hittite, of course a Semitic Hittite.

(3) מיתב זי רמנתן בר . . .

‘Seat of Rimmonnathan, son of . . .’

Here we have a name compounded with that of the Syrian god Rimmon⁴ or the Assyrian Raman (compare the names Tabrimmon⁵ and Hadad-rimmon⁶) and the verb *nathan*, ‘to give,’ exactly resembling Jehonathan and Nethan-el.

(4) An inscription of twenty-four lines, of which the first ten lines and the last two are so badly injured as to be undecypherable. In addition to the inscription, there is also a representation of Zelem-Shezab⁷ the priest. In point of style, the workmanship shows the influence of Assyro-Babylonian art. The inscription runs as follows⁸:—

No. 4.

הגם להן אלהי 10
 תימא יט[ר]ו (?) לצלמשוב בר פטסר 11
 ולורעה בבית צלם זי הגם ו[גב]ר 12

¹ See p. 213.

² M. Clermont-Ganneau, *l.c.*, p. 444.

³ *Revue*, p. 7. Prof. Nöldeke translates ‘seventy years old.’

⁴ בית רמון, 2 Kings v. 18.

⁵ 1 Kings xv. 18. Compare שבאל (Tab-el), Isaiah vii. 6, and טוביה (Tobiah).

⁶ Zechariah xii. 11.

⁷ Zelem saves. Compare אליעזר and אלישע. See below, p. 230. For שוב, see Daniel vi. 28.

⁸ The words and letters in brackets are according to M. Halévy’s suggestions, *Revue*, pp. 2 and 3. See below, p. 232.

- 13 זי יחבל סות[א] ז[א] אלהי תימא
 14 ינסחיהי חרעה [ו]שמה מן אנפי
 15 תימא והאנא צדקתא זי(יהב?)
 16 צלם זי מחר ושנגלא ואשי[מ]א
 17 אלהי תימא לצלם [זי] הגם כ(דין?)
 18 מן חקלא דקלן |||Z ומן שימתא
 19 זי מלכא דקלן [|||||] כל דקלן
 20 Z| ||||||| ש]נה בשנה ואלהן ואנש
 21 לא ידהנ[ל] צלמשזב בר פטסרי
 22 מן ב[י]תא זנ[א] ולז[ר]עה ושמה

- 10 ' Hagam. Therefore may the gods
 11 of Tema protect (?) Zelem-Shezeb, son of Petosiri,
 12 as well as his descendants in the house of Zelem of
 Hagam. And [the man]
 13 He who shall injure this monument (?), may the gods of
 Tema
 14 extirpate him, and his seed, and his name from the surface
 15 of Tema. And this is the contribution which [gives]
 16 Zelem of Maḥar (?), and Shangala, and Ashi[m]â (?),
 17 gods of Tema, to Zelem of Hagam [as follows]:
 18 From the [public] land, twenty-three palm trees, and from
 the possession
 19 of the king, six palm trees; in all, twenty-nine palm trees
 20 y[ear] by year. No princes¹ or men
 21 shall remove Zelem-Shezeb, son of Petosiri,
 22 out of this house, or his descendants, or his name.'

In Petosiri we have an Egyptian name, for it is only natural that the caravan route from Egypt to Mesopotamia should be marked by traces of Egyptian civilization. The

¹ אלהן in the sense of divine persons, i.e. royal family. Compare אלהא אלכסנדריוס in a Palmyrene inscription (De Vogué, *La Syrie Centrale*, pp. 17-18), corresponding to the expression Θεοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου (Halévy, *Revue*, p. 4).

expression 'From the face of Tema' reminds us of similar biblical expressions¹. Gods of Tema in the original is *Elâhé Tema*, a plural like *Elohim*. Of the four divinities Maḥar, Shangâla, Ashi[m]â(?), and Hagam very little is known. The מ in Ashimâ is doubtful; though if the reading be correct, we should have here the Hamathite god mentioned in the Old Testament².

These inscriptions, and more especially the long one, are written in archaic Aramaic characters; some letters are, however, of a more modern type. When I first saw them, it struck me that the ה in אלהי was archaic, whilst in other words it is of a later type. I therefore put the question in the *Academy* whether this mode of writing might not be a kind of *scriptio sacra* for the name of אלהים? But the ה and the ס, as I now see, have the same variations in writing, so that the inscription must, I think, be assigned to the period of Alexander or the Ptolemies, after which a more cursive style of character was introduced in Aramaic writing³. Dr. Euting assigns them at the latest to the sixth century B.C. I wish I could agree with him, for in that case we should have evident proofs of an advanced civilization in Tema at least as early as the eighth century B.C. For, if I am not mistaken, it may be assumed that a people does not begin its history with inscriptions of twenty-four lines; and when we find such a long document as either this or (to take another example) the inscription of Mesha, the nation which produced them must have been accustomed to literary work for at least two centuries previously. Of course the influence of Assyria may be reasonably inferred when we know from the annals of Tiglath-pileser II that this king received tribute from Arabian towns called Tema, Saba, Hayapa,

¹ 1 Kings ix. 7 'Then will I cut off Israel from the face of (A. V. out of) the land which I have given them.' Cf. Deut. xxviii. 63 (with כסם).

² 2 Kings xvii. 30.

³ Halévy, *Revue*, p. 5. Clermont-Ganneau, *l.c.*, p. 266.

Hatea, Badana, and the tribe of Idibili¹. Tema is the country where our inscription was found; Saba is the biblical Seba; Hayapâ, as we shall see later on, is identified with the biblical Ephā²; the Hatea is at present unknown (not the Hittites); Badana is perhaps a name like Bedan³; and the Idibili are perhaps the descendants of Adbeel⁴, a son of Ishmael.

The language of these inscriptions, although on the whole old Aramaic, is not Assyrian. Aramaic inscriptions were known up to the present time only in Babylonia, Egypt, and Cilicia. It is worth observing that the termination *ân* in the names of the second inscription 'Alân, daughter of Shabân,' has a similarity to the Horite names⁵, 'And these are the children of Dishon: Hemdân and Eshbân, and Ithrân, and Cherân⁶.' The Horites, as all know, inhabited this district before the Edomites. Proper names are very useful for philology, for they undergo the least alterations possible. How interesting it would therefore be if indeed we could find out a Horite vocabulary! That, however, must be a work for the future.

Let us now leave the Horites and pass to the Nabataeans, who are the authors of the inscriptions found by Mr. Doughty and M. Huber⁷ at Medaïn Salih. I shall give a few passages quoted (*verbatim*) from this courageous traveller's note-book, printed in English at the head of the volume of Inscriptions, published by the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres in Paris, under M. Renan's editorship⁸:—

'In the spring of the year 1875, I came upward with Beduins from Sinai to *Maan* upon the Haj road in Edom, and

¹ Halévy, *Revue*, p. 6.

² גִּיסָה, Gen. xxv. 4; Isaiah lx. 6.

³ בִּדָן (for בִּדְדָן?), 1 Chron. vii. 17.

⁴ אֲדִבְעֵל, Gen. xxv. 13. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament*, 2nd ed., 1883, p. 148.

⁵ Gen. xxxvi. 26.

⁶ Halévy, *Revue*, p. 7.

⁷ See above, p. 209, note 1, and below, p. 232.

⁸ *Documents épigraphiques recueillis dans le nord de l'Arabie* par M. Charles Doughty, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1884.

went on to visit the chambered rocks of Petra, where the villagers of *Elgy*, in Wady Mousa, seeing one arrive, as it were an *hajjy* from the southward, asked me if I had not already visited *Medain Salih* upon the derb el-Haj, and where, they said, lie seven cities hewn in as many mountains, and the monuments there like these before our eyes, as they might be the work of one craftsman. Such also said the secretary of the small road garrison at Maan, who, a well-lettered man, spoke to me further of inscriptions sculptured in some strange characters, which, he said, to be commonly upon those *Medain Salih* frontispieces, and the *effigies* of a bird with his wings displayed. In former years he had very often passed the place, riding with the guard in every pilgrimage to the *Harameyn*. Such birds are not seen sculptured upon the Petra frontispieces or most rarely; nor in all the Wady Mousa monuments had I found more than one inscription, and that is very large and several lines, of some well-sculptured Semitic characters upon a simple frontispiece in the western valley side with three pilasters, which, with their paries, are broken through below¹.

I shall pass over Mr. Doughty's narrative describing the caravans and the perils of his life, and give the passage relating to *Medain Salih*:—

'The twentieth morrow of our marches we descended by the passage *Mábrak e' Náka*, a place of cursing (so called by the devout pilgrims after their doctors' mythology as where the miraculous she-camel fell down wounded to death, but by the country Beduins, ignorant of these forged vanities, *el-Mezham*), to the valley plain of *Medain Salih*, a name which is of the same Mohammedan mythology, but the site is only named by the country Beduins *El-Hejr* (*El-Hijr* of the Koran, *Eyya* in Ptol., *Hejra* of Plin.)².'

Medain Salih, it will be seen, is no ancient place: it is merely a collection of caves belonging to some rich families

¹ *Ibidem*, beginning of the preface.

² *Ibidem*, p. 11.

from a neighbouring town¹. Its name Salih is derived from a passage of the Qorân², in which Mohammed says, 'And unto the tribe of Tamud we sent their brother Saleh. He said, O my people! worship Allah; ye have no Allah besides him. Now hath a manifest proof come unto you from your lord. This she-camel of God is a sign unto you; therefore dismiss her freely, that she may feed in God's earth; and do her no hurt, lest a painful punishment seize you. And call to mind how he hath appointed you successors unto the tribe of 'Ad, and has given you a habitation on earth; ye build yourself castles on the plains thereof, and cut out the mountains into houses.' In another chapter we read³, 'And the inhabitants of al Hejr . . . hewed houses out of the mountains to secure themselves.' Finally, Mohammed says⁴, 'The tribe of Tamud also charged the messenger of God with falsehood. When their brother Saleh said unto them, Will ye not fear God? Verily I am a faithful messenger unto you: wherefore fear God, and obey me. I demand no reward of you for my preaching unto you; I expect my reward from no other than the Lord of all creatures. Shall ye be left for ever secure in the possession of the things which are here; among gardens, and fountains, and corn, and palm-trees, whose branches sheathe their flowers? And will you continue to cut habitations for yourselves out of the mountains, showing art and ingenuity in your work?' Elsewhere the ancient dwellings of the Tamud are considered by Mohammed as the houses of giants, punished by God for their crimes⁵. The Tamud had ceased to exist in the time of Mohammed; a part of them had been transported by Sargon with other tribes to Samaria, as the following Assyrian inscriptions

¹ Possibly the ancient caves of the Horites, who, as the word חור indicated, were dwellers in caves or Troglodytes.

² Qorân, Surah vii. 71 seqq. (according to Sale's translation).

³ Surah xv. 81.

⁴ Surah xxvi. 114 seqq.

⁵ See M. Renan's preface to the Inscriptions, p. 4.

show¹: 'The Tamudi, the Ibadidi, the Marsimani, the Hayapâ, of remote countries in Arabia, inhabitants of the desert who know no master and no (?), who never paid any tribute to my father, I have crushed them by the arms of the god Assur, the remainder of them I have transported and established in the town of Samaria.' And in another place Sargon is called² 'the conqueror of the Tamudi, of the Marsimani, of the Hayapâ, the survivors of whom were transported and established by him in the land of Beth-Humria (Beth Omri, land of Israel).' Now the Tamudi and the Marsimani are mentioned by the classical geographers. The Hayapâ have been identified by Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch³ with the Midjanitic tribe Ephah; the Ibadidi, M. Halévy proposes to explain as 'the servants of Dad⁴.' To this part of the world belong probably the Arabian tribes Bazu and Hazu, conquered by Esarhaddon, names which correspond to the biblical Buz⁵ and Hazo⁶, both sons of Nahor. The Nabataeans occupied subsequently the Arabian districts which have been mentioned, as may be seen from the first book of the Maccabees⁷, where Judah and Jonathan find them on the other side of the Jordan, after having travelled for three days in the desert; and in another place of the same book they are alluded to as neighbours of the land of Gilead⁸. According to Josephus⁹ and Ammianus¹⁰, their dominion extended from the Euphrates to the Red Sea. They were rich, and having their home upon a road frequented by caravans, they were naturally merchants, as Apuleius¹¹ calls them 'Nabathaei mercatores.' They were governed by kings, one of whom, Aretas,

¹ Schrader, *op. cit.* (see p. 214, note 5), p. 277; Halévy, *Revue*, p. 11.

² Halévy, *ibidem*, p. 12.

³ Halévy, *ibidem*.

⁴ Halévy, *ibidem*.

⁵ Gen. xxii. 21; Jeremiah xxv. 23 (in connexion with Tema); Job xxxii. 2, 6 'Barachel the Buzite.'

⁶ Gen. xxii. 22.

⁷ 1 Macc. v. 24; ix. 39.

⁸ *Ibidem*, 26 seqq.

⁹ *Antiquities*, I. xii. 4.

¹⁰ Ammianus Marc., xiv. 18.

¹¹ Apul. flor. i. 6. See *Bibl. Realwörterbuch*, etc., von G. B. Winer (1848), ii. p. 129 (art. Nabatäer).

is mentioned in the New Testament¹. Most of the Doughty inscriptions date from the reign of this king; and we learn from the third and the fourteenth inscriptions that his reign lasted forty-eight years (till 40 A.D.) He was followed, according to the first inscription, by king Malkû, who reigned eleven years, and was succeeded by Dabel, to whose fourth year No. 19 belongs.

The inscriptions are sepulchral, and contain imprecations against those who should bury in the tombs other than members of the family to whom they were appropriated, except by a written permission. Here are the text and translation of the two which are best preserved²:—

No. 2.

דנה כפרא די עבדו כמכם בר חואלת בר תחרם	1
וכליבת ברתה לנפשם ואחרם בירח שבת שנת	2
תשע לחרתת מלך נבשו רחם עמה וילען דושרא	3
ומרחבה ואלת מן עמנד ומנותו וקישא מן יזבן	4
כפרא דנה או מן יזבן או ירהן או ינתן יתה או ינפק	5
מנה גת או שלף או מן יקבר בה עיר כמכם וברתה	6
ואחרם ומן די לא יעבד די עלא כתיב ואיתי עמה	7
לדושרא והבלו ולמנותו שמרין יעלא וכל אקנס	8
בסלעין אלף חדתי בלעד מן די ינפק בידה כתב מן יד	9
כמכם או כליבת ברתה בכפרא הנאך ימרתא הו	10
והבאלהי בר עבדעבדת עבד	

1 'This is the cave which Camcam, son of Haw-allath, son of Taharam, made,

2 and Coleibat, his daughter, for themselves and their posterity, in the month of Tebeth, the year

¹ 2 Corinthians xi. 32.

² See the Supplementary Notes, pp. 231 and 232.

- 3 ninth of Hartat (Aretas), king of Nabataea, lover of his people. May Dusara
 4 and Marhaba and Allat of . . . (?) and Menutu and Kaïsa curse him who sells
 5 this cave, or him who buys it, or who pledges it, or who gives it as a present, or who removes
 6 from it a corpse, or exchanges it (?) or who buries in it others than Camcam, and his daughter
 7 and their posterity. And whoso shall not do according to what is here written, shall be answerable
 8 to Dusara and Hobalu and Menutu, the guardians of . . . shall pay a fine
 9 of 1000 new *Selain*, except he produce a written permission from the hand
 10 of Camcam, or his daughter Coleibat [saying], "So and so may be admitted to this cave."

(Then follows the name of the sculptor): 'Wahbelahi, son of Abdobodat, has made this.'

No. 10.

- 1 דנה כפרא די להינת ברת עבדעבדת לנפשה
 2 וילדה ואחורה ולמן די ינפק בידה מן יד הינת
 3 דא כתבא התקברא יתקבר בכפרא הונא
 4 כפרא דנה הוה לעבדעבדת אבד הוה למכתב
 5 למו כח בר קנה להינתו או עבדעבדת בר
 6 מליכת אם שמכנה אם עבדעבדת אם הינתו אם
 7 כלהם די עבד[ום?] כפרא דנה אנדתיבאן איכתבא
 8 דא יתקבר בכפרא בכפרא דה אצדקת עבדעבדת
 9 ולא יהוא אנוש רשו די יזבן כפרא דנה או [ירחן]
 10 יתה או יתאלף בכפרא דנה לכתב כלה ומן יעבד
 11 כעיר די עלא די איתי ינדהה חשיאה

לדושרא ומנותו כסף סלעין אלה חד חדתי 12

ולמראנא דבאל מלך נבטו בירח איר שנת 13

תרתין לדבאל מלך נבטו 14

- 1 'This is the cave of Hoīnat, daughter of 'Abdobodat, for herself
- 2 and her son and her posterity, and for whoever produces from the hand of Hoīnat
- 3 this written form [saying], "Such and such a one may be buried in this cave."
- 4 This cave belongs to 'Abdobodat
- 5 to Hoīnat or 'Abdobodat, son
- 6 of Malikat, or (?) or 'Abdobodat, or Hoīnat, or
- 7 all those who made (?) this cave this document:
- 8 "Let him be buried in this cave by the side (?) of 'Abdobodat."
- 9 And no man shall have authority to sell this cave, or [to pledge]
- 10 it, or (?) on this cave anything And whoso shall do
- 11 otherwise than it is above [prescribed] shall be liable for a fine
- 12 to Dusara and Menutu of a thousand new *Selain* in silver?
- 13 As also to our lord Dabāl, king of Nabataea. In the month of Iyyār, year
- 14 the second of Dabāl, king of Nabataea.'

Only No. 1 contains an inscription of a different kind. This reads:—

No. 1.

דנה מסגרא די עבד 1

שרוחו בר תוכא לאערא 2

די בבצרא אלה רבא לירח 3

ניסן שנת חדה למלכו מלכא 4

- 1 'This is the *Mesgeda* (a kind of shrine¹) which

¹ See De Vogué, *La Syrie Centrale* (Paris, 1868), pp. 106, 119, 120, where it is used to denote a sacred stone or column.

- 2 Seruhu, son of Tuca, has made for Aera (*or*, Aeda)
3 of Bosra, the great god. In the month
4 of Nisan, the first year of the reign of king Malku.'

Altogether these inscriptions date from between 3 B.C. to 79 A.D. Two (Nos. 3 and 14) naming the 48th year of Aretas.

To judge from the length of their inscriptions, the Nabataeans, like the Temanites, must have enjoyed an ancient civilization. In fact, they are mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions of Assurbanipal¹, by the side of the Kidrai, just as in the Bible, Nebaioth and Kedar, sons of Ishmael, are associated together². It is indeed generally allowed that Nebaioth represents the father of the Nabataeans³, although the spelling is slightly different⁴. Isaiah⁵ says, 'All the flocks of Kedar shall be gathered together unto thee, the rams of Nebaioth shall minister unto thee.' Possibly Jeroboam, son of Nebat, was of Nabataean descent; *ben*, 'son,' having the sense of the Arabic *ibn*⁶. Jeroboam was in the service of Solomon, just as Uriah the Hittite served David. Naboth also, put to death by Ahab⁷, may have been of Nabataean origin. In the later books of the Old Testament, such as Ezekiel and Chronicles, the Nabataeans are in all probability comprehended under the common designation of *Arabians*. Gashmu⁸ the Arabian, to judge by the Nabataean and Sinaitic inscriptions, in which the termination ׀ (û) is so frequent⁹, must have been a Nabataean. Perhaps at a certain period the word נבטן acquired an ethnic sense like *Arabian*, since

¹ Schrader, *op. cit.* (see p. 214, note 5), p. 147.

² Gen. xxv. 13.

³ See Dillmann on Gen. xxv. 13 (1882).

⁴ נבט. In Talmudic writings we find the following forms for Nabataeans: נבטי; נווטי; נווח; נווחא; and נבטי. See Levy's *Hebr. und Chald. Wörterbuch*, etc., a.v. נבט.

⁵ Isaiah lx. 7.

⁶ *Athenaeum*, No. 2985 (Jan. 10, 1885), p. 46.

⁷ 1 Kings xxi. 1 seqq.

⁸ Neh. vi. 6. Compare $\square\psi\gamma$, Neh. ii. 19; iv. 1, 2.

⁹ In addition to *Malkā* and the other names mentioned already, we have *Mativ*, *Vaalu*, *Golhomu*, *Anamu*, etc., and *Nabtu* itself (Nabataea); the same termination also occurs constantly in the Palmyrene and Nabataean inscriptions, edited by De Vogué (*La Syrie Centrale*).

in the cuneiform inscriptions the Nabataeans in Arabia are distinguished from others in Babylonia.

That the Edomites and the Nabataeans were, if not of the same race, at all events closely related, cannot be doubted. Esau married Mahalath, a sister of Nebaioth¹, and the form עשׂו itself has the Nabataean termination -u. Among the sons of Esau we find the name Reu-el², and a grandson bears the name of Zepho³. An Edomite town is called Paoo⁴. We shall claim the Midianite Jethro⁵ or Reu-el as a kinsman of the Nabataeans⁶. Allusion has been made above to the tradition of the Wisdom of Teman and Edom⁷; the Nabataeans have the same reputation amongst the Arabs. The historians and geographers of this nation regularly represent the Nabataeans as a nation learned in astronomy, agriculture, medicine, and, above all, in magic; sometimes even they are described as the inventors of all sciences, and the civilizers of the human race. There exists a book by one Kuthami, translated into Arabic in 904 A.D. by Ibn Wah-shiyah, and entitled the 'Nabataean Agriculture.' This remarkable work contains history of various kinds, chapters on agriculture, on medicine, botany, physics, and astrology; together with special treatises on mysteries, and on symbolic painting, likewise one on the history of the deity Tammuz, and on many other subjects, attributed to different patriarchs of the Old Testament, Adam, Noah, etc. Libraries are mentioned in it; and, in a word, it implies a very considerable development of all branches of religious and profane literature.

¹ Gen. xxviii. 9.

² Gen. xxxvi. 4.

³ Gen. xxxvi. 11, 15.

⁴ Gen. xxxvi. 39.

⁵ Compare the other forms of this name יתרו; יתרא (like עבדא; Renan, *Des noms Théophores*, etc. in the *Revue des Études juives*, v. p. 166); יתרי (like עברי, שמי, Renan, *ibidem*); יתרי (a Horite name); and ירוצם (where עם represents an Ammonite divinity; see p. 224. He is the son of Eglah, certainly a Moabite or an Ammonite woman).

⁶ We mention for curiosity's sake the names of בחואל, נמואל, הומואל, to which many others could be added.

⁷ See p. 210.

It is not our object here to discuss the age to which the composition of this great Nabataean encyclopedia may be assigned. E. M. Quatremère refers it to the time of Nebuchadnezzar, and Prof. Chwolson places it at an earlier period still. More moderate critics, such as M. Renan and Prof. Gutschmid, assign it to the beginning of the Christian era¹. To be sure, this work is believed by some critics to have originated among the Nabataeans in Irâk or Babylonia, since in Greek writings Chaldean wisdom is always described as coming from that country². But the Sabaeans, who are also Arabian, were famed for their wisdom; and the apocryphal tradition may equally well allude to those Nabataeans who were the neighbours, and ultimately the successors, of Edom and Tema, both of whom in the Bible already appear with the same character. In point of fact, the inscriptions discovered by Mr. Doughty confirm this tradition. That the Nabataeans had intercourse with the Hebrews we have already seen³. The language of the inscriptions is Aramaic mixed with Arabic words, but with forms such as we find them in the Aramaic sections of Daniel and Ezra. Thus for the pronoun, in lieu of יהן they use יהם⁴. Instead of *Ethpaal*, we find in them the form *Hithpaal*⁵. Words and expressions used in the Mishnah⁶ and the Talmud⁷ are also met with. Possibly even Hebrew forms occur, such as אנוש (No. 2) and תמונה (Nos. 3, 4) for שמונה (*eight*). The word *Maránd* (No. 10) throws light upon St. Paul's *Maranatha*⁸.

As to the mythology of these inscriptions, we find in the

¹ Renan, *Histoire générale des Langues sémitiques* (1863), p. 246.

² Renan, *ibidem*, p. 243.

³ See p. 221.

⁴ נלהם and אחרהם (in No. 2, see p. 218, line 2); בניהם (No. 7); נלהם (No. 9). Halévy, *Revue*, p. 9. See also קים (No. 29, l. 3) and Dan. vi. 9.

⁵ הוקברא. See above, p. 219, line 3.

⁶ הרהן (No. 2, p. 221, line 5), 'to pledge.' קנס (συνος). The coin סלע (p. 218, line 9).

⁷ כפל דמי (No. 6), 'double value.' לא יהוא אנש רשו (No. 10, above, p. 219, line 9) is the Talmudic ארם רשמי בידה. אין אדם ינסק בידה (No. 2, line 9, and No. 29, line 2, pp. 218 and 231) is the usual juridic expression in the Talmud.

⁸ See above, p. 73.

first instance, the gods Manutu, Kishah, Hablu, and Marhabah, which (with slight variations) are mentioned as having been worshipped by the pre-Islamite Arabs. The name Dusara has been found before¹ in Nabataean texts, and is mentioned in classical authors as that of a divinity (*Δουσαρής*) worshipped throughout Arabia, especially at Petra, Adran, and Bosra. It has been thought to mean *lord of Shera*²,—Shera being a mountain of Arabia (cf. *בעל לבנון*, etc.). Other names of deities are compounded with the root *חר* = *חור*, 'to announce.' Thus *חואלת*, 'announcement of Allath,' and *חורשור*, 'announcement of Shuah,' probably the god of Shuah, son of Abraham and Keturah, father of the tribe of the same name³, the country from which Bildad the Shuhite came⁴. The Shuhites are mentioned, as Prof. Sayce kindly informs me, in the cuneiform inscriptions. In them the god Nergal is also called Sergal, a name which may be identical with the Sangala mentioned in the inscription of Tema⁵.

The root *חר* occurs also in the Phœnician *חומלך*, 'Malik announces⁶.' We have seen in the Tema inscriptions Rimmonnathan. Here we find the name *קסנתן* (No. 7), which M. Renan transliterates Xanten (scarcely probable), but which is read by M. Halévy⁷ Kosnathan, a compound of Kos, the Idumean god Kos, or, as Josephus calls him, Koze⁸, and *nathan*, 'to give,' analogous to *יונתן* and *נתנאל*. This happy suggestion is confirmed by the name *Kosnáravos*, found in a Greek inscription of Memphis, and by Kosmalchos,

¹ De Vogué, *La Syrie Centrale*, p. 120.

² ذوالشرى, as it is written by Arabic authors.

³ Gen. xxv. 2.

⁴ Job ii. 11 and elsewhere.

⁵ It is, however, possible that Sangala (or Sengala) means the deity of the moon, from *Sen*, the moon, and *Gala*. Perhaps *ner* in Nergal may be connected with *ner* in Abner and in Neriah. The word *gal* may be contained in the names Goliath and Abigail.

⁶ See, however, M. Renan, *Revue*, v. p. 175, who takes *חר* from the root *חיה* (*חור*), 'to live.' The inscription, which is an interesting one, will be found at length in the *Corp. Inscr. Sem.* (Paris, 1881), No. 1.

⁷ *Revue*, p. 16.

⁸ Κοζέ, *Antiquities*, XV. vii. 9.

'Kos has reigned' (in cuneiform, Kaushmalak); Kosgeros, 'Kos is friend'; Kosanedos, 'Kos binds;'; and in cuneiform, Ka-ush-gab-ri, 'Kos has vanquished.'

Xouçâs¹, the name of Herod's² steward, who may fairly be inferred to have been of Edomite extraction, may be another derivative; this seems at least more probable than to suppose it is connected with the Rabbinical כוזה, 'a little pitcher,' which is Dr. Edersheim's opinion³. It may appear a rash suggestion to make that the name *Kos* is derived from the Arabic قوس, *a bow*, in Syriac קשתא, in Hebrew קשת⁴. The fact is, however, that Ishmael and Esau were both great hunters with the bow. We know how the ideas of mythology pass from one tribe to another. In these inscriptions we find the Syrian god Rimmon⁵, four Arabic gods⁶, a god from the tribe of Shuah, an Edomite deity, and the doubtful Zelem⁷. The same fact may be substantiated from biblical names. Ammi, to judge from the name Amminadab in a cuneiform inscription, seems to represent an Ammonite local deity⁸; this fact at once explains the words⁹ *Ben Ammi* in Genesis (A. V.), 'Son of my kindred¹⁰.' The name of this deity occurs in the compounds Ammiel, Ammihud (analogous to Kemoshnadab), Ammi-shaddai. In my opinion the names of Rehoboam and Jeroboam are compounded with Amm, the Ammonite god. As to the first, we know that Rehoboam's mother was an Ammonitess¹¹; as

¹ Luke viii. 3.

² I may be allowed to add that the name of Herod seems to me to be possibly identical with Irad in Genesis, the *ר* being pronounced as a guttural resembling ה. The use of the word *עיר* in proper names is not rare in the Bible. We find names of persons, Ira, Iru, and Iri, all with *ר*. Iram is an Edomite name, which may even be compared with the Phœnician חירם. See however, Renan, *Revue des Études juives*, v. p. 169.

³ *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, vol. i. p. 572.

⁴ See Halévy, *Revue*, p. 16.

⁵ See above, p. 224.

⁶ See above, p. 211.

⁷ Pages 211, 212, and 230.

⁸ An Assyrian tablet states that among the Shuhites the name of Nergal was נרמל.

⁹ Gen. xix. 38.

¹⁰ J. Derenbourg, *Revue des Études juives*, t. ii. p. 123.

¹¹ We see from the examples of Tamar, Hannah and others, that mothers had the privilege of naming their children.

to the second, it can only be analogous with Jerubbaal. We find Rehabyah as well as Rehab-am, Yeqamyah and Yeqam-am. Perhaps **לֹא עַם** opposed to **לֹא אֱל** in the song of Moses may have some reference to the god Amm. In the Authorised Version, 'They have moved me to jealousy with that which is not God . . . And I will move them to jealousy with those which are not a people.' Compare **יִתְרַעַם**, p. 222. Balaam (Bil'am) also, I venture to think, is a compound of Bel (Baal) and Am¹, analogous to the names Elijah, El-jahu; and Joel, Jeho-el.

Analogous are two names compounded with that of the Syrian god Dad² (**דַּד** and **דָּד**), viz. that of Bildad the Shuhite, which means Bel-dad, and Eldad which is = El-dad. If the latter is rightly rendered in the dictionaries by 'God loves (him),' the former cannot be anything else but a compound of Bel and Dad. It is possible that Dad was pronounced in the Canaanitish dialects Dod, in which form we may be allowed to recognise it in the name of the town Ashdod (analogous to the personal names Ashbel and Ashbaal), and in the personal names Dodo, Dodi, Dodaï, possibly even in David. Conjectural as this explanation of some of the names compounded with divine titles may appear to be, it is certain that the principle will prove ultimately of great importance to ethnology and mythology, and probably also to philology as well.

Mention has been made of the termination *ân* in Horite names³, and *o* in Nabateo-Midianic names; we may compare Yeriho and perhaps Slomoh (Solomon). The termination *ân* seems to be more general amongst the Canaanitish tribes. Ephron, Hebron amongst the Hittites; Ekron, Dagon amongst the Philistines; Mahlon, Chilyon in Moab; and often in Hebrew names. Specially Aramaic, perhaps, are the names formed with a yod at the beginning, such as Yaflet, Yamlek,

¹ Mr. W. Wright regards it as a Hittite name. Of course no derivation is given, since the Hittite vocabulary, so far as appears, consists at present of two words!

² Schrader, *op. cit.* (on p. 214, note 5), p. 454.

³ See p. 214.

Yiḡhar, Yishaq, Jacob, Yiskah, Yishbak, etc. The ending *ai* as in Sarai, Yishai, Radaï or Dadaï, Shaddai, as well as *i* as in Abi, Ahi, may also be Aramaic. Lastly, I may mention the termination *ath*, not in feminine words, but in names like Goliath, Genubath, Ahuzzath, special, perhaps, to the Philistine dialect¹.

From these facts it is evident what a mixture of tribes must have peopled the country known generally in the Old Testament under the name of 'Arab' (ערב), and in the cuneiform inscription as Arabu or Arabia. The name ערב itself may even be derived from the root ערב, 'to mix.' If we are right in supposing that the tribes of Tema and the countries around spoke Aramaic dialects at the time of the Assyrian conquest, we shall have to place Uz, Hul, Gether, and Mash, sons of Aram, in the Arabian desert, in the neighbourhood of Edom and the Hedjâz, and not in Mesopotamia, as has commonly been done. In fact M. Halévy² expressed this opinion some years ago, and no reason has yet appeared for abandoning it. It may be observed that towns of these countries are mentioned on Egyptian monuments, dating from a period before the immigration of the Israelites to Canaan, with the Nabataean termination *-u*³. So again there is the locality Ono⁴ in Benjamin, which is probably derived from the Egyptian On, *sun*, the native name of the city called in Greek Heliopolis. This latter place is meant by the *Aven* of Ezekiel⁵, which should rather be read *On* (*Aven* being meant by the punctuators to have the sense of *idolatry*). In Jeremiah⁶ it is represented by its Hebrew equivalent Beth Shemesh. Possibly the name *Ben Oni*⁷, for Benjamin, contains an allusion to the sun or the south; for it corresponds to Jamin or Yemen. The use of Beth-Aven for Beth-El⁸ may

¹ Compare Prof. Driver's *Hebrew Tenses*, ed. 2 (1881), p. 261.

² *Revue*, p. 15.

³ See O. Blau in Merx's *Archiv*, 1869, p. 352 f.

⁴ Ezra ii. 33.

⁵ Ezekiel xxx. 17.

⁶ Jer. xliii. 13.

⁷ Gen. xxxv. 18.

⁸ Hosea iv. 16.

have been facilitated by the recollection that Beth-el was once called Beth-On. Perhaps the name of Onan¹, the son of Judah, is derived also from On, with the addition of the syllable *-án*². We may therefore, with M. Halévy³, group the Semitic languages as follows:—Towards the east the Assyrio-Babylonians; to the south the Yoqtanido-Cushites; to the west the Phœnicians; and to the north the Hittites. In the central parts, Syria and the Arabian desert, the Aramaic-speaking races. The Israelites, Moabites, and perhaps also the Ammonites (all of whom inhabited Canaanitish countries) spoke the language of the Canaanites with some slight Aramaisms, as may be seen from the inscription of Mesha (the 'Moabite stone'), and from various passages in the Old Testament. The question arises now, what language did the Israelites, or the descendants of Abraham, originally speak, Hebrew or Aramaic? There can be no doubt as to the answer. Abraham came from Haran, which certainly was an Aramaic-speaking district. Abram, if we may understand אֲבִר, like the Arabic *Abu*, in the sense of 'ancestor,' may be explained as a compound of Ab and Aram (אֲבִר אֲרָם), i.e. the father of Aram or Aramean. Sarai is an Aramaic form. In Canaan his name was changed to Abraham, which may perhaps signify 'the beloved father' (אֲבִיר רַחֵם), as the Arabs call him *Khalil Allah*, 'the beloved of God.' Sarai is changed to a Canaanitish form *Sarah*⁴. When Isaac is of an age to be married, Abraham sends to his own family in Aram Naharaim, Aram of the two rivers, to the town of Nahor. Jacob also, when fleeing from Esau, takes refuge in the same country, and seeks a wife in the house of his relative Laban

¹ Gen. xxxviii. 4.

² Perhaps the word אָוֶן (*Aven*) in Isaiah lvi. 3 ought to be read On. In fact this verse refers to some heathen ceremonies, perhaps in Cyprus, where worship of dogs is mentioned in inscriptions. I translate consequently: killing the ox, beating a man, sacrificing a lamb, breaking the neck of a dog, offering an oblation, lifting (אָרַם for אֲרָם) a swine, celebrating the moon (לְקַנְהָ for לִבְנָה), blessing On or the Sun.

³ *Revue*, p. 15.

⁴ Compare, for instance, בִּלְנִי and בִּלְנָה (Neh. x. 9 and xii. 5).

the Aramean. Jacob is called *Arami* in Deuteronomy¹, 'A wandering Aramean was my father;' (A. V. 'A Syrian ready to perish was my father.') The Canaanitish language may even have been adopted by Abraham, since Jacob gives a Canaanitish name, *Galeed*, to what Laban calls *Yegar Sakhadutha*² in Aramaic; possibly, however, it was only adopted by the tribes after they had taken possession of the land of Canaan, since it is related that the Israelites in the desert said with regard to the manna, *man hu*³, 'what is it?' *man* for *mah*, 'what?' In fact, the language spoken in Palestine is called by Isaiah the language of Canaan⁴: 'In that day will five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan.' The expressions *Yehudith*⁵ and *Ibri* are only used in conversation with foreigners. The 'God of the Ibrim' is used when Moses speaks to Pharaoh⁶; Jonah⁷ says to heathen sailors, 'I am an Ibri;' and Rabshakeh is asked to speak *Yehudith*⁸. The Aramaic origin of the Israelites will perhaps explain the Aramaic form of Jehovah or Jahveh, which in Hebrew ought to be Jehoyah or Yihyeh, at least in accordance with the derivation given in Exodus⁹, 'I am (*ehyeh*), hath sent me unto you.'

I cannot leave out an ingenious conjecture made by M. Halévy¹⁰. He sees in the word for 'bastard,' *Mamzer*¹¹, 'And a bastard shall dwell in Ashdod,' an allusion to the Nabataeans. Not only do the Rabbinical legends speak of the excessive promiscuity of the Idumaeans and the people of Seir, but Stephanus of Byzantium also says: *Ναβαταῖοι, ἔθνος τῶν εὐδαιμόνων Ἀράβων. Ναβάτης δὲ ἔστιν ἀραβιστὶ ὁ ἐκ μοιχείας γεγόμενος . . . Nabates Arabice significat eum, qui ex adulterio natus est.*

That the Nabataeans must have been early in Philistia is

¹ Deut. xxvii. 5.

² Gen. xxxi. 47.

³ Exodus xvi. 15.

⁴ Isaiah xix. 18.

⁵ See above, p. 42.

⁶ Exodus v. 3.

⁷ Jonah i. 9.

⁸ Isaiah xxxvi. 11.

⁹ Exodus iii. 14. See the First Essay in this volume, and Halévy, *Revue*, t. ix. p. 14 and seqq.

¹⁰ *Revue*, p. 10.

¹¹ Zach. ix. 6.

probable from the statement of Herodotus¹ that in his time the Arabs, i.e. the Nabataeans, were masters of the whole coast of Palestine. We know, moreover, that the Assyrians transplanted Aramaic-speaking races to Samaria and to Philistia. If, indeed, the Nabataeans were settled at Ashdod, the *Ashdodith*, the language of Ashdod, which the young generation of the returned exiles spoke, according to Nehemiah, must have been the Nabataean language². With all this, it is easy to understand what a mixture of dialects must have prevailed in Palestine in the time of Ezra: Hebrew, Nabataean, Aramaic from Kutha and Avva or Samaritan; to say nothing of the Babylonian dialect, which many who returned from exile must have brought with them. How far Ezra and Nehemiah succeeded in re-establishing Hebrew amongst the Jews, has been explained in a previous paper³.

¹ *Herod.* iii. 5.² See above, p. 42.³ See above, pp. 40-74.

Supplementary Notes.

THE following are further particulars of the readings adopted by MM. Berger and Clermont-Ganneau, whose articles arrived too late to be alluded to (pp. 209, 210) in the preceding essay except in the notes.

P. 210, Inscription 1, l. 3, and p. 211, Inscr. 4, ll. 11, 12, 16, 21, I have accepted M. Clermont-Ganneau's ingenious interpretation of 𐤆𐤋𐤍 as the name of a Deity (see the *Athenaeum*, Feb. 28, 1885 (No. 2992), p. 280, where I have suggested that the word 𐤆𐤋𐤍 (Numbers xiv. 18), 'their defence or shade,' ought perhaps to be read 𐤆𐤋𐤍, and translate 'Tselem is departed from them, and Jehovah is with us'). Zalamu in Assyrian is the god of eclipse or darkness (see Prof. Sayce's *Assyrian Grammar*, p. 24). The word 𐤆𐤋𐤍, however, usually means in the Bible 'image,' and in this sense we find it also in a Sabaeen or Himyaritic inscription (see David

Heinrich Müller in the *Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Classe*, Wien, 17 December, 1884, No. xxviii).

P. 211, Inscription 2. M. Clermont-Ganneau's reading נפש, 'a sepulchral monument' (see Levy, *Neuhebr. Wörterbuch*, s.v.), has been adopted.

P. 212, Inscription, l. 13. I have translated סוּתָא, 'monument,' from the root סָחַח, 'aptare lapides.' Compare שָׁחַח, שָׁחַח (שָׁחַח), Isaiah xix. 10; Ps. xi. 3; and perhaps שָׁחַח, Numbers xxiv. 17), and אֶבֶן שָׁחַח, the foundation-stone in the Temple (*Mishnah*, Yomâ, v. 2). סוּתָא, 'vêtement,' as translated by M. Halévy, does not give a good sense.—Ibidem, l. 15. I read וְהָאֵנָּה for M. Halévy's וְהָאֵנָּה.—Ibidem. I have supplied יֵהֵב for M. Halévy's בֵּית.—Ibidem, l. 17. I have supplied [כַּרְיִין] for M. Halévy's [כַּרְיִין].

P. 218, Inscription 2, l. 1. For כַּפְרָא we find in M. Huber's facsimiles of similar inscriptions קַבְרָא.—ll. 1 and 4. I have accepted M. Halévy's readings הוֹאֵלֶת and וּמְרַחֵבָה for M. Renan's עֵבְדָה עֵלָא for די לא עֵבְדָה די עֵלָא. —l. 8. Perhaps שְׁמִירִין די עֵלָא; probably on p. 219, Inscr. 10, l. 11, כַּעִיר די עֵלָא. There are still several passages doubtful in the Nabataean inscriptions of Mr. Doughty, which will no doubt be elucidated by the comparison of the facsimiles taken by the late M. Huber and Dr. Euting. So, for instance, I read חֲדָתִי (p. 218, Inscr. 2, l. 9, and p. 219, Inscr. 10, l. 12), 'new coins' (compare above, p. 84, note 4), for M. Renan's strange word חֲדָתִי; the reading חֲדָתִי is certain in M. Huber's facsimiles (see M. Philippe Berger's article, p. 379, note 11).

Specimen of the Nabataean Inscriptions copied by M. Huber¹.

- 1 דְּנָה כַּפְרָא דִּי עֵבְדָה עֵידוֹ בֵּר כַּהִלְיוֹ בֵּר
- 2 סִלְכִסִּי לְנִפְשָׁה וִילְדָה וְאַחֲרָה וְלִמֵּן דִּי יִנְפֵק בִּירָה
- 3 כְּתָב תִּקְפָּה מִן יַד עֵידוֹ קִים לָהּ וְלִמֵּן דִּי יִנְתֵּן דִּיקְבֵּרָה בָּהּ
- 4 עֵידוֹ בְּחִיוֵהוּ בִּירָה נִיסָן שָׁנָה תִּשְׁעָ לְחֻרְתָּהּ מִלֵּךְ

¹ No. 40 of M. Huber's *Catalogue*, No. 29 in the article of M. Ph. Berger.

² M. Berger thinks that the name may be Seleucus (?).

³ Not from the Arabic نَقْف, as M. Berger suggests, but the Aramaic חֻקָּה = חֻק; cf. in the *Mishnah* חֻקָּה, 'right of possession.'

⁴ Daniel vi. 8 [7 Engl.], a kind of firman, as M. Berger rightly explains.

⁵ In the facsimile rather וִיחֻקְבֵּרָה (M. Berger).

- 5 נבמו רחם עמה ולענו דושרא ומנותו וקישא
 6 כל מן די [יעיר?] כפרא דנה או זבן או [ירחן?] או יתן או
 7 יפנר¹ או יתאלף עלוהי כתב כלה או יקבר בה או
 8 [?] למא די עלא כתיב וכפרא וכתבה די לה חרם²
 9 דחליקת חרם נבמו ושלמו לעלם עלמן

- 1 'This is the cave which made Aïdu, son of Coheilu, son
 2 of . . . (?), for himself, his children and his posterity, and for
 3 whosoever shall produce
 4 a written permission from the hand of Aïdu, valid for him ; and
 5 for any to whom Aïdu shall grant the right of burial there
 6 during his lifetime. In the month of Nisan, the ninth year of
 7 Aretas king
 8 of Nabataea, lover of his people. And may Dusara, Manutu,
 9 and Kaïsa curse
 10 every one who may make alterations(?) in this cave, or who
 11 may sell it, or [pledge it], or give it as a present, or
 12 destroy, or . . . (?) on it any writing, or bury in it, or
 13 alter (?) anything which is written above. And the cave and
 14 the writing (inscription?) that is upon it is sacred
 15 . . . (?), sacred for the Nabataeans and the Shallemites, for
 16 ever and ever.'

¹ סנר in the Targum, 'to destroy,' which will remove M. Berger's difficulty.

² The biblical word חרם.

XI.

SOME FURTHER REMARKS ON THE
CORBEY ST. JAMES (ff).

[W. SANDAY.]

I HAVE had the advantage of looking over the proofs of the most interesting and valuable paper that was read to us on this subject by Prof. Wordsworth. Everything has now been done that can possibly be done for the description and history of the MS. A number of isolated passages have received skilful and delicate handling (see esp. pp. 137-141): and all the necessary materials have been collected or indicated for forming a judgment on the Latin text. It is on this last point that I propose to offer a few additional remarks, suggested by my own work at other parts of the Version. The brief time at my disposal since Prof. Wordsworth's Essay came into my hands will prevent me from attempting to travel over the whole ground of the Epistle. I shall therefore confine myself merely to what seems to me to be the key to the position, the passages where *m* (the so-called *Speculum* of Augustine) is also extant and available for the illustration of *ff* (the Corbey MS.) on the one hand and of the Vulgate on the other. The three texts, *m*, *ff*, and the Vulgate, as given by Cod. Amiatinus, are printed conveniently in parallel columns on pp. 131, 132.

As it will be necessary for me to draw upon materials collected for another though nearly related purpose, it may be well for me to explain at the outset what those materials are, so that it may be seen how far the evidence to which I have access extends and what are its limits. It is unfortunate that I should have to make use of an inquiry which is not so much as half completed; and yet even the small portion that is in

any sense finished seems to point so distinctly to certain conclusions that it will not be altogether premature to apply them to the question before us, and it seems best to do so while its interest is still fresh and unexhausted.

It was at the beginning of the last Long Vacation that I began to work systematically at the Old Latin. If I had been alone, as may well be supposed, I should not have advanced very far at present, but I have had the benefit of much help from the first, and now Mr. H. J. White of Christ Church has definitely joined me, and we have been for some little time prosecuting our inquiry together, so that it is in a more forward state than might otherwise have been expected.

My first step was to get indices made to all the earlier Latin Fathers that had not been hitherto indexed, especially Novatian, Hilary, Lucifer of Cagliari, Victorinus Afer, Optatus, Zeno, the Arian fragments published by Mai, and the Speculum of Augustine. These, with the indices already existing to Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose, gave a fairly wide basis to start from.

By comparing them it was not difficult to see in what passages MSS. and Fathers would throw the greatest light upon each other. With the help of Mr. White and of the Rev. Wilmore Hooper, Fellow of Durham, I got a number of these selected passages written out in parallel columns. A simple inspection of the parallels brought out much that was instructive, and I hoped to be able to exhibit this to the eye by the use of different types. At first, however, the number of the different authorities was baffling and bewildering, and I was obliged to give up the idea for the time. I think that we now see our way to return to it by dividing the authorities into groups, and following out the same system of marking in each group. At present the boundaries of the different groups are not yet all settled: some are clear, but others will require further investigation: when that has been made, I hope that this part of our material may be worked up with advantage.

My next step was to take certain passages and reduce the

variations in reading and in rendering to such a form as they would take in an 'apparatus criticus.' It was then possible to express the relations of the different MSS. to each other numerically. This furnished some rough preliminary conclusions which might help to guide our future work. But the process was really too mechanical, and involved an expenditure of labour hardly commensurate with the result.

We then tried the experiment of singling out only what seemed to be more important readings over a wider area; and Mr. White has filled the greater part of a good-sized notebook with the analysis of readings of this kind. But here again the objection was that we were apt to be mistaken as to what was really important and what was not. It is indeed in this as in most other matters of science: nothing is really insignificant, and it is impossible to tell beforehand, or without considerable experience, what phenomena have the greater significance and what the less.

It was at this point that Professor Wordsworth gave me the opportunity of writing that part of his Introduction to the Bobbio MS. (k) which deals with the Latin text. For us the chance was a happy one, because experience has shown that the particular MS. k is of the very first importance for the understanding of the Version; it is indeed, I believe, little less than the key to the whole, and in working at it I seemed to fall naturally into what I conceive to be the right method, and a method which seems likely to yield well founded and satisfactory results. The MSS. must be dealt with singly; they must be collated together point by point; the peculiar element in each must be isolated; and its structure and composition must be thoroughly studied.

It will be remembered that k contains, roughly speaking, about the first half of the Gospel of St. Matthew, and about the second half of the Gospel of St. Mark. This is really the only portion of the Old Latin New Testament that we can claim to have worked at in this thorough-going way. Neither have we treated as completely the chapters in St. Matthew as

we have done those in St. Mark: for the method grew under our hands, and it took some little time to bring it into shape. There is the further limitation that we have as yet only paid close attention to the older MSS.: the later texts must stand over for further investigation.

But the analysis that we have been making, partial as it is, does I think bring out certain facts of great importance. They may be subject to modification, and I should only like to affirm them for the limited area that we have examined. I believe that they extend some way beyond this; and the scattered evidence which we had collected previously points all in the same direction; but it is well not to anticipate, and I should prefer to restrict what I say specially to the first two Gospels.

Taking these, I believe that we are able to give a more definite answer than has yet been given to the question as to the origin of the Old Latin version. Was that version, it is asked, originally one, or was it more than one? We reply that there were originally two main versions, two parent stocks from which all the texts that we now have were derived with different degrees of modification. In saying this I naturally exclude cases where the particular writer has translated for himself directly from the Greek, and speak only of texts which circulated over some greater or less extent of ground.

The parent stocks I believe to have been two, and as far as I can see at present, not more. It is perfectly true that MSS. like *a* in St. Mark, and I may add St. Luke, and *d* throughout, have a peculiar element—a peculiar element so marked that it must have a separate origin. But in neither case are they independent of the great family to which they belong: the peculiarities are grafts upon the main stock; they do not form a new and distinct stock by themselves.

We cannot do better than keep to the names that have been already given to these two main stocks—the African and the European. To the African belong, at a stage not quite the

earliest k (Cod. Bobiensis), at a stage somewhat later e (Cod. Palatinus), and at a later stage still m (Speculum Augustini). To the European belong the great mass of other MSS. Large modifications have taken place in both families, perhaps at least one systematic recension in the European, and in the later members especially there is much mixture and interchange between the two families: but underlying all these vicissitudes the two fundamental types remain distinct from each other; and the differences between these types are no longer, like the later modifications, differences of degree merely but of kind.

The great proof of this is that whereas between different members of the same family the diction varies, especially in some more prominent words, but the general framework and essential cast of the sentences is, with comparatively rare exceptions, the same; on the other hand, between members of the two opposing families, though here and there we may find an agreement in words borrowed from one by the other, yet the framework and essential cast of the sentences are different.

Mr. White and I have catalogued the peculiarities of k which come out upon a collation with the oldest European MSS. a b d f, and the result is such as I have described. Many points that we were at first inclined to pass over as trivial contribute to it. For instance, k repeatedly has 'fui' where the European MSS. have 'eram:' this occurs no less than twenty-four times in the eight chapters of St. Mark, and there is only a single exception where the contrary relation holds good. There are two constructions of which k is very fond: 'cum' with imperf. or pluperf. subj., especially common in St. Matthew, and the construction of two coordinate verbs ('respondit et dixit') especially common in St. Mark. The first of these constructions is found in St. Matthew twenty-three times where the European MSS. have the present participle, and ten times where they have the abl. abs. The second construction occurs in St. Mark no less than forty times where the European MSS. express themselves differently, not counting some twelve instances

where the construction is shared by k with some one or two European MSS. against the rest. To set against these fifty-two instances there are only five exceptions. There is one construction which is especially characteristic of k: 'cum serum factum esset' (or 'est') occurs five times, while in bf the regular phrase is 'vespere facto:' in one case bd have 'cum vespere (*sic*) factum esset,' and in two cases a has an approximation to k, but in each with 'sero' instead of 'serum.' Another marked peculiarity of k is its fondness for compounds of 'eo' where these are avoided in the European text (fourteen instances in St. Matthew, nine in St. Mark, and only two exceptions). In like manner k repeatedly has the preposition 'de' where the others have 'ex' and once 'a:' so five times in St. Matthew, six times in St. Mark, with three exceptions.

But I must not stay to enlarge on these points. I will therefore only give a list of some of the words that are most characteristic of k, and will then pass on to ff of St. James. These are 'adoro,' 'adoratio' (for 'oro,' 'oratio'), 'claritas,' 'clarifico' for 'gloria,' 'magnifico,' 'colligo' for 'congrego,' 'commotus' for 'misertus,' 'continuo' for 'statim' or 'protinus,' 'corripio' for 'comminor' (where 'objurgo' is specially characteristic of a), 'crastinus' without 'dies,' 'demoniacus' for 'daemonium habens,' 'discentes' for 'discipuli' (eight times, but with three exceptions), 'emundo' for 'mundo,' 'excito' for 'suscito' or 'resuscito' (a marked usage), 'excludo' alternating with 'expello' in the phrase 'excludere' or 'expellere daemonia' where the Europeans have 'eicere' (this also is very marked), the little word 'illic' for 'ibi' and 'iste' for 'hic,' 'ita' for 'utique' and 'itaque' for 'ergo' (but not without exception), 'de longinquo,' 'lumen' for 'lux,' 'mortuus' for 'defunctus,' 'natio' for 'gens' and for 'generatio' (two striking usages), 'nequam' for 'malus,' etc., 'nimis' for 'valde,' 'obsecror' or 'obsecro' for 'rogo,' 'palla' for 'sindon,' 'peregrinor' for 'peregre proficiscor,' 'ploratio' for 'fletus,' 'poto' for 'potum

do,' 'pressura' for 'tribulatio' (not common in k, but marked in Cyprian and e), 'propterea' for 'ideo,' 'proximum tibi' for 'tuum,' 'quasi' for 'tamquam,' 'qui' for 'quicumque,' 'quoadusque' for 'donec,' 'quomodo' for 'sicut,' 'salvo' for 'salvum facio,' 'sermo' for 'verbum,' 'similitudo' for 'parabola' (very marked), 'simulo' (*sic*), the preposition 'super,' 'tego' for 'operio,' 'totus' several times for 'omnis,' 'uni-versus.' These are all instances which occur often enough to justify a real induction. In many cases the induction would be largely strengthened by taking in Cyprian and e; and there is of course much to be said about details.

These examples, selected from a large number where the evidence is less cogent, will be enough to show what a radical divergence there is between the two texts, and what an inner coherence and consistency there are in each. We now have to ask, how far anything of the same kind holds good in regard to the extant texts in St. James. And here I would at once lay down that I do not think there is the slightest *a priori* probability that it would be so. The evidence for the acceptance of the Epistle in the West is so gradual and comparatively late, that we should not at all expect that it would be included in the original translation, even if that translation extended to the Epistles, as at first sight it seems to have done. We must therefore put aside all presumptions before the fact and look strictly at the facts as we have them. Taking the passages where we have three MSS. to compare together, how many original versions do they imply? I answer, though as yet tentatively, two.

We must bear in mind two things: (1) that we are dealing with an altogether later stratum of text than in the case of k: k is an established text by the middle of the third century: the earliest evidence for the text of ff is on the extreme verge of the fourth century (Chromatius), and though the reading so attested is important it does not follow that the whole text is as old even as that: between the date of Chromatius and the MS. there is plenty of time for other

readings and groups of readings to be introduced; so that we should expect to find in ff a mixed and composite text at a rather advanced stage of degeneracy: the text of m too, whatever its relation to that of St. Augustine, in any case dates from his period and is not on a level with older texts like those of k and Cyprian. And (2) we must remember that the phraseology of the Epistle of St. James is not like the simple language of the Gospels: it contains a number of unusual expressions which are just of the kind in which the divergence even of nearly allied MSS. would be most apparent. Some allowance should be made on both of these grounds.

In order to show more exactly the relation of the three texts to each other, the most satisfactory plan will be to bring it into relief by the use of different types. In the columns that follow

Ordinary type = points common to all three texts.

Thick type = points common to Vulg. and ff, or Vulg. and m.

Small capitals = points common to m and ff, not found in Vulg.

Italics = peculiarities of the text in which they occur.

(o) = order agreeing with Vulg.

(o) = order differing from Vulg.

(o) = order of m agreeing with ff against Vulg. (only one instance, IV. 12).

SPECULUM (m).	VULGATE (COD. AM.).	CORBET MS. (ff).
I. ¹⁹ Sit <i>uero</i> omnis homo <i>citatus</i> audire, <i>et</i> tardus loqui, <i>piger</i> in IRACUNDIA :	¹⁹ Sit autem omnis homo uelox ad audiendum, tardus autem ad loquen- dum <i>et</i> tardus ad iram	¹⁹ Sit autem omnis homo uelox ad audiendum, tardus autem ad loquen- dum, tardus autem ad IRACUNDIAM.
²⁰ IRACUNDIA enim uiri ius- titiam Dei non operatur	²⁰ Ira enim uiri iustiti- am Dei non operatur	²⁰ IRACUNDIA enim uiri ius- titiam Dei non operatur.
²⁶ Si quis putat† <i>supersti-</i> <i>tiosum</i> se(o) esse, non refrenans linguam suam, sed FALLENS cor suum (<i>sic</i>), huius uana †religio est(o).	²⁶ Si quis autem putat† se religiosum (o)esse, non refrenans linguam suam, sed <i>seducens</i> cor suum, huius uana †est religio(o).	²⁶ Si quis autem putat† se religiosum(o) esse non <i>infrenans</i> linguam suam, sed FALLENS cor suum, huius uana est religio(o).
²⁷ Sanctitas autem pura et	²⁷ Religio autem munda et	²⁷ Religio autem munda et

SPECULUM (m).

VULGATE (COD. AM.).

CORBEY MS. (ff).

(o) *incontaminata* haec est
apud Deum patrem,
uisitare ORFANOS et uiduas
in *angustia ipsorum*† et
immaculatum se SER-
UARE (o) A mundo.

(o) *immaculata* apud
deum et patrem haec est,
uisitare *pupillos* et uiduas
in tribulatione eorum,
† et *immaculatum* se *cus-*
todire(o) *ab hoc saeculo*.

immaculata apud
Dominum (o) haec est,
uisitare ORFANOS et uiduas
in tribulatione eorum ;
† SERUARE se *sine macula*(o)
A saeculo.

II. ¹³ Iudicium enim sine
misericordia *his* qui non
fecit misericordiam ;
quoniam misericordia
praefertur iudicio.

¹⁴ Quid prode EST, fratres,
si † fidem quis dicat (o) *in*
semet ipso manere, opera
autem non habeat ? Num-
quid potest † fide (*sic*) sola
saluare eum (o) ?

¹⁵ Si frater aut soror nudi
fuerint et *defuerit* EIS
† *cotidianus cibus*(o), ¹⁶ dicat
autem † eis aliquis

VESTRUM(o) : *Ite in pace,*
e calefacimini, et
satiemini, et non det eis
necessaria corporis, quid
prode EST haec dixisse eis ?

¹⁷ Sic et fides *quae* non
habet opera, mortua est
circa se.

²⁶ Sicut enim corpus sine
spiritu mortuum est, SIC
et fides sine operibus
mortua est.

III. ¹ Nolite **MULTI** loqui
ESSE, fratres mei ; *quia*
maius iudicium ACCIPIETIS :
² multa enim † omnes

II. ¹³ Iudicium enim sine
misericordia *illi* qui non
fecerit misericordiam ;
superexaltat autem mi-
sericordia iudicio.

¹⁴ Quid proderit, fratres
mei, si † fidem quis dicat
se(o) *habere*, opera autem
non habeat ? Numquid
poterit † fides
saluare eum(o) ?

¹⁵ Si *autem* frater aut soror
nudi sint et *indigeant*
† *uictu cotidiano*(o), ¹⁶ dicat
autem † aliquis *de uobis*

illis (o) : *Ite in pace,*
calefacimini et
saturamini, non dederitis
autem eis quae necessaria
sunt corporis quid proderit ?

¹⁷ Sic et fides si non
habeat opera mortua est
in semetipsa.

²⁶ Sicut enim corpus sine
spiritu mortuum est, *ita*
et fides sine operibus
mortua est.

¹ Nolite *plures* magistri
fieri fratres mei, *scientes*
quoniam maius iudicium
sumitis. ² In multis enim

II. ¹³ Iuditium *autem* non
miserebitur *ei*, qui non
fecit misericordiam.
Super gloriatur autem
misericordia iudicium.

¹⁴ Quit prodest, fratres
mei, si † quis dicat se
fidem(o) *habere* opera
autem non habeat ? Num-
quit potest † fides eum
sola saluare(o) ?

¹⁵ Siue frater siue soror
nudi sint et ~~defuit~~ EIS † *ui-*
ctus cotidianus(o), ¹⁶ dicat
autem † *illis ex* VESTRIS

aliquis(o) : *Uadite in pace,*
calidi estote et satulli :
non dederit autem illis
alimentum corporis ; quid
et prodest ?

¹⁷ Sic et fides si non
habeat opera, mortua est
sola.

²⁶ Sicut *autem* corpus sine
spiritu mortuum est, SIC
fides sine opera
mortua est.

¹ Nolite **MULTI** magistri
ESSE fratres mei, *scientes*
quoniam maius iuditium
ACCIPIEMUS. ² Multa *autem*

SPECULUM (m).

delinquimus (o). Si quis in uerbo non *delinquit* (sic) hic †perfectus uir est (o), potest FRAENARE totum corpus et dirigere. ³ Quare ergo equis frena in ora mittuntur, nisi in eo UT suadeantur a nobis, et TOTUM corpus circumducamus? ⁴ Ecce et naues *quietam* (i. e. quae tam) *inmensae* sunt, sub uentis *duris* FERUNTUR, et circumducuntur a PAR-uissimo gubernaculo, ubi impetus dirigentis uoluerit. ⁵ Sic et lingua pars membri est, sed est magniloqua. Et sicut paruus ignis magnam siluam incendit. ⁶ Ita et lingua ignis est: et *mundus* iniquitatis per linguam constat in membris nostris, quae maculat totum corpus, et inflammat rotam (otum m. 2) *geniturae* ET inflammatur a *genitura*. ⁷ Omnis enim natura bestiarum et auium et serpentium ET beluarum maritimarum domatur et †subiecta EST naturae humanae: ⁸ linguam (o) autem †hominum domare NEMO (o) potest, nec retinere a malo, quia plena est †mortali ueneno (o).

VULGATE (Cod. AM.).

†*offendimus* omnes (o). Si quis in uerbo non *offendit*, hic †perfectus est uir (o): potest etiam circumducere freno totum corpus. ³ Si autem equis frenos in ora mittimus ad consentiendum nobis, et omne corpus illorum circumferimus. ⁴ Ecce et naues cum magnae sint, et a uentis ualidis minentur, circumferuntur a modico gubernaculo ubi impetus dirigentis uoluerit: ⁵ ita et lingua modicum quidem membrum est, et magna exultat. Ecce quantus ignis quam magnam siluam incendit. ⁶ Et lingua ignis est: *uniuersitas* iniquitatis lingua constituitur in membris nostris, quae maculat totum corpus et inflammat rotam natiuitatis nostrae inflammata a gehenna. ⁷ Omnis enim natura bestiarum et uolucrum et serpentium ceterorumque domantur et †domata sunt a natura humana: ⁸ linguam (o) autem †nullus hominum domare (o) potest. *Inquietum* malum, plena †ueneno mortifero (o).

CORBEY MS. (ff).

†*erramus* omnes (o). Si quis in uerbo non *errat*: hic †erit consummatus uir (o). Potens est se infrenare et totum corpus. ³ Si autem equorum frenos in ora mittimus UT possint consentire, et TOTUM corpus ipsorum conuertimus. ⁴ Ecce et naues TAM magne sunt, et a uentis tam ualidis FERUNTUR, reguntur autem PARUULO gubernaculo et ubicumque diriguntur uoluntate eorum qui eas gubernant. ⁵ Sic et lingua paruulum membrum est, et magna gloriantur. Ecce pusillum ignis, in quam magna silua incendum facit. ⁶ Et lingua ignis seculi iniquitatis. Lingua posita est in membris nostris, quae maculat totum corpus et inflammat rotam natiuitatis ET incenditur a gehenna. ⁷ Omnis enim natura bestiarum siue uolatilium, reptantium ET natantium domatur †domita est. Nature autem humanae ⁸ linguam (o) NEMO hominum domare (o) potest. *Inconstans* malum, plena †ueneno mortifero (o).

SPECULUM (m).

VULGATE (COD. AM.).

CORBEY MS. (ff).

¹³ Quis *prudens* et *sciens*
uestrum MONSTRET DE
bona conuersatione opera
sua in †mansuetudine
et prudentia(o).

¹³ Quis sapiens et discipli-
natus inter uos ? Ostendat
ex bona conuersatione
operationem suam in †man-
suetudinem sapientiae(o).

¹³ Quis sapiens et discipli-
nosus in uobis ? demons-
trat DE bona conuersatione
opera SUA in sapientie
clementiam(o).

IV. ¹ Unde bella ? UNDE
RIXAE IN UOBIS ? Nonne
de UOLUNTATIBUS uestris
quae militant in membris
uestris, et sunt uobis sua-
uissima ?

¹ Unde bella et lites inter
uos ? Nonne ex concu-
piscenciis uestris quae
militant in membris
uestris ?

¹ Unde pugne et UNDE
RIXE IN UOBIS ? Nonne
hinc ? ex UOLUPTATIBUS
uestris que militant in
membris uestris ?

⁷ Humiliate uos Deo, et
resistite diabulo, et a
uobis , ⁸ proximate
Deo et †proximauit
uobis(o). ¹⁰ Humiliamini
ANTE conspectum Domini
et exaltabit uos.

⁷ Subditi igitur estote Deo,
resistite autem diabolo, et
fugiet a uobis(o), ⁸ Adpro-
pinquate Deo et †adpropin-
quauit uobis(o). ¹⁰ Humi-
liamini in conspectu
Domini et exaltauit uos.

⁷ Subditi estote Deo
resistite autem diabolo, et
fugiet a uobis(o). ⁸ Accedite
ad Dominum et ipse †ad-
uos accedit(o). ¹⁰ Humiliate
uos ANTE Dominum
et exaltabit uos.

¹¹ †Fratres nolite uos
[uobis Flor.] detrahere(o).
Qui enim [autem Flor.]
uituperat †fratrem suum
ET iudicat(o) †legem uitu-
perat et iudicat(o).
Si †legem iudicas(o), iam
†non factor legis sed
iudex es(o). ¹² Unus est
enim legum dator et iudex,
qui potest †SALUARE et
perdere(o). Tu autem
quis es qui iudicas prox-
imum ?

¹¹ †Nolite detrahere
alterutrum fratres mei(o).
Qui detrahit fratri aut qui
†iudica fratrem suum(o)
†detrahit legi et iudicat
legem(o). Si autem
†iudicas legem(o), †non es
factor legis sed iudex(o).
¹² Unus est legislator et
iudex, qui potest †perdere
et liberare(o). Tu autem
quis es qui iudicas prox-
imum ?

¹¹ †Nolite retractare de
alterutro, frater(o). Qui
retractat de fratre ET
†iudicat fratrem suum(o),
†retractat de lege et iudicat
legem(o). Si autem
†iudicas legem(o), †non
es factor legis sed
iudex(o). ¹² Unus est
legum positor et iudex qui
potest †SALUARE et
perdere(o). Tu autem
quis es qui iudicas prox-
imum.

V. ¹ Agite nunc diuites
plangite uos ululantes
super miseras UESTRAS
quae superueniunt.

¹ Agite nunc diuites,
plorare ululantes in
miseriis quae ad
uenient uobis.

¹ Iam nunc locupletes
plorare ululantes in
miseriis UESTRIS
ad uenientibus.

² diuitiis uestris.
Putruerunt et †tini-

² Diuitiae uestrae
putraefactae sunt et

² Diuitiae uestrae putri-
erunt †res uestre

SPECULUM (m).	VULGATE (COD. AM.).	CORBEY MS. (ff).
AUERUNT uestes uestrae (o).	† uestimenta uestra a tineis comesta sunt (o).	tiniaUERUNT (o).
³ † Aurum et argentum uestrum (o) <i>quod reposu-</i> <i>istis in nouissimis diebus</i> <i>aeruginauit et aerugo</i> <i>eorum</i> † in testimonium uobis erit(o) et comedit carnes uestras sicut ignis.	³ Aurum et argentum uestrum (o).	³ † Aurum uestrum et argentum (o)
⁵ Et uos deliciati estis super terram et luxoriati ESTIS : creastis autem corda uestra in die occisi-	⁵ Epulati estis super terram et in luxuriis emutristis corda uestra in diem occisionis.	eruginauit et erugo ipsorum † erit uobis in testi- monium (o) et manducabit carnes uestras tanquam ignis. ⁵ Fruiti estis super terram et <i>abusi</i> ESTIS. <i>Cibastis</i> corda uestra in die occisionis.

With this comparison before us, let us take each of the documents in turn and ask ourselves (1) whence it got the common matter which it shares with either or both the other documents, and (2) whence it got the matter which is peculiar to itself.

First as to m. I ought not to speak too positively, as I have not yet made a special study of m even in the Gospels, much less in the Epistles: but I believe that I shall not be far wrong in saying that m is a late African text, which has carried a step further the process that we find begun in e (Cod. Palatinus). In e an African base, identical probably with k, has been corrupted partly by internal development and partly by the admission of European readings. It is not likely that m has been corrupted directly from the Vulgate. The mixture probably took place higher up on the line of descent, through some ancestor of m crossing an ancestor of the Vulgate or some ancestor of the Vulgate crossing an ancestor of m. The two hypotheses do not exclude each other: both causes may have been at work at different times. The same kind of relation holds good between m and ff: there is an amount of scattered resemblance between the two MSS. which cannot be altogether the result of chance coincidence, and points to

a definite mixture of the two texts at some stage or other of their previous history.

Let us examine the structure of *m* a little more in detail, taking the common elements first. The coincidences with the Vulgate are not very numerous, but some of them are important. These are all that I can at present stay to notice.

I. 27. 'Deum patrem : ' there can be little doubt that this is the original Latin reading and that 'Dominum' in *ff* is a corruption.

— 'Immaculatum : '—also a well established reading in 1 Pet. i. 19 ; 2 Pet. iii. 14 ; and to be traced as far back as to Tertullian in 1 Tim. vi. 14 ; where, however, *d* Vulgate have 'sine macula,' the reading of *ff* here. The presence of a reading in Tertullian does not, I believe, necessarily prove that it is African ; for I strongly suspect that besides his own direct translations from the Greek, he also became acquainted with the European text during his stay at Rome, and made use of it together with the African. But I wish to speak on all points relating to Tertullian as yet with great reserve. Cyprian is our true starting point in the history of the African Version.

II. 13. 'Judicium enim sine misericordia : ' the reading of St. Augustine, as well as of Vulgate. The rendering is so natural for ἡ γὰρ κρίσις ἀνέλεος that it may conceivably have been original in both the African and European texts and not necessarily imply mixture. At the same time it may be an instance of European interpolation : the inverse relation is hardly so probable, but I doubt if anything can be affirmed with certainty.

II. 16. 'Ite in pace, et calefacimini et satiemini : ' the reading of Vulgate is very near this, for the form 'calefacimini' of Am. (so Tischendorf, 'caleficiamini' appears to be found in some texts) is doubtful : 'calefaciens' is, I believe, the universal rendering of θερμαινόμενος in the four places where it occurs, except that in Mark xiv. 54, *k* has 'calfactans' (but 'calfacientem' in v. 67) : *e* is not extant in any of the four passages : 'saturabuntur' is also the universal rendering of χορτασθήσεσθε in Matt. v. 6, including *k* Cypr. ; *e* *k* both have 'saturare' in Matt. xv. 33, but *e* has 'satiati' in Matt.

- xv. 37 ('saturati' m; k not extant). The same MS. e has 'satiabuntur' in Luke vi. 21, so that we can see how the word crept into the African version, to the later stage of which it seems to belong. [It is however also found occasionally in single European texts, possibly from mixture, e. g. Luke ix. 17 a, xvi. 21 a, John vi. 26 b.]
- II. 16. 'Necessaria corporis:' this is the only place where ἐπιτήδειος occurs in the New Testament: 'necessarius' is a word common to both the African and European Texts (e. g. Mark xi. 3).
- III. 4. 'Impetus dirigentis voluerit:' the marked divergence of ff at this point goes to prove that there must be some real connexion between m and Vulgate: 'impetus' is another word that is common to both texts (cf. Matt. viii. 32 k, Mark v. 13 e); the use of the participle is also not un-African (cf. Matt. xiii. 3, where d e k have 'seminans' b ff q 'seminator,' a c f Am. 'qui seminat').
- III. 5. 'incendit:' III. 6. 'inflammetur.' Both these words occur only in these passages: ἀνάπτειν is elsewhere rendered by 'accendo,' but it occurs only in two other places (Luke xv. 49, Acts xxviii). φλογιζομένη is a ἀπαξ λεγόμενον.
- III. 7. 'serpentium:' this is the reading of d Vulgate Augustine in Acts x. 12, and of d e Vulgate in Romans i. 23.
- III. 13. 'mansuetudine:' this is the Vulgate rendering of πραΰτης in nine out of the twelve places where it occurs; Cyprian also has it in Gal. v. 23 (not Ephes. iv. 2).
- IV. 1. 'Unde bella?' 'unde rixae?' With the insertion of 'et,' this is the reading of Jerome himself, though Vulgate has only 'bella' and ff only 'unde rixae.'
- IV. 10. 'Humiliamini:' 'humiliari' and 'humiliare se' occur equally often in Vulgate (each six times) and were both found in Cyprian.
- 'Ante conspectum:' also a frequent rendering in Vulgate.
- IV. 11. 'detrahere:' this too is a Vulgate word occurring besides frequently in Old Testament and in 1 Tim. iii. 11, 1 Pet. iii. 16. Cyprian renders καταλαλεῖν by 'retractare' (v. l. 'detractare').
- V. 1. 'Agite:' the only other places where ἄγε is thus used adverbially is iv. 13 of this Epistle: the Vulgate there has 'ecce,' while ff has 'jam' as here.
- 'divites:' the usual Vulgate rendering.
- V. 3. 'sicut:' very common in the European and Vulgate texts.

In all the above readings 'satiemini' alone is in any way specially characteristic of a text such as that of m; and that is merely an adaptation of a reading that otherwise belongs to the Vulgate stock: all the rest have more or less abundant analogies in the Vulgate. It is therefore on the whole more probable that the coincidences between m and Vulgate are caused by a pre-Vulgate element in m, and not by an m element in the Vulgate.

Let us now examine some of the more marked coincidences between m and ff.

- I. 19, 20. 'iracundia:' though 'iracundia' occurs four times in the Vulgate New Testament, it is nowhere as a rendering of ὀργή: the only place in the Gospels where I have found it is in Mark iii. 5, where it is peculiar to a: it has very much the character of other peculiar renderings in that MS. It is also, I think, we may say certainly, the reading of Cyprian in Ephes. vi. 9 ('laxantes iracundiam' codd. w l m b, 'remit-tentes minas' cod. A, Hartel).
- I. 26. 'fallens:' this word occurs only once in the Vulgate New Testament, and that in this Epistle as a rendering of παραλογιζόμενοι (I. 27); it is, however, a fairly well-established Africanism: Cyprian has it in four separate and widely removed quotations of Matt. xxiv. 4, 5 (two of these are given by Hartel as from Mark xiii. 6, and one is referred to both places, but they seem to be all really taken from St. Matthew). In the parallel passage, Mark xiii. 16, k has 'decipiat' and 'in errore promittent.' I have not, however, found 'fallo' elsewhere in Cyprian: 'decipio' seems to be the more usual African word.
- I. 27. 'orfanos:' the universal Old-Latin (African and European) and Vulgate rendering in John xiv. 18, the only other place where the Greek word occurs in the New Testament.
- I. 27. 'servare:' so τηρεῖν is rendered in Matt. xix. 17, a b e, etc., and repeatedly elsewhere; e has 'observavi' in Matt. xix. 20, where the rest have 'custodivi.'
- II. 15. 'Defuerit:' 'indigeo' is sometimes avoided by the African text (e.g. Luke xii. 30 e, cf. b), but not always (e.g. Matt. vi. 32 k Cyprian rel.); 'deest' is, however, the common rendering in Matt. xix. 20, and elsewhere.

- III. 1. 'accipie[tis]:' the common word in this connexion in both texts.
- III. 2. 'fraenare:' the African text not seldom uses the simple verb, where other texts have the compound, but this relation is quite as often, or rather more often, inverted.
- III. 3. 'totum:' 'totus' for 'omnis' or 'universus' is rather characteristic of the African text: k has it three times in St. Matthew, four times in St. Mark, but in three of these last instances along with a.
- IV. 1. 'rixae:' the word μάχαι only occurs three times besides in the New Testament; in one of these places Cyprian has 'lites:' as Jerome himself has 'rixae' no stress can be laid on the deviation from the Vulgate here.
- 'voluntatibus' (for 'voluptatibus,' ff Jerome): similarly in Matt. xiii. 22, a has 'voluntates divitiarum,' e 'divitiarum voluntas,' while conversely in John iv. 34 d has 'voluptatem.'
- IV. 12. 'salvare:' this word is frequently found in the African text, where the European MSS. have 'salvum facere,' but all our three documents have it above in ii. 14, so that no inference can be drawn from it.
- V. 2. 'putruerunt et tiniaverunt:' of these two words 'tiniaverunt' is the more characteristic; it occurs in the Vulgate only in Baruch vi. 71, which belongs to the unrevised Old Latin.

Looking back over these expressions and taking also into account the minor points which have not been more particularly noticed, I think that they amount to proof that there is something more than an accidental connexion between the two texts m and ff, wide apart from each other as they may seem; but I am not so sure that we can affirm from which side the common element proceeds. It has on the whole a slight African tinge, and so far points to an African importation into the text of ff, but the total balance is not decided enough to allow us to speak confidently.

When we come to the peculiar points in m, their African character is clearer: and they are African, just of the kind that we should expect, not such as are found in the earliest

stages of the version, but such as belong rather to its later stage. I must not stay to examine all these peculiar points, but will confine myself to indicating those the African origin of which is most apparent.

- I. 26. 'superstitiosum:' the only trace that I can find of this is in Col. ii. 18, Auctor *Quaest. ex Nov. Test.*, and Ambrosiaster, as given by Sabatier.
- I. 27. 'pura:' it is a rather remarkable coincidence that the only instance that I am aware of in which the word 'purus' occurs in the Gospels is in a single MS. (A) of Cyprian's *Testimonia*, where he is quoting Matt. v. 8; every other extant MS. and authority there, and so far as I know elsewhere in the Gospels, has 'mundus.' And this MS. of Cyprian, Cod. Sessorianus, is the very same that contains the text that Mai has edited of the *Speculum*: its text in Cyprian is I believe very similar to its text in the *Speculum*, degenerate African.
- 'angustia:' so e alone in Matt. xiii. 21, where k has the older African reading 'pressura:' 'angustiis' is also a singular reading of d in Matt. xxiv. 9.
- II. 14, 16. 'prode est:' this form appears to be also characteristic of Cod. Sessorianus, from which Rönsch has collected four examples of it (*It. v. Vulg.* p. 468 f.); it is, however, found in other non-African MSS.
- II. 14. 'manere:' this is a word of which the African text at one of its stages appears to be rather fond: e introduces it against all other MSS. (including k) into Matt. xiii. 32, and k alone has it in Mark xiv. 34.
- II. 15. 'cibus:' a clear case cannot be made out for 'cibus' though k has it against the European MSS. in Matt. iii. 4; and Cyprian against most other authorities in 1 Cor. iii. 2; a b have it in Matt. xxiv. 45, where e has 'cibaria' and in John iv. 8, b has 'cibus,' e 'esca.'
- III. 1. 'multiloqui:' it is perhaps something more than a chance coincidence that k has 'multiloqui esse' in Matt. vi. 7, where the other texts have 'multum loqui.'
- III. 5. 'delinquimus:' 'delinquere,' 'delictum,' are predominantly African words; so the best MSS. of Cyprian in Eph. iv. 26, 1 John ii. 1, 2, and k in Matt. vi. 14, 15. In all these places the European texts have 'peccare,' 'peccatum.'

- III. 6. 'geniturae,' 'genitura:' this word is distinctly African, and African of a very old type; it has disappeared from k, but Tertullian has it in Matt. i. 1: it does not occur in the Vulgate.
- III. 7. 'avium:' so e d in Matt. xiii. 32, where all the others have 'volucres' or 'volatilia,' as here.
- IV. 8. 'proximate,' 'proximavit:' so k in Mark xiii. 28; the word only occurs in the Vulgate New Testament in Heb. vii. 19.
- V. 1. 'plangite:' African in Matt. v. 5, 'plangentes' k Cypr., 'qui lugent' or 'lugunt' a b d f, comp. John xvi. 20 'plangetis' de Cypr., 'lugebitis' a b.
- 'super,' 'superveniunt:' 'super' and its compounds are also frequent in the African text.
- V. 3. 'quod reposuistis in novissimis diebus:' this seems to be a transposition from the end of the verse ('thesaurizastis iram in novissimis diebus' Vulgate).
- 'comedit:' African in Mark xii. 40 (a e k, 'devorant' rel.).
- V. 5. 'delicati estis:' this appears to be African; 'delicata est' is the true reading in Cyprian's quotation of 1 Tim. v. 6, where all the other texts have 'in deliciis est, agit, vivit;' the Greek is *σπαλαῶσα*, which is the word used here in St. James, and it occurs nowhere else in the New Testament.

It is possible that an enlargement of the data would modify some of the details in this evidence, but I do not think it likely that the general result would be altered. The text of m is no doubt neither early nor pure; it has suffered considerably both from degeneration and from mixture, but its original base is African, and as such it is separated from the two other texts by a wider chasm than that which separates them from each other.

The Vulgate and m are offshoots of two fundamentally different stocks. I cannot think that this is the case between the Vulgate and ff. Before passing to this question, however, it may be well to ascertain first a little more closely what is the character of the Vulgate text. This will turn mainly upon the character of the peculiar readings; for on those that are shared with m something has already been said, and on those that are shared with ff something will be said presently.

Of those in Ch. 1, 'ira,' 'seducens,' 'pupillos,' 'custodire,'

are all wide-spread European renderings: for 'pupillos' see Mark xii. 40, where the word is interpolated in a b d i (not in e k). In ii. 13 Augustine is quoted by Sabatier as twice reading 'superexultat' (and Dombart's critical edition of the *De Civitate* gives the same reading) and twice 'superexaltat'; so that, whichever was the original form of the word, it was certainly in existence in this passage before the time of Jerome. 'Indigeat,' as we have seen, is common to all the texts: 'saturamini' is a regular European form: 'in semetipsa' has in it nothing unusual. In iii. 1 'plures' seems to be peculiar, but it is probably not due to Jerome himself: in Mark xii. 5, precisely the same change has taken place, a k reading 'multos,' b d (i? *ex silentio*) Vulg. 'plures.' In the same verse 'fieri' is found in Augustine (Sab.), who also has 'sumitis' (for λαμβάνετε), which is said to be the reading of the Memphitic version. Augustine again has 'in multis offendimus;' so has Leo; and an anonymous writer of about the same date has 'circumducere freno.' Lucifer as well as the Vulgate has a parallel for 'circumferimus' in Jude 12; the curious 'minentur' (= French 'mener') is not an uncommon Vulgate word (see Rönsch, *It. u. Vulg.* p. 236): 'modicus' is the reading not only of a b f, but of k, in Matt. vi. 30, though it is European and not African in Matt. viii. 26; the word is common enough. μεγάλα αὐχεῖ or μεγαλαυχεῖ is a ἀπαξ λεγόμενον in the Greek and is rendered by 'magna exaltat,' which is also peculiar in this sense; though the word occurs frequently both in the Vulgate and Old Latin (European and African at least of the e type) as the rendering of ὑψοῦν. I am not aware of any parallel for 'universitas,' which occurs only here in the Vulgate New Testament. 'Constituo' is a common Vulgate and European word; it occurs also in e: 'volucrum' is the more usual European word: 'ceterorum' (for 'cetorum') is as peculiar as the word ἐναλλών of which it is a translation. 'Inquietum,' the rendering of another peculiar word, ἀκατάστατον, occurs in Vulgate and Ambrosiaster as a rendering of δρακτος in 1 Thess. v. 14, and in Vulgate and Augustine as a

rendering of ἀρακρεῖν in 2 Thess. iii. 7: 'ostendo' is the common European word for which in one place (Matt. viii. 4) k has 'demonstro,' but not elsewhere (Matt. iv. 7, Mark xiv. 15); there does not seem to be a hard and fast local division between the two words. 'Operatio' is a Vulgate word found also in Cyprian (2 Thess. ii. 10): 'lites' is found in all the authorities including Cyprian in 2 Tim. ii. 23: 'concupiscentia' is well established both in European and African texts of the Epistles: 'adpropinquo' is a common European word: 'detrahere' occurs in Vulgate and d of 1 Tim. iii. 11, and in Vulgate of 1 Pet. iii. 16, νομοθέτης and 'legislator' are both ἀπαξ λεγόμενα in the New Testament, though 'legislator' is found three times in the Vulgate Old Testament. The use of 'libero' for 'salvo' or 'salvum facio' is one about which I should like to know a little more: it occurs at least once as a singular reading in the best MSS. of Cyprian (Matt. xxiv. 22), and it occurs again in the Vulgate in 2 Tim. i. 9, where the European reading seems to be 'salvos fecit.' As to 'putrefactae sunt' there is no very decisive evidence: 'comeditur a tineae' occurs in Vulgate of Job xiii. 28, and 'tineae comedet' in Isa. l. 9. 'Epulor' is a regular European word: it occurs four times in the parable of the Prodigal Son where e has 'jucundor.' 'Enutrio' occurs in d Ambrosiaster, as well as in the Vulgate of 1 Tim. iv. 6; 'luxuria' is rather common in the Vulgate, and is a widespread reading in Gal. v. 19, where it goes back to the Latin version of Irenæus, in Eph. v. 18 where it goes back to Tertullian, and in Tit. i. 64 where it is found in Lucifer.

What inferences are we to draw from all this as to the character of the Vulgate text in the Epistle? (1) Extremely little is due to Jerome himself. There is hardly a word that cannot be proved to have been in use before his time: in many cases where the evidence is slenderest as to the use of the word elsewhere the quotations in St. Augustine and Ambrosiaster prove that it was already found in this Epistle. The only expressions that may have been intro-

duced by Jerome would seem to be 'minentur,' 'universitas,' 'cetorum,' and possibly 'inquietum,' 'a tineis comesta sunt.' (2) The main body of the Vulgate text has the same European, or perhaps Italic, base that it has in other parts of the New Testament. Perhaps it is with this that we are to connect the few possible Africanisms, such as 'salvare,' 'liberare,' just as occasional African readings are found in f (Cod. Brixianus), which appears to have been at the foundation of the Vulgate text in the Gospels. But (3) there may also be a small element, not necessarily African, which is peculiar and intrusive. The only word that appears to point distinctly to such an element is 'super-exalto,' (for *κατακαυχῶμαι*, which is elsewhere rendered by 'glorior' in a way not very different from ff,) unless we are also to assign to this element some of the words just mentioned for which there is no direct pre-Vulgate evidence. To it too we may perhaps also attribute some of the peculiarities noted by Professor Wordsworth (p. 130) and Dr. Westcott.

And now, lastly, we come to the Corbey MS. (ff) itself. We will reserve a little longer the consideration of its fundamental relation to the Vulgate and ask ourselves first, what account is to be given of those features in it to which there is no parallel in either of the other documents.

- I. 26. 'infrenans:' the repetition of this compound in iii. 2, shows that it is really characteristic: as *χαλιμαγωγεῖν* occurs only in these two places and neither passage appears to be quoted by any ancient writer, no light can be thrown upon it.
 - I. 27. 'Dominum:' this is simply an error of transcription for 'Deum,' arising from a misunderstood abbreviation: in k 'Deum' is five times represented by 'dom.' (Matt. v. 8, vi. 24, xv. 31, Mark xii. 14, 32.) 'Deum' having been changed into 'Dominum,' 'patrem' would naturally be dropped, as the combination 'Dominum patrem' is, I believe, nowhere found.
- 'sine macula:' it has been already observed (p. 245 above) that

this is the reading of d Vulgate in 1 Tim. vi. 14; it is therefore not far removed from the main line of Vulgate transmission.

- II. 13. 'Juditium non miserebitur ei:' we are reminded of the way in which *ἐλεηθῆσονται* is paraphrased in Matt. v. 7; a b c g h, representing in fact the main stock of the European version, all have 'ipsis miserebitur Deus:' and in Rom. xi. 32, the Latin Irenæus has 'ut universis misereatur' (sc. Deus); Ambrose also has the dative 'omnibus,' otherwise the more usual reading is the genitive 'omnium.'

— 'super-gloriatur:' 'gloriari,' as we have seen, is a very widespread rendering of *καυχᾶσθαι*; especially European, but found even in Cyprian (e.g. Rom. v. 2, 3), though he never, I believe, uses 'gloria,' but always 'claritas.'

- II. 16. 'Vadite:' common in all texts and sometimes (as in Luke xiii. 33 c, cf. l m r), a variant for 'ite.'

— 'calidi estote et satulli:' there is a partial but important parallel to this in Luke vi. 21, where a has 'saturi eritis,' the other European MSS. 'saturabuntur,' 'saturabimini,' and e 'satiabuntur.'

— 'alimentum:' it is remarkable that, not apparently any other text, but Vulgate Jerome (twice) have 'alimenta' in 1 Tim. vi. 8: the word *ἐπιτήδεια*, of which 'alimentum' is a rendering, does not occur elsewhere.

- III. 2. 'erramus:' 'errare' is common to all the texts including k (Mark xii. 24, 27, in the latter verse with the construction 'multum erratis'); it occurs in the Vulgate rendering of i. 16, v. 19, as well as in ff.

— 'consummatus:' this also is a common word both in the Vulgate and in the European Latin generally: it occurs as an alternative for 'perficio' in the African text in Matt. xi. 1, Mark xiii. 4.

— 'potens est:' frequent in Vulgate as a rendering of *δυνατός*.

- III. 3. 'convertimus:' very common in Vulgate, especially in the passive: in Matt. xxvi. 52, 'Converte gladium tuum in locum suum,' it appears to be almost, if not quite, the universal rendering, but no African authorities are extant other than Augustine.

- IV. 4, 5. 'Parvulo,' 'parvulum:' this word is found in all the texts, but appears to be markedly characteristic of the revised European text and the Vulgate, cf. Matt. xiv. 21, xv. 38, xviii. 2, 3, 4, 5, xix. 13, 14, Mark x. 13, 14, 15, in all

of which places it is found in *f* Vulgate, and not in any other leading MS.

- IV. 4. 'voluntate eorum qui eas gubernant : ' the form of phrase 'ille qui,' 'is qui,' for participle or substantive, appears to be characteristic of the African text: comp. in the chapters covered by *k* Matt. iv. 2, 'ille qui temptat' (rel. 'temptator'), v. 42, 'ab eo qui voluerit mutuari' (rel. 'volenti'), Matt. xiii. 18, 'ejus qui seminat' (rel. 'seminantis'), and no less than eight times in St. Mark (with one exception).
- IV. 5. 'gloriantur : ' as we have seen, common to all the texts, but characteristically European.
- IV. 5. 'pusillum : ' common to all the texts.
- IV. 6. 'seculi : ' rather more frequent in the African text.
- 'posita est : ' the usual rendering of καθίστημι is 'constituo,' and the only instance that I have been able to find of 'pono' in this connexion is Matt. xxiv. 45, where Hilary has 'praeponit.' Comparing this instance with the peculiar use of 'exponentes' in i. 21, and 'legum positor' in iv. 12, it would seem that the Corbey text had a certain leaning to the use of 'pono.' It is not an uncommon phenomenon to find in a MS. a tendency to the use of certain words, often simple ones, in different combinations and as a rendering of different Greek.
- 'incenditur : ' it is not easy to see why 'inflammat,' two lines above, should be changed to 'incenditur,' the Greek being the same, φλογίζεσθαι and φλογιζομένη; Vulgate and *m* both keep 'inflammo,' but as they also have 'incendit' in the verse before, the rendering in *ff* is not very far to seek; it may have been caused by the mental influence of the preceding word at a time when the Latin version was no longer accompanied by the Greek original.
- III. 7. 'volatilium : ' this word is found in both the African and the European texts, but is rather more common in the African (e.g. Matt. xiii. 4, 32).
- 'natantium : ' occurs in Wisd. xix. 18, as a rendering of νηκρά: it will be remembered that the book of Wisdom was not revised by Jerome, so that its text belongs to the Old Latin.
- 'inconstans : ' this is the rendering of ἀκαρίστατος, not only in *ff*, but also in the Vulgate, in the only other place where

it occurs, ch. i. 8: the change would therefore appear to be in Vulgate and not in ff.

- III. 13. 'disciplinosus:' as compared with the Vulgate 'disciplinatus' the only peculiarity here is the termination '-osus,' which is sufficiently common in ecclesiastical Latin (see Goelzer, *Latinité de St. Jérôme*, p. 149): d has the curious form 'daemoniosus' in Luke xi. 14.

— 'demonstrat:': 'demonstro' is, as we have seen, a frequent alternative for 'ostendo.'

— 'clementiam:': this word occurs before in the Corbey text in ch. i. 21, it is only found once in the Vulgate New Testament (Acts xxiv. 4), as a rendering of ἐπιείκεια, neither have I succeeded in finding any trace of it in the other texts.

- IV. 1. 'pugne:': compare 'pugnatis,' which is also peculiar, in v. 2 below: in Matt. xxiv. 6, 'pugnas' is peculiar to r (cod. Usserianus, at Dublin, lately published by Professor T. K. Abbot), and h (cod. Claromontanus), the main body of the European text having 'praelia' and the African 'bella:': the word only occurs three times in the Vulgate New Testament.

- IV. 7. 'zabolo' (for 'diabolo'): this form is not at all uncommon, see Rönsch *It. u. V.* p. 457: it occurs not only on African ground in MSS. of Cyprian and Lactantius, and in Commodian of Gaza (some additions may be made to the list in Rönsch, and k has 'ziabolus' in Matt. xiii. 39), but also in Hilary and Ambrose: nor is the form confined to this word, 'zacones' is also found for 'diacones,' 'zametrus' for 'diametrus,' 'zebus' for 'diebus,' and in the inscriptions collected by Schürer from the Jewish cemeteries at Rome ζὰ βίον occurs for δὰ βίον (Schürer, *Die Gemeinde-verfassung der Juden in Rom.* p. 23).

- IV. 8. 'accedite,' 'accedit:': common in all the texts, but rather as a rendering of προσέρχεσθαι than of ἐγγίζειν, for which ff has in v. 8 the more usual 'adpropio.'

— 'Dominum:': see above on i. 27, a transcriptional substitution for 'Deum.'

- IV. 10. 'Humiliate vos:': comp. v. 7.

- IV. 11. 'retractare de,' 'retractat de:': the phrase occurs in a somewhat similar sense and with the same construction in Iren. *Adv. Haer.* v. ii. 1, and also apparently in Tertullian; Cyprian has it as a rendering of καταλαῶσιν in 1 Pet. ii. 12.

- IV. 12. 'legum positor:' see above on iii. 6.
- V. 1. Jam (ἄγε): ff is consistent with itself as it renders ἄγε by 'jam' in iv. 13, where Vulgate has 'Ecce:' these are the only two places where this use of ἄγε occurs in the New Testament.
- 'locupletes:' this is another instance in which ff is consistent with itself, as it has 'locuples' in i. 10, 11, ii. 5 (not ii. 6): the word is rare; it is however also found in Mark xv. 43, in n (Fragm. Sangall.), the peculiar element in the text of which is closely allied to that in a.
 - 'tanquam:' peculiar to a in Mark ix, 3, 26, x. 15, xii. 25, and to a d in xii. 31; the common European word is 'sicut.'
- V. 5. 'fruiti estis:' the nearest parallel appears to be 'fruitus fuero' in Rom. xv. 24 (Old Latin and Vulgate).
- 'abusi estis:' this rendering of ἐσπαλήσατε appears to be quite peculiar.
 - 'cibastis:' this occurs in an Arian fragment published by Mai (*Vat. Coll.* iii. p. 227) in a quotation of Matt. xxv. 35, where all the other texts, I believe without exception, have 'dedistis mihi manducare;' it appears however to be the universal reading in Rom. xii. 20, 'si esurierit inimicus tuus, ciba illum.'

This examination will, I think, have given us a sufficiently clear idea of the vocabulary of the Corbey MS. A large part of it is very similar in its character to that of the Vulgate. In many cases the word or phrase in ff might be substituted for that in the Vulgate without any real disturbance: in two at least ('inconstans,' and 'voluptatibus') the parallels quoted by Professor Wordsworth show that the text of ff is nearer than the Vulgate to that used by Jerome. And yet by the side of this Vulgate element two other distinct elements are also traceable: one African, which may be classed with the resemblances already noted between ff and m, and the other peculiar to ff. To this element I should be inclined to refer more especially 'infrenans' and 'infrenare,' 'calidi estote et satulli,' 'posita est' and 'legum positor,' the termination of 'disciplinosus,' 'clementiam,' 'pugne,' 'jam'

(for $\delta\gamma\epsilon$), 'locupletes,' 'abusi estis' and 'cibastis.' There is so much coherence about these readings and about others that occur in the Corbey text that I should be quite disposed to believe them due to a definite local recension, bearing very much the same sort of relation to the main text that the peculiar element of α in St. Mark and St. Luke bears to the main body of the European version: nor should I be surprised if it should be found ultimately—for at present we can only form guesses on the subject—to have had its origin in a not very distant region. The clearest indication that we possess, 'acquirit mortem,' in the quotation of Chromatius of Aquileia, and I suspect also, though of course in an inferior degree, 'cibastis' of the Arian fragment and 'locupletes' point in that direction.

I speak of a 'recension' of a version already existing and not of a new and distinct version, because there is much that prevents us from thinking that the hypothesis of such a distinct version is necessary. In the first place the amount of divergence between the Corbey MS. and the Vulgate does not seem enough to require it. The verses printed above from the text of ff in ch. i. contain in all sixty-three words: in these there are only six points that are peculiar, and only eleven in which ff differs from the Vulgate. Now, for the sake of comparison, we will take a MS. older in date than ff , of the eighth or ninth century instead of the tenth, and therefore with less time allowed for corruption and mixture, a MS. too of the Gospels where the language is simpler and less open to variation than an Epistle like this of St. James, but a MS. in other respects sufficiently resembling ff , the St. Gall fragment of an Irish lectionary designated p , and containing a considerable portion of St. John xi. If we take the first continuous section of this MS. we find in it sixty-nine words with thirteen variations from the Vulgate, which would represent a very similar ratio. Taking the passages given from chap. ii. I make in all ninety words with twenty-seven variations in ff ; but there are seventy-four

words ('At illa . . . veni et vide') with twenty-eight variations in p. Yet there can be no doubt that p has the same common European base with the Vulgate. When we remember that the common ancestor of ff and the Vulgate was probably a long way removed from those texts as we have them, that in each case there has certainly been mixture and revision, and that the Vulgate certainly deviates from the original type in one direction if ff differs from it in another, when we remember this and all the other circumstances of the case, that the language of the Epistle is such as to invite change, and that MSS. descended from the same stock frequently do present marked variations; when all this is borne in mind the amount of difference between the two texts will not seem so very remarkable: it is certainly much greater in m, which I believe to have really had a separate origin. In chap. i. m has sixty words against sixty-three and twenty variations against eleven, or nearly double.

A second argument, which weighs in the same scale, is that the structure of the sentences and order of the words in ff and the Vulgate presents on the whole a decided preponderance of resemblance over differences. I have noted in all twenty-six variations of order. In one of these m agrees with ff against the Vulgate: in two more all three differ: of the remaining twenty-three, ff agrees with the Vulgate in fourteen, whereas m agrees with it only in eight, the ratio again being nearly double. This is a significant fact, and points, I think, to the fundamental identity of the two versions. This part of the subject, however, will need further investigation.

I shall be asked, perhaps, if the two versions are fundamentally the same, how it comes about that they also present such marked differences? What has been said above about the various strains of mixture and revision to which they have been subject, will, I hope, go far to account for this: but I should like, before I conclude, to quote a few words from an Essay by Lagarde, which seem to me to go to the root of the matter. They occur in the course of an important

review of Hartel's Cyprian, with which I have only made acquaintance since this paper was begun (*Symmicta*, i. p. 68 f.). 'Herr Hartel,' he says, 'speaking of the scribe of the Verona MS. says on p. 17: this strange person has indulged in conjectures to such a degree that one might suppose oneself to have come upon a grammarian in the act of teaching boys by what devices to vary their expressions: for no probable cause can be imagined why he should have preferred *pacificis* to *pacatis*, *nefaria* to *nefanda*, *non factum* to *infectum*, *inquinatis* to *imundis*, *misissesem* to *darem*, *fecistis* to *misistis*, *instruentes* to *insinuantes*, *tempus est* to *licet*, *violari* to *corrumpi*, *expugnandum* to *impugnandum*, *exerrare* to *oberrare*, *repellat* to *avertat*, *obrepserit* to *fefellerit*, *prohibitum* to *pulsum*, *ostende* to *demonstra*, *involutam* to *vinctam*, and any number of the like.' 'The probable cause,' Lagarde replies to this, 'lay simply in this, that in the learned or popular speech of the district for which the MS. was intended the one word was not in use, and therefore had to be replaced by another.' The idea thus expressed has been floating before me for some time. I believe that the differences in the various forms of the Old Latin are largely differences of local usage. Something, no doubt, is due to simple caprice, and something has probably been also due at one stage, even before the time of Jerome, to learned revision. But the original versions, African and European, were not made, and the subsequent changes in them were not for the most part introduced, by practised scholars. They were essentially vernacular; and the scribes by whom they were copied were men of the people, who did not scruple to substitute forms and usages with which they were familiar for others that were strange to them. But when we think to what an extent dialects have survived in our own country, compact as it is, and easy as is the communication from one part to another, what must have been the diversities of usage in different parts of the Roman Empire? It is, I suspect, through these diversities, to an extent that we are as yet unable to define, that the Latin

versions have assumed those varied forms in which they have come down to us.

But if this is so, surely a dazzling prospect lies open to the theologian. Besides his own proper subject, the study of the versions as versions, it is for him more than for anyone else to track out and delimitate these varieties of provincial speech. He possesses advantages which the classical philologist cannot hope for¹. He has at his command a number of MSS. dating back to very early times; and, what is of especial importance, he has a large store of patristic quotations by comparison with which he can assign, more or less satisfactorily, the texts before him to certain fixed localities. And besides the versions of the Old and New Testaments he has a wealth of MSS. of writers such as Cyprian, which present the same kind of phenomena, and which will enable him to test and verify his conclusions.

No doubt, whoever undertakes this work, great circumspection will be needed. Every peculiar reading is not necessarily a characteristic reading of the text in which it is found. Nor would it at once follow that every reading that was characteristic of a MS. or writer was also characteristic of a particular locality. At every step a process of winnowing must take place, and the proportion of chaff to wheat will often be large.

An Essay like the present is of course the merest possible beginning to the working out of these problems. The inductions on which a great part of it rests are, I am well aware, much too narrow². I should be sorry to seem to attach too great importance to them. But it is just because I am sensible how narrow and tentative this inquiry has been, and just because I feel that it is capable of almost indefinite expansion, that I am hopeful as to the method by which it has been conducted. It is a 'far cry' yet to the conclusions that I seem

¹ The work of Sittl, *Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten der lateinischen Sprache* (Erlangen, 1882), though useful, shows how soon classical philology comes to the end of its resources.

² What was said about k in the Gospels stands on a different footing from the views expressed respecting ff and the Vulgate in St. James. In the Gospels we are on far surer ground.

to see in the dim distance awaiting us. If the attempt is made to reach them by short cuts they will be apt to elude us altogether. We need to approach them by gradual, well considered, and systematic advances. The first step must be the comparing and collating of a number of different texts and the cataloguing of their peculiarities: each text must be isolated, and its individual character ascertained. Then, as fast as one is ascertained, it will supply us with the means of determining others, till we are able, as I hope we may ultimately be, to map out the whole ground and assign each text to its place with more or less accuracy.

Perhaps I am drawing too much on the imagination. Indeed I do not like to set down all the possibilities that present themselves to me. It is well to remember the caution, 'Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that taketh it off.' And yet there is enough, I cannot but think, to encourage the worker in such a field, and to give him confidence that—whatever his own success or failure—there is at least a harvest to be secured, and that one generation, if not another, will secure it.

POSTSCRIPT.

MORE recent experience enables us to define rather more exactly one or two points in the above.

P. 238, l. 21. 'continuo' is shared by e with several European MSS. in St. Mark and St. Luke: 'protinus' is specially characteristic of a in those Gospels, while 'confestim' occurs four times, and 'statim' twice in European texts.

l. 22. 'commenor' alternates with 'increpo' in the European texts of St. Mark and St. Luke. The use of 'objurgo' in a is very marked.

l. 35. 'obsecro,' 'rogo:' there are interesting varieties here which it would take too much space to discuss, but which seem to have something of principle running through them.

P. 239, l. 5. 'similitudo' ceases to be peculiar to the African text in (St. Mark and) St. Luke. In St. Mark it occurs in iv. 2 b, vii. 17 a n, xiii. 28 a k ; in St. Luke the usage is divided, b f Am. (with e) have almost consistently 'similitudo,' while a d have 'parabola.'

P. 246, l. 6 [sator] : add Mark vi. 42 a, vii. 27 a : the word is clearly characteristic of a, and belongs to that element which a has in common with e.

P. 250, l. 8. 'proximate,' 'proximavit:' add Luke xv. 25 d : the use of the other two words is again divided ; 'adpropinquo' is read by a consistently (twelve places), by f almost consistently (eleven places), by e in six places (all but one of those in which it is extant), and by b and d in two each ; 'adpropio' is read by d in nine places, by b in five (in several places b is not extant), by f in two, and by e in one.

l. 17. 'comedit:' add Luke xv. 30 a d e, Luke xx. 47 a d e.

THE END.

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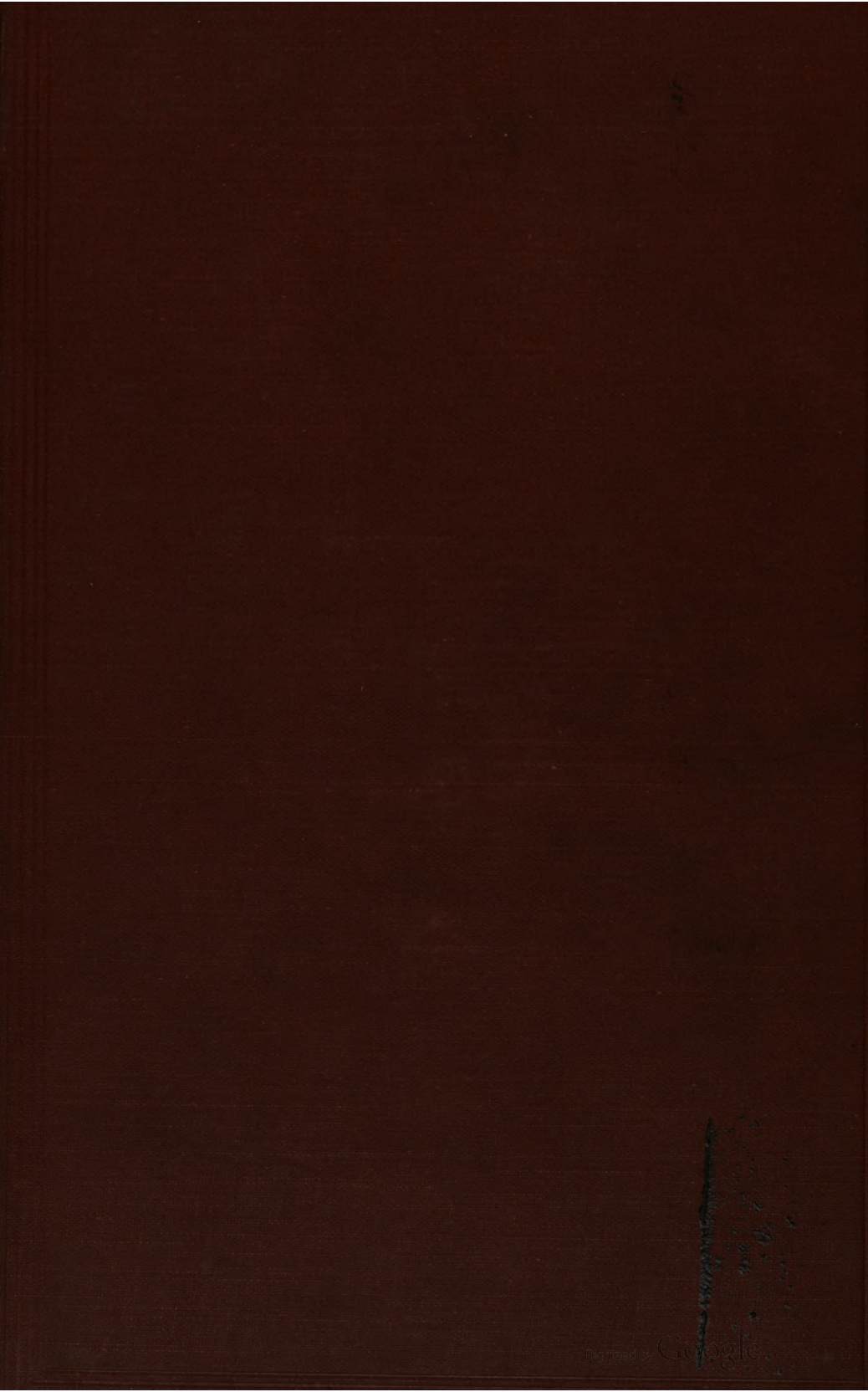
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PREFACE.



THE present volume is a further instalment of a number of Essays which have accumulated in a rather leisurely way since the publication of the first series of *Studia Biblica* in 1885. It is hoped that a third volume may follow shortly. It will be seen that, as in the first series, the Essays are not all of the same character. Some are a survey of work already done; others break more or less new ground. If some of the points discussed appear minute and technical, this will not, we think, need any justification to those who are accustomed to historical inquiry. It is just these minuter points which often furnish the clue for wider investigations, and so either change the face of familiar history or enable us to penetrate into regions hitherto unexplored. Neither do we feel much called upon to justify the attaching to some of the Essays both in this and the coming volume of a perhaps unusual number of *Appendices* and notes not always by the same hand as the Essay to which they belong. We hope that they will be taken as evidence (1) of a desire to keep pace with the ever-growing body of knowledge, and (2) of the spirit of co-operation in which the work has been done. In view of this spirit and of the increasing number of students who are turning their attention seriously to Theology, it is not likely that there would be any dearth of materials for future volumes if the

†

reception given to those which are now appearing should be such as to encourage the continuance of the series. Our hearty thanks are due to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for their willingness to undertake a publication which has but little prospect of being remunerative, however much it may serve to stimulate and promote the studies with which it is connected.

A slight addition has been made to the title of the series, so as to cover more accurately a rather miscellaneous collection of subjects. The fifth of these is part of a prize essay, read according to custom in the Divinity School; the last essay was read to a diocesan society at Salisbury, and the appendix to it before the Oxford Philological Society; the remainder were read in the manner described in the preface to the preceding volume. Many other papers have been read which have been either published in periodicals or incorporated in larger works.

Our thanks are due to Mr. C. H. Turner for help in the final correction of the proofs.

S. R. DRIVER.
T. K. CHEYNE.
W. SANDAY.

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I.

THE AUTHORSHIP AND THE TITLES OF THE PSALMS ACCORDING TO EARLY JEWISH AUTHORITIES.

[AD. NEUBAUER.]

WHATEVER dates may be assigned to the various books of the Old Testament, there can be no doubt that the narrative parts of it contain many old reminiscences, and if so, we may take it for granted that the Hebrews from the earliest time of their settlement in the promised land made use of musical instruments, and consequently of some kind of singing. We do not intend to lay great stress upon the passage¹ in which a writer seeks to trace the invention of musical instruments to Tubal-Cain. But music was generally used in cases of rejoicing, private as well as public. Isaiah exclaimed²: 'And the harp and the lute, the tabret and the pipe, and wine are in their feasts;' and in another passage we read³: 'The mirth of tabrets ceaseth, the noise of them that rejoice endeth, the joy of the harp ceaseth.' An earlier prophet says⁴: 'that sing idle songs to the sound of the viol; that devise for themselves instruments of music, like David.' Here we see that the early prophet of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes ascribes to David⁵ the highest perfection in using musical instruments; this statement probably gave rise to the idea that the great king was the unlimited author of the Psalms. One of the great losses with the destruction of the first Temple is said to be, that 'the elders have ceased from the

¹ Gen. iv. 21.

² Is. v. 12.

³ Is. xxiv. 8.

⁴ Amos vi. 5.

⁵ Unless the name has here some mythological reference, e. g. Dod.

2 *The Authorship and the Titles of the Psalms*

gate. The young men from their music¹. On the other hand, one of the delights of the author of Ecclesiastes (a work without doubt written after the return from the captivity) was, as he says²: 'I gat me men singers and women singers.' Of course the use of musical instruments was not confined to the Hebrews only. It is mentioned by a prophet, writing during the exile, in connection with the Babylonians, when he says of their proud king³: 'Thy pomp is brought down to hell, and the noise of thy viols.' In the book of Daniel⁴ also musical instruments are mentioned on the occasion of public performances in Babylon: 'To you it is commanded, O peoples, nations, and languages, that at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of music, ye will fall down and worship the golden image.' For public occasions with the Hebrews, we may refer to the consecration of Solomon as the successor of David, where it is said⁵: 'And all the people came up after him, and the people piped with pipes, and rejoiced with great joy.' And when Jehoshaphat returned from a successful war against the Moabites and the Ammonites, we find, at least in the Chronicles, the following statement⁶: 'And they came to Jerusalem with psalteries and harps and trumpets unto the house of the Lord.' The prophets recited their visions under the influence of music⁷, and this art was also employed to cure depression of spirit⁸. It would seem that in the earliest period the performances of music, together with dances, were given mostly by women, such as was the case with Miryam⁹, the daughter of Jephthah¹⁰, and the women who came to greet David¹¹. The same was the case in Phoenicia¹², as well as in Greece and Italy¹³. Perhaps the earliest prophecies were spoken by women, as might be concluded from the names of

¹ Lam. v. 14.

² Eccl. ii. 8.

³ Isaiah xiv. 11.

⁴ Dan. iii. 5, 15.

⁵ 1 Kings i. 40.

⁶ 2 Chron. xx. 28.

⁷ 1 Sam. x. 5; 2 Kings iii. 15.

⁸ 1 Sam. xvi. 16.

⁹ Exod. xv. 20.

¹⁰ Judg. xi. 34.

¹¹ 1 Sam. xviii. 6.

¹² Isaiah xxiii. 16.

¹³ Winer, *Bibl. Realwörterbuch*, art. 'Musik.'

Miryam, of Deborah, and in later times of Huldah, whose influence must have been great, even at the time when the new book of the Law was found¹.

Whether musical instruments were employed in the service of the first Temple, we have no authentic evidence. The chronicler² informs us that David introduced a regular service in the Temple, in which the various classes of the Levites took part with different instruments at the occasion of the various sacrifices³. But the statements of the author of Chronicles, writing about 300 B. C., are scarcely an authority for the period earlier than that of the Temple built by Zerubbabel. However, with the spirit of conservatism amongst the Jews, it would not be too hazardous to suppose that the service of the Temple of Zerubbabel was in a certain respect modelled on that used in the Temple of Solomon. If it were certain that the word 'song' (שיר), in the words of the 137th Psalm, 'Sing us one of the songs of Zion,' means a Psalm, which is possible and even probable, since many of the Psalms are headed by the word 'song,' one might conclude that the captives were required to sing, accompanied with the harp, one of the Psalms used in the Temple of Zion. To speak with certainty concerning the liturgies in the Temple, it can only be said that Talmudic traditions mention a number of Psalms which were recited during the service of the Herodian Temple. It is true that these traditions were collected after the destruction of this Temple, nevertheless a great part of them were preserved orally from doctors who witnessed the service of the Temple; moreover, these traditions contain also information concerning other parts of the Temple service besides the use of the Psalms, information which agrees with the data of Josephus, who wrote as an eye-witness, and therefore the Talmudic traditions may be taken as authentic. Adding to these arguments the conservatism proper to the

¹ 2 Kings xxii. 14; Cheyne, *Jeremiah, his Life and Times*, p. 52.

² 1 Chron. xvi. 4; xxv. 1.

³ 2 Chron. v. 12; vii. 6; xxix. 25; xxx. 21; xxxv. 15.

4 *The Authorship and the Titles of the Psalms*

Jewish nation, one may conclude that in the pre-Herodian Temple Psalms were already sung with an accompaniment of music¹. Josephus indeed speaks² of the Levite *ὑμνοδοί*, and according to the Talmud the singing of the Levites formed a vital part of the various services. Thus it is said in the Mishnah³: 'The moment they gave to the priest the wine of outpouring, the *Segan*⁴ stood in the corner (near the priest) with two flags in his hands; two priests, standing near the table where the fat was lying, with two silver trumpets in their hands, were blowing a loud alarm with the trumpets⁵. They then drew near to Ben Arza⁶, one on each side. When the priest bowed down to pour out the wine, the *Segan* gave a sign with the flags, Ben Arza beat with the cymbal, and the Levites recited the song. When they came to the end of the song (Psalm) the priests blew the trumpet, and the people fell upon their faces. This was done for each pause during the service of the daily sacrifice.' The next Mishnah enumerates the Psalms used during the week in the Temple, viz. Sundays, Ps. xxiv; Mondays, xlviii; Tuesdays, lxxxii; Wednesdays, xciv; Thursdays, lxxxi; Fridays, xciii; and on the Sabbath, xcii. Indeed the Greek translation of the Psalms has in the superscriptions most of these indications of the days⁷; the Hebrew text has only the one for the Sabbath, viz. Ps. xcii. Whether the other superscriptions were omitted purposely, as Dr. Graetz thinks⁸, or whether the omissions are the work of a careless copyist, must be left an open question. We believe the last to be the case, for no reason whatever can be given for an intentional omission, unless we accept an hypothesis which will be found later on⁹. In another Mishnah¹⁰ it is said on the occasion of the feast of

¹ Graetz, *Kritischer Commentar zu den Psalmen* (1882), p. 53.

² *Ant.* xx. ix. 6.

³ *Thamid* vii. 3.

⁴ The *locum tenens*.

⁵ I. e. various tunes of the trumpets.

⁶ One of the most skilful musicians.

⁷ Viz. 48 (47); 94 (93); 93 (92); 91 (90).

⁸ *Loc. cit.* (note 1), p. 89.

⁹ See p. 5.

¹⁰ *Sukkah* v. 4.

Waterpouring¹: 'The pious and men of good deeds² were dancing before the spectators, holding torches in their hands and reciting songs and praises. The Levites, with harps, *nabla*, cymbals, trumpets, and other instruments, were without number on the fifteen steps which lead from the hall of Israel to the hall of the women, reciting songs.' Again, for the service of the Paschal lamb, it is said in the Mishnah³ that 'batches of men one after another followed with their sacrifice, and before going out they recited the *Hallel* Psalms (cxiii to cxvii).' In another Mishnah⁴ the minimum and maximum of the sounds of trumpets and of instruments used for the service of the sacrifices are given. Similar instructions are given in other Mishnahs⁵. Single Psalms were used on new-moon days⁶, on the feast of Dedication⁷, and even for the occasion when Jerusalem was enlarged⁸. One might have expected to find superscriptions mentioning these various occasions, but they were probably omitted because all the Levites knew the Psalms which were used; however, in some copies they may have stood for teaching purposes, and such a copy the Greek translators may have had before them in a foreign country, where the service was not so well known as in Palestine, and more especially in Jerusalem. Unfortunately our Massoretic text is made from copies which had not all superscriptions, as far as I can judge from the earliest Jewish translators and commentators.

Other headings have reference undoubtedly to instruments used for accompanying the singers, many of which are difficult to explain. A certain number of headings give a kind of historical introduction to show on what occasion the Psalms in question were composed. Such are Psalms iii, vii (?), xviii,

¹ John vii. 37. ² The meaning of the words מְעַשֵּׂי טוֹבוֹת is not certain.

³ Pesahim v. 7.

⁴ Erakhin ii. 3.

⁵ Rosh hash-Shanah iv. 1, 9.

⁶ B. T. Sukkah, fol. 54 b. Pss. civ and cv according to Masekhet Sopherim xvii. 11 (Dr. J. Müller's note, 40, p. 247).

⁷ Ps. xxxi according to Mas. Sopherim xviii. 2, which is most likely meant by the heading of this Psalm.

⁸ Graetz, *Psalmen* etc., p. 60.

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xli, lii, lvi, lvii, lix, lx, lxiii, and cxlii. How far back the headings date it is not our object to investigate here. They are certainly added by the compiler, and before the Greek translation, which is much later than that of the Pentateuch. These translators, however, were not then acquainted with the exact meaning of them.

But before proceeding to the exposition of the titles, as given by Rabbinical and Karaitical authors, it will perhaps be worth while to state their opinion concerning the authorship of the Psalms.

We possess no early Midrash on the Psalms; the Midrash Tilim is the earliest, of the end of the tenth century¹, and even there we find nothing concerning the authorship of the book of the Psalms. The earliest passage concerning it is the famous one in the Babylonian Talmud², relating to the order of the Old Testament and to the authors of the various books. Here it is said that David wrote Tilim with the help³ of ten elders, viz. Adam, Melchizedek, Abraham, Moses, Heman, Jeduthun, Asaph, and the three sons of Korah. On the question made why Ethan is not mentioned, Rab (who lived in the third century) replied that Ethan was identical with Abraham; this is explained by Agadical analogy. Another question was asked to the effect that Moses and Heman are identical according to the Agadah; Rab, however, stated the contrary.

In the Midrash on the Canticles⁴ we find the following statement: 'Ten men said the Psalms, viz. Adam, Abraham, Moses, David, Solomo, to these five all agree. For the other five, Rab says, Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, the three sons of Korah (who make one author), and Ezra. R. Johanan said, Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun (who make one), the

¹ Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge*, p. 266 sqq. A new critical edition is expected from the skilful hand of Herr S. Buber.

² Baba Bathra, fol. 14 b.

³ The exact meaning of עֵזְרָא is not certain here. See below, p. 28.

⁴ iv. 4. Belongs probably to the end of the ninth century. Zunz, *G. V.* (note 1), p. 64.

three sons of Korah, and Ezra. Elsewhere we find the opinion of Rab attributed to Johanan and *vice versa*¹, which is of no importance for our purpose. R. Hoonâ, in the name of R. Aha, speaks as follows: 'Although ten men said Tilim, they were not reported in their names, but only in David's name. This resembles the case of a band of singers who intended to address hymns to a king, and to whom the king answered, "You are all sweet, all pious men, all worthy to sing hymns before me, but this man will sing them for you, because his voice is so sweet." Thus, when these ten pious men sought to recite Tilim, God said, "You are sweet, pious, and worthy to say hymns before me, but David will recite them for you all, for his voice is sweeter, as it is said, And the sweet psalmist of Israel²."'

Concerning the postscript of Psalm lxxii, 'The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended,' R. Meir (who lived in the second century) says³: 'All songs and praises found in the book of Tilim were said by David, as it is written, "Then ended the prayers of David." Do not read עָלָה "ended," but עָלָה עָלָה⁴ "all these" are the prayers of David.'

That David said some Psalms, or all of them, by the Holy Spirit, is not distinctly stated in the Talmudic literature, so far as we know, but it may be taken as implied in the continuation of the passage just mentioned, which is as follows⁵: 'R. Eliezer (who lived at the end of the first century) said, David said all the Psalms on his own account; R. Joshua said, on the account of the congregation; the wise men, i.e. the majority of the school, made a compromise, saying, some of them are said on account of himself, and others on account of the congregation, viz. those Psalms in which the singular form is employed David said on account of himself, and where the plural form is to be found he said on account of

¹ See the Commentary with the title of *Mathnoth Kehunah*.

² 2 Sam. xxiii. 1.

³ B. T. Pesahim, fol. 117 a.

⁴ Perhaps עָלָה, the נ disappearing in the pronunciation.

⁵ B. T. Pesahim, fol. 117 a.

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the congregation; when the words נצח and נטן occur, the Psalm refers to the future; משכיל means recited by an interpreter; לרד מזור means that the Holy Spirit was resting upon him when he said the song; מזור לרד means that David first said the Psalm and then the Holy Spirit rested upon him¹. The Holy Spirit is explained by the word שכנה. The gospels also imply the belief that the 110th Psalm was said by David in the Holy Spirit². We shall find that mediæval Jewish commentators in agreement with the rabbis attribute the Psalms to David speaking under the influence of the Holy Spirit.

For completeness sake we shall just state that in the same Talmudic passage ten classes of Psalms are spoken of. They are introduced, it is there said, with ten expressions, נצח, נטן, משכיל, מזור, שיר, אשרי, תפלה, תהלה, הודאה, הלליה. This last is the most important, because these Psalms contain both song and prose. Let us state at once that no real help is to be derived in the interpretations of the titles of the Psalms from Talmudic and Midrashic sources; these contain nothing but Agadic or legendary explanations, which are quite arbitrary, and we shall see the same method followed in the Syriac translation³ of the Psalms. The Talmudic doctors were not exegetes in a strict sense. They torture a scripture text for casuistical deductions, but they are much more reckless and unphilological in their Agadic expositions, which may be compared to a kind of sermon. One of the completest collections of their interpretation of the Psalms in general is the *Yalqoot* of Makhir ben Abba Mari, probably of the fourteenth century, which embodies all the sayings of the two Talmuds and the Midrashim concerning the Psalms. It exists in a

¹ With later commentators the order of these two words makes no difference. See, for instance, Yepheth to Ps. lxxxviii and Ibn Ezra to Ps. xlviii.

² Matt. xxii. 43, where the words ἅγιος 'Agios are omitted but found in Mark xii. 36. In Luke xx. 42, as well as in Acts ii. 34, the Holy Spirit does not occur at all. Was it because it was a pure Judaic belief?

³ See p. 9.

unique MS. in the Bodleian Library¹, and deserves to be published.

The earliest sources for our object are the Greek translations of the LXX, of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, which we include for completeness sake, and because they must be counted as Jewish documents². The Syriac version, called Peshitto, made probably as early as the end of the second century (in the fourth century it is already considered as canonical), although made with the help of a Jew from the Hebrew text, and therefore for critical purposes important, has no value for the superscriptions, which are arbitrary. These are twofold, partly historical, partly exegetical, and are most likely, as Professors Nestle³ and Baethgen⁴ have shown convincingly, by Theodore of Mopsuestia, who, accepting some from Eusebius and Origen, made many additions of his own. In fact, Dr. Isaac Prager⁵, who aimed to show, by the analogy of Agadic passages with the contents of the Syriac, that they are of Jewish origin, is evidently wrong. For, as Professor Nestle rightly says, the Agadic passages have no kind of superscription; to which it may be added that the *Pirge* de R. Eliezer, the Midrash Tilim, the *Yalqoot*, and even the *Thanhuma*, on which Dr. Prager bases his arguments, are of a later date than Theodore of Mopsuestia, and if there has been borrowing on either side, it will be the Midrash that has borrowed and not Theodore. The Itala and the Vulgate, although made by Christians, may be considered, by the help derived from Jews, as belonging to Jewish interpretation, and are therefore given here. The Aramaic Targum is paraphrastic like Jonathan, and made probably by a Jew who had some knowledge of

¹ No. 167 of the catalogue of 1886. On Makhir's *Yalqoot* on other Biblical books, see *Revue des Études Juives*, t. xiv, p. 95 sqq.

² These are given according to Field's excellent edition of the *Hexapla*.

³ *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1876, col. 283.

⁴ *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Stade), 1885, p. 66 sqq.

⁵ *De veteris Testamenti versione syriaca quam Peschitto vocant*, part I, Goettingae, 1875, pp. 52-56.

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Greek¹ in the fourth century. It is certainly not based upon a Syriac translation as the Targum of Proverbs is. Samuel ben Meir (twelfth century)² erroneously attributes the Targums on the Hagiographa to R. Joseph (died 325 A.D.). Anyhow the Targum on the Psalms represents Jewish interpretation, and we give it with an English translation.

Between this Targum and the commentary of R. Saadyah³ Gaon (died 940) there is a blank. That there were earlier commentaries than Saadyah's may be seen from his contemporary Karaitic author, Salmon son of Yeroham, who gives interpretations of predecessors besides Saadyah, but without mentioning their names⁴. So does Yepheth⁵. No doubt many quotations in these authors may be taken from lexicons⁶. But Abraham ibn Ezra quotes opinions of Jeshuah⁷, who is earlier, if not much earlier, than Saadyah⁸. Indeed with the Karaites exegesis in its strict sense begins, and we know that Benjamin of Nehawend (beginning of the ninth century) wrote commentaries on Biblical books⁹, but they are all lost at present. Thus we must take as the earliest commentary we possess that of Saadyah, of which we give the translation of the titles according to the MS. in the Bodleian Library¹⁰. It seems that there were two editions of this commentary, a shorter and a longer, or a first and a second¹¹, of which the Bodleian MS. contains the shorter, to judge from the Munich MS., which comprises two prefaces, a longer and a shorter, as well as a longer commentary on the first three Psalms¹². The shorter has nothing on the titles or authorship of the Psalms; this is to be found in the longer preface, of which we give

¹ He has קרום for God, *Kúprios*, Ps. liii.

² Zunz, *G. V.*, p. 65.

³ Strictly S'adyah. See *Catal. Oxf.*, No. 1438.

⁴ See p. 39.

⁵ See p. 40.

⁶ See p. 34.

⁷ Ps. lxxxviii. See p. 54.

⁸ See *Aus. der Pet. Bibl.*, p. 7.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 6.

¹⁰ *Catal. Oxf.*, No. 104.

¹¹ See *Catalogue of Hebrew MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, No. 28.

¹² See Dr. J. Cohn's essay with the title of *Saadia's Einleitung zu seinem Psalmencommentar* in the *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, viii. pp. 1-19 and 61-91.

a translation according to the Munich MS.¹ That this preface is indeed by Saadyah has not only been proved from the agreement with his philosophic-theological book², but his Karaitic contemporary Salmon actually quotes a passage agreeing with it, and refutes Saadyah's opinion contained in it³.

After having remarked that God leads man to perfection by five forms of speech, viz. by similitude, question, narration, commandment and prohibition, humble request and prayer, and that all these forms are contained in the Psalms, Saadyah says that David prepared the building of the Temple by his son, and began by entrusting the Levites with a permanent charge for the speedy continuation of the building. This is what is meant by the word לְמַנְחָה (1 Chron. xxiii. 4), and also by הַמְשָׁרִים (1 Chron. ix. 33). At that time God revealed to him this book, which we call the book of praise, because it contains special songs, to be executed by special men, in a fixed place, accompanied by special instruments and with fixed melodies, as I shall explain with the aid of God. This revelation was made to David, the father of the kings and a prophet, in consequence of his great merit, as it is said⁴, 'I have found David my servant; with my holy oil have I anointed him,' to the end of the chapter. The divine inspiration of David began thus at the time of his anointing, as it is said⁵, 'And the Spirit of the Lord came upon David from that day forward.' This explains why so many of the titles of the Psalms refer to the period of his election as king, partly before he began to reign, and partly after that event. Thus as the wanderings of the Israelites are fully described⁶ with all their vicissitudes, in order to show how the Almighty bestows help on the

¹ A copy of this preface was put at our disposal by Dr. J. Cohn, for which we express to him our best thanks. For the collation of the text with the MS. we are indebted to Dr. J. Perles.

² See Dr. S. H. Margulies' essay, *Saadia Al-Fajūmī's Arabische Psalmen-übersetzung* (Breslau, 1884), p. i.

³ See p. 18.

⁴ Ps. lxxxix. 21 (20).

⁵ 1 Sam. xvi. 13.

⁶ Num. xxxiii to end.

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one side, and punishes on the other, so in the Psalms all this is written down to be read always and everywhere for the benefit of mankind.

‘As to the use of the Psalms in the service of the Temple, we can put these in five classes, which may refer to the whole book as well as to parts of it. But at all events a divine voice revealed the whole book to David, and in accordance with that they are called by every one “the songs of David.” So it is said ¹, “to praise *and* to give thanks, according to the commandment of David the man of God, ward over against ward,” and in another passage ² it is said, “to thank the Lord, because his mercy *endureth* for ever, with the Psalms of David in the hand.” And it is moreover expressly said ³, “for so had David the man of God commanded.” Some are of opinion that others besides David, for instance, Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, and Ethan, also received revelations of the contents of Psalms, or wrote Psalms themselves. But this can scarcely be the case, for many of the titles of the Psalms have two names, for instance, xxxix, lxxvii, lxxxviii, but God does not usually charge two prophets with one and the same message, except in the case of Moses and Aaron, for the Lord spake with Moses face to face ⁴, and Moses is in the position of an angel who hears the words of God and communicates them to the prophet. Thus the connection of the name of Jeduthun with that of David in some of the titles implies that David communicated the revelation to him, and he had the supervision of the singing. The same is the case with other names in the titles. “To Moses ⁵” means that the singing was entrusted to the children of Moses, who were at the king’s court, and “to Solomon ⁶” means that events which happened under Solomon were revealed to David.’

‘According to the above-given exposition of the book, it is called “Book of Praise-songs,” because the Levites made use

¹ Neh. xii. 24.

² 2 Chron. vii. 6.

³ 2 Chron. viii. 14.

⁴ Exod. xxxiii. 11.

⁵ Ps. xc.

⁶ Ps. lxxii.

of them for the Temple service, with the following five arrangements:—

‘1st. Each Psalm was sung in the Temple by a certain ward of the Levites exclusively, but others could simply *read* it¹. Such are Asaph and his companions, Heman, Jeduthun, the sons of Korah and Moses, Ben², and the descendants of Obed Edom, who are meant by the word הנחית³.

‘2nd. Certain Psalms had to be recited with a particular melody, which is mentioned in the superscriptions. Thus the word נניח⁴ means one melody, and נניחו⁵ for Psalms which were recited in various melodies. שיר המעלות⁶ means with a loud voice (comp. 1 Chron. xv. 22, and the word עלה in 1 Sam. v. 12 and Jerem. xiv. 2). Others which have in the superscription the word עלמות⁷ are sung with a deep and sweet melody (comp. 2 Kings iii. 15), requiring a skilful singer. The Psalms headed “to Asaph, Ethan, and Heman” were accompanied by a cymbal (comp. 1 Chron. xvi. 5 and xv. 19). Those Psalms headed על מחלח⁸ are accompanied by a drum (comp. מחול), whilst those with לבן and עלמות⁹ are accompanied by a lyre (comp. 1 Chron. xv. 20). An elegiacal style of recitation is intended by the heading of על השמינית¹⁰, and those which were recited by the family of Obed Edom. And in this case they were accompanied by a harp (comp. 1 Chron. xv. 21). Possibly other melodies and instruments were used for the recitation of Psalms, which are not distinctly mentioned. Anyhow, when a musical instrument is mentioned for a Psalm no other could be substituted for it. At all events, music and song were employed only in the service in the Temple, not in the case of Psalm-reading at home or in the synagogues.

‘4th¹¹. Certain Psalms or verses were reserved for particular

¹ We do not translate literally.

² Ps. ix. 1.

³ Ps. viii. 1.

⁴ Ps. lxi. 1.

⁵ Ps. iv. 1.

⁶ Pss. cxx–cxxxiv.

⁷ Ps. ix. 1.

⁸ Ps. liii. 1.

⁹ Ps. ix. 1.

¹⁰ Ps. vi. 1.

¹¹ No. 3, which should contain the manner of reciting the Psalms, is not in the MS. Possibly No. 2 implies a third class. See Dr. Cohn’s article (above, p. 10, note 12), p. 66.

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occasions. Some were recited at the morning sacrifice, others at that of the evening (comp. 1 Chron. xvi. 37). Psalm xcii is fixed for the sabbath and Ps. c for festival days¹. From the contexts of some Psalms it would be possible to discover the occasions of their recitation, but they are not distinctly stated.

‘5th. Certain Psalms were sung only at fixed places, viz. at the four cardinal points, the Levites being divided into twenty-four sections, six of which were for each cardinal point (comp. 1 Chron. xxvi. 14-17). The regular use of the Psalms was confined to the Temple of Jerusalem, and accompanied by melodies (comp. Isaiah xxxviii. 20). The exiles therefore, when asked to sing some of the praise-songs, saying, “Sing us *one* of the songs of Zion,” refused by saying, “How shall we sing the Lord’s song in a strange land?” As to the reading of the book of the Psalms, it may be done entirely with the firm conviction and the certain belief that they were designed to advance the salvation and the welfare of men. For if the book be in the first instance a book of praise-songs, its final aim will be to promote the commandments, as I have already said². . . . Whoever reads this book may firmly believe that its whole contents, in whatever way expressed, consist of an announcement of God, by whom the book was revealed

‘I have to speak here about the sequence of the Psalms, which are not strictly in historical order. We find Psalm iii headed, “when he fled from Absalom his son;” li, “when Nathan the prophet came unto him, after he had gone in to Bath-sheba;” lii, “when Doeg the Edomite came and told Saul, and said unto him, David is come to the house of Ahimelech;” liv, “when the Ziphim came and said to Saul, Doth not David hide himself with us?” From the book of Samuel it is, however, evident that the incident of Doeg comes first, then follows that of the Ziphim, then that of the desert of Judah and the Philistines in Gath, whilst that of

¹ See above, p. 5.

² The text is interrupted at this point.

Nathan and Absalom happened last. Consequently the Psalms are not arranged according to historical tradition. I have said that certain Psalms were sung in certain places, east, west, south, and north, in the Temple; it is therefore possible that the Psalms as we have them are arranged according to this local service. Another solution may be that, as I have said, certain Psalms were fixed for the sabbath, others for the feast days and new-moon days, perhaps also varying for each month itself, they may then be arranged according to the order of these days. Perhaps they are arranged according to the six sections of the Levites, each of which had other Psalms to sing, or to the classes of singers, the sons of Korah, Asaph, etc. Thus the Psalms which are not provided with a superscription may refer likewise to a section of the Levites. The definite solution of the order of the Psalms remains therefore an open question.*

The following is the full text of the substance given above, pp. 12 to 14¹ (MS. Munich, Hebr. 122 ff. 7 b to 9 a):—

فلما كان الامر على ما وصفت سقى هذا الكتاب كتاب التسبيح
واراد بذلك ان القوم كانوا يسبحون به في القدس على خمس شروط
التي قدّمت ذكرها. فالاول منها ان كل مزمور معنون لقوم من اللاويين
يلتزمهم² انفسهم ان يقولوا [و] لا يجوز لغيرهم ان يقوله الا تلاوته فقط
فانما كان عنوانه لاسم في قوله اسم بن بركيهو بن שמعيا واصحابه³
الذي من بني نرسوم. وما كان لهيמן في قوله هيמן המשורر بن يואل
بن شموאל واصحابه³ الذي من بني كاهن من حبرון او عزيאל. وما كان
معنونا لبني كاهن الذين هم من بني كاهن خاصة. والمعنون تפלה
למשה איש האלהים في قوله בני رحبيه بن אליעזר بن משה واصحابهم.
والمزمور الذي عنوانه لايتחן يقوله لايتחן بن [קושי] עברי בן מלך מן
בני מררי واصحابه. والمنسوب الى يדותח يقوله يדותח واصحابه الذي قيل
فيهم בני يדותח גדליהו. والمنسوب الى בן قوله למנצח על מות לבן يقوله
בני לוי المستقر في דברי הימים كقوله ועמהם אחיהם המשנים זכריהו

¹ We give the Arabic in the form which Saadyah most likely used in his writing.

² MS. follows הם.

³ MS. ואצחנן.

בן עזיאל ושמיריומות. والمنسوب الى نثيث وهي ثلاث مزمور ה' אדונינו. הרנינו לאלהים עמנו. מה ידידות משכנותיך כפול¹ בני עובר אדום הנחית المشهور. فعلى هذا تجرى الاسماء التي تجوز في العنوان ولم يجوز لعובר אדום ان يقول قول אסף ولا להימן ان يقول ما هو לבן انه نظير ما في التوراة איש איש על עבודתו ואל משאו כזאכ. قيل فيهم ههنا והמשררים בני אסף על מעמדם והלויים על משמרתם להלל:

والشرط الثاني ان يكون من المزمور ما يكون بلحن واحد كله لا يتغير وهو ما كان عنوانه من الكيفيات على نغينوت ففوله נגינוט هو لحن واحد منها ما يقال بالحن كثيرة² تختلف وهو ما صدره בנגינוט لان נגינוט יوجب לחנא كثيرة³. ومنها ما يقول بلحن مرتفع وهو ما كان عنوانه שיר המעלות ومما יבין ان מעלות هو رفع صوت لقوله וכנגידו שר הלויים במשא יסר במשא כי מבין הוא. وقد ينسب علوة⁴ الى قول اذ يقول ותעל שועת העיר השמימה. וצוחת ירושלים עלתה. ومنها ما يقول بصوت خفي⁵ رقيق وهو ما كانت الكيفية منها فيه يقول עלמות כמה⁶ كان متخزن على مفارقتة لאלהיו عليه السلام⁷ طلب ملحننا ببعض الاغان والآلات كقوله وتעה קחו לי מנגן. והיה כנגן המנגן. فما كان من الزامير ما عنوانه לאסף فيه على لحن المتنوع كما شرح في דברי הימים ואסף במצלחים משמיע. وكذلك ايضا ما كان לאיתן ולהימן كقوله והמשררים הימן אסף ואיתן במצלחים נחשת להשמיע. فما كان في صدره על מחלת فهو بطبل على مشهور لفظة מחול. وما كان عنوانه לבן او עלמות فهو ضرب العود كما شرّح في דברי הימים חכריה ועזיאל ושמיריומות. وما كانت الكيفية اليم في صدره על השמינית او عنوانه לעובר אדום הנתי فهو على طنبور كما شرح في דברי הימים ומתחיהו ואליפלהו ומקניהו ועובר אדום. ويمكن ان يكون سائر الآلات وسائر الاغان قد انتظروا⁸ عن ذكرها فعلى هذا السبيل ايضا ما كان بدבל لا يقال بدبور وما كان بمحול لا يجوز ان يقال بمצלחים وكل هذين⁹ لا يجوز ان يقال على شى البتة الا ان يكون على سبيل القراءة والتلاوة: والشرط الرابع⁹ ان يكون المزمور ما هو يقال على التמיד بالغداة ومنا

¹ MS. וקו'.² MS. כחירא.³ MS. עלות.⁴ MS. כסיה.⁵ MS. במא.⁶ MS. אלסלם.⁷ MS. אנתצרו.⁸ MS. הדיאין.⁹ See p. 13, note II.

ما هو يقال على عولت الحمير بالعشى وهو ما رسم لدود فى وقت حمل عليه الأرون كقوله بיום ההוא אז נתן דוד בראש להודות לה' ביד אסף ואחיו. ثم قسّم المزمور فى هذا السفر قسمين بعد ما جعله فى دברי הימים قولا متصلا فعرفنا انه لوقتین مختلفین. فمن הודו לה' קראו בשמו الى ולנביאי אל תרעו يقال على قربان الغداة. ومن שירו לה' כל הארץ الى ברוך ה' אלהי ישראל يقال على قربان العشى. وعلى ان القرايين انما كانت¹ בנבעזן الا ان אסף ואصحابه كانوا يقولون هذه الفواسيق فى كل غداة وكل عشى وفى وقت القربان كقوله ויעזב שם לפני ארון ברית ה' לאסף ולאחיו לשרת לפני הארון חמיר לדבר יום ביומו. [ו]الذى فى صدره מזמור שיר ליום השבת فكان ליום השבת خاصة. وما يقع على عنوانه מזמור לתודה فهو للحج خاصة كقوله בקול רנה ותודה המון חונן. ويمكن ان تكون هنا اوقات اخر يختصها مزامير בעينها لم يثبت شرحها:

والشرط للخاص ان يكون فصل منه نسب² الى قوم مضمين موضع من مواضع القدس ان يقولونه³ فى ذلك الموضع لا فى غيره وعلى انه فى القدس ايضا كقوله ויפל הנורל מזרחה לשלמיהו ולעובר אדום לשפים ולחסה למערב עם שער שלכות. ثم جعل בני לוי عشرون واربع قسما فكل رجة من الاربع جهات ست كما شرح فصيحاً وقال للمזרח הלויים ששה לצפונה ליום اربعة لمערב الا ان جملة الكتاب لا تجوز قوله على انه تسبيح الا فى القدس اللهم الا ان يتلى تلاوة مرسله لان الانشוח الذى فيه مضمّن بالقدس كقوله לנצח על מלאכת בית ה'. وكذلك الانشוח מضمّن بالقدس كقوله הניחוני ננן כל ימי חיינו על בית ה'. وكذلك השיר كله كان בبلد القدس كما علمت ان اهل بבל سألوا الاباء ان يقولوا تسبيح على هيئته فى הגלות فامتنעו كما شرحו وقالوا כי שם שאלנו שובינו דברי שיר ותולדינו שמחה שירו לנו משיר ציון فقالوا איך נשיר שיר ה' על אדמת נכר. واما على سبيل القراءة فليقرأ قراءة تامة ويعتقد انه كتاب اصلاح العباد وعلى انه كتاب التسبيح انها غرضه وقصده الامر والنهي اللذان هما الاصلان العظيمان من هذا النوع:

We see that Saadyah believes all the Psalms to be by David, who handed them over to Asaph and other Levites ;

¹ MS. כאנא. ² MS. נצב. ³ MS. יקוליה. ⁴ Illegible in the MS.

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and the titles, when not stating some historical fact or the time for singing the Psalm, refer to instruments. Next comes his Karaite contemporary, Salmon ben Yeroham¹, whose Arabic commentary on the Psalms is to be found in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg². We shall find the Karaites referring the contents of the Psalms mostly to the present exile; in general they are much less clear in their style and meaning than the Rabbanites. Salmon believes that David is not the only author of the Psalms, but that there were prophecies communicated to others named in the superscriptions. The following extract in English will be sufficient for our purpose:—

Salmon ben Yeroham explains the title חלים from the root חל and חללים, which means 'height,' because the book of the Psalms contains all superior matter contained in the Law. . . . Salmon contradicts Saadyah's saying that the Psalms were not used as prayers outside Jerusalem and the Temple, showing that David himself recited Psalms outside Jerusalem, and before the town was built, as for instance lxiii, lix, and cxlii, and even outside the Holy Land. The argument which Saadyah advances from Ps. cxxxvii, says Salmon, is not conclusive, because the exiles only objected to sing the Psalms accompanied with their harps, as was the custom in the Temple. Salmon also objects to Saadyah's opinion that למשה, Ps. xc, means 'to the children of Moses,' and לשלמה, lxxii, means 'concerning Salomon.' Salmon takes these headings in the literal sense.

... ثم اقول شرح اسم هذا الكتاب الذى انا معزم على عبارته
فاما الاسم فانه حלים وتفسيره عند الامة كبير شريف لان لفظة حלים
تشتق من حل وحلלים والغرض فى هذا الاسم الكبير ما فيه من
المعاني العويصة الشريفة للخطر ولقد شرح فيه مما هو فى التوراة³. . .
وشاهدت فى عصرى رجلاً يعرف⁴ بالفيومى ذكر ان هذا السفر لا يصلح⁵

¹ See *Aus der Petersburger Bibliothek*, p. 10.

² First Firkowitsch collection, No. 555.

³ Fol. 27 a.

⁴ MS. יערף.

⁵ MS. יועל.

به الا في القدس وبكلي شير فان ظنّ طان ان هذا حقّ فليعلم انه قد ردّ نصّ الكتاب واجماع الامة الموافق والمخالف. فاما النص فان دود
اولا صلى بهذه الفصول في غير القدس وقبل بناء فمن ذلك قوله
مزمور لدود بهيوتو במדבר יהודה . . . وهذه الفصول كلها صلى بها
قبل بنيان القدس في ارض اسرائيل. واما حוצה לארץ فقد وصف انه صلى
وشفع الى الله وعلم الامة كيف تشفع الى الله في الدولות لقوله
בהצותו את ארם נהרים . . . فقد اتّضح الآن ان دود صلى بهذه¹ الصلوات
المرسومة في هذا הספר في ارض اسرائيل وفي غير ارض اسرائيل. وان
تعلق قلب احد بما تعلق قلب الفيومي من قول ان اهل بבל سألوا
الانبياء ان يقولوا الشير في الدولות في غير القدس فامتنعوا كما شرحوا
وقالوا כי שם שאלנו פקלנא איך נשיר שיר יי' על אדמת נכר فليعلم
ان اهل بבל انما سألوا الاباء ان يقولوا الشير כנורות ובבבלים على
رسم בית יי' لان قبل هذا يقول חלינו כנורותינו فلم يستجيزوا هذا الفعل
الا في בית יי' . . .² فقد اتّضح ان الصلاة بهذا הספר في الدولות فرض
ومن الاجماع فكل الامة في جميع اقطار الاخص مصلی منه وبه في
جميع כנאיתסה وانما جعلوا שמנה עשרה ספלה عليه. وكذا ذكروا
في החלמוד ان اجتمعوا ק"ד שינג וולגו י"ח فما كان بهذه الصورة
نهو غير مقبول عندنا. واذا سالنا من יבגי من بلد الروم وافرנجة
واقصاء المغرب بما ذا يصلوا مع י"ח يعرفونا انه يصلوا من חלים في
السبت وغيره. واما ليلة כיפור لا بد من الصلوة به كله من اوله الى
اخره فقد اتّضح وبان ان قول من قال لا يصلی به الا في בית יי' خطأ
وغلط. وزعم الفيومي ان جميع دعا في ספר חלים انما هي نبوات
لدود مدفوعة الى בני משה ובני לוי יسمעו بها وهذا قوله حرف بحرف.
قال واما חפלה למשה فهو تسبیח לבני משה الذي كانوا بحفرة דוד
ליסبحון به وهذا الباب مستعمل في الكتب المقدسات كثيرا كما قال
יהודה לשמעון אחיו עלה אתי בגורלי . . . וילך יהודה את שמעון אחיו
وانما يريد به בני יהודה ובני שמעון ويقول זבולון לא הוריש وانما يريد
به בני המלכה³ الاقرب في דברי הימים قوله في ایام דוד ואחרן ובניו
מקמידים وانما یعنی בן אהרן ואל יהודע הנגיד לאהרן يريد לבני אהרן

¹ MS. בהרא.

² Fol. 9.

³ MS. ואלמלח.

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كذلك ههنا حمله لمשה يريد لبني مשה حسب ما قال لاسف وحيمن
 ويذوتون وغيرهم. واما العنوان المنسوب الى سلمة بقوله לשלמה اלהים
 משפטיك فانه ايضا وحى اوحى الى دוד نبوة على سلمة: قال מר' ור'
 סלמן בן ירחם لما اشرفت على هذا من قول الفيومي لم تسمح نفسي
 ان تغفل عنه لاننى رايت لمר' قد سلب مשה ע"ה نبوته هذه وسلب
 ايضا جميع النبאים المذكورين فى هذا السفر نبوتهم ونسبها الى
 غيرهم بشبه اقامها ليس لها حقيقة عند البحث وذلك ان الاسباط
 ملقبين بابائهم* كما ان الامة ملقبة بـישראל وعلى ما رتبهم יעקב عليه
 السلام ויקרא יעקב לבניו... ראובן... ויהודה فارتسم من ذاك ان יסقى
 كل سبط باسم ابوه الاول ولم نجد فراد من السبط יסقى اولاده على
 اسمه:

We must next mention the lexicographer David ben Abraham³, a Karaite contemporary of Salmon. He is also the author of a commentary on the Psalms, but at present lost. We give among the expositions some extracts from his dictionary written in Arabic, taken from the MS. in the Bodleian Library⁴.

Yepheth ben Eli (Ali) follows next; he is also a Karaite, who lived towards the end of the tenth century, and wrote a commentary on the Psalms in Arabic, of which MSS. exist in the Paris⁵ and St. Petersburg Libraries; our extracts are made from the Paris MS. The preface, with the commentary on the first two Psalms, and the translation of the rest, were published with a Latin translation by the Abbé Bargès⁶. We shall here give a free translation of his introductions. Yepheth also does not attribute all the Psalms to David. He says at the beginning of ch. i:—

‘It is necessary to state how many authors there are in the Psalms. We have found three: 1st, those attributed to one person, whose name is given at the beginning of the

¹ MS. אלמר.

² MS. באנהם.

³ See *Journ. Asiatique*, 1861, ii. p. 465, and 1862, i. p. 47 sqq.

⁴ *Catal.*, No. 1451.

⁵ *Catal.*, Nos. 286–291.

⁶ *Libri Psalmorum David*, etc., Paris, 1861, and *Specimen*, etc., Rabb. Yepheth . . ., Paris, 1846.

Psalm; they are the following: David, Solomon, Asaph, Jeduthun, who is identical no doubt with Ethan, and Moses. 2nd, those attributed to a family, of which the names are not given, such as the sons of Korah. They are, according to some, Assir, Elkanah, and Eliasaph, who lived in the time of Moses; according to others, they signify Heman alone, as in the passage, the children of Dan, Hushim¹; we believe, however, that the sons of Korah signify many persons who lived at various periods, as we shall explain on the 42nd Psalm. 3rd, Psalms without names of authors at all, forty-six in number, viz. i, ii, x, xxxiii, xliii, lxxi, xci-c, cii, civ, cvi, cvii, the Hallel Psalms cxi-cxviii, ten of the gradual Psalms, cxxxiv², cxxxvi, cxxxvii, cxlvi to the end. These do not include the 119th Psalm, which makes one, and two-headed by לִמְנוּחַ, but without a name, viz. lxvi and lxvii, which latter is a part of the former. Out of the forty-six Psalms, we consider five as completing the preceding ones; Ps. x, namely, completes ix (which, as we shall show, follows the order of the alphabet); Ps. xxxiii belongs to xxxii; Ps. xliii to xlii, Ps. lxxi and civ belong to the preceding Psalms. The collector has disconnected them, for reasons which we shall explain in their proper place. Amongst these forty-six Psalms ten may be ascribed to the author mentioned in the preceding Psalms, viz. xci-c, to Moses. The last Hallelujah Psalms are connected with David, being associated with cxlv. Those headed by לִמְנוּחַ there is no reason for not ascribing to David. The rest of the anonymous forty-six Psalms need not be ascribed to one author or to one epoch; it is more probable that they were composed at various times and by members of a family, and hence they are not ascribed to one author. The singers said the Psalms standing, whilst the Holy Spirit rested upon them, with the same number, the same order, and the same melody. Now those Psalms which are not provided with a name, and have no connection with the preceding one, are attributed by some

¹ Gen. xlv. 23.

² Evidently an error for cxxxv.

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to Adam, by others to Moses, and by the best commentators to David, except the ten which belong to Moses. But as none of these can produce decisive arguments for their opinion, we do not think it is worth while to discuss them and to refute them.'

Yepheth then divides the Psalms into the following classes :—

1st. Psalms relating to the creation and things created, such as civ, cvi, and verses of others.

2nd. Psalms of God's benefits towards Israel and other nations, such as in Psalms civ. 27, 30, cxlv. 9, 15 ; towards Israel especially, xlv, lxxviii, lxxx. 1.

3rd. Psalms describing the signs and miracles in Egypt, in the desert, and in the Holy Land, such as xlv. 3, xlv, xlix, lxvi, lxviii, lxxii, lxxvi, lxxx. 8, 9, xc, ci, cv, cviii, and all the Hallelujah Psalms, and those of degree, as well as Psalm cxliv.

4th. Psalms referring to the rebellion against God by the early Israelites. Such are Psalms xxxi. 11, xxxii. 5, xl. 13, 19, lxxviii, cviii.

5th. Psalms relating to punishment and calamities, xliii, xlv, lxxviii, lxxix.

6th. The return of the exiles, xxxii, cxix.

7th. Asking for the right direction concerning the law, cxix.

8th. Prayer for deliverance from the enemy, iii.

9th. Prayer for the fulfilment of God's promises, xiii. 4.

10th. Prayer that all the inhabitants of the earth may be converted to the true religion, xlv, xlvii.

11th. Prayer for general peace, xlv. 10, lxxvii. 5.

12th. The faith of the nations in Israel and the Messiah, lxxii. 8.

These twelve parts should be used as daily prayers morning and evening.

Yepheth gives then an explanation of various expressions in the Psalms referring to the meaning of prayers, such as זמרה, הודיה, רנון, and so on, a subject which lies out of the sphere of our essay.

At the beginning of the third Psalm, Yepheth, like David Qamhi two centuries afterwards, gives a general introduction on the expressions used in the superscriptions of the Psalms. 'The following seven words,' he says, 'occur in the book, viz. מזמור, שיר, מכתם, משכיל, תהלה, and תפלה; sometimes we find two or more of them together in one heading, viz. מזמור and שיר twelve times; מזמור with שיר and תפלה once; the three other expressions, viz. שנין, מכתם, and תהלה, we find only singly. We shall state now how often each of these occurs. The most frequent term is מזמור, which occurs forty-seven times; next comes שיר, which we find twenty-nine times, of which twelve with מזמור; מכתם occurs seven times; תפלה five times; תהלה and שנין each once. שנין means a release from Cush the Benjamite; מכתם means a stain, caused by a child, a king, or a fact; משכיל means either direction or leading; תפלה means prayer in all respects; תהלה is praise to God for all His bounties; as to שיר the opinions differ. Some say that each Psalm is a song of salvation, which is really applicable to all Psalms headed by this word except lxxxviii. 2, which they apply to prayers in exile; others say that these Psalms were used for the daily and additional sacrifices. It seems to me that שיר refers to some wonderful event; in general it bears the meaning of מזמור, which is difficult to explain, and which I believe to have been accompanied with singing and musical instruments, although this can scarcely be the case with the 63rd Psalm. But if it was originally recited only, it is not at all impossible that later on it was accompanied with song and music. As to the Psalms which have no headings and those which are introduced by למנצח, הללויה, and הודו, we shall give our opinion in its proper place.' This we shall omit, not belonging to the headings strictly, but being deductions from the contexts of the Psalms which are excluded in this essay.

ينبغي ان نذكر ههنا اصول ما يجب ذكره من الالفاظ التي ذكرت في عنوانات المزامير ونذكر معنى كل لفظة منها. فنقول انها سبعة وهي מזמור. מכתם. שיר. משכיל. תפלה. תהלה. وهذا السبع

قد تقترن بعضها مع بعض وقد لا تقترن. وذلك ان مزمور وشير يقترا [ن] فى ^{١٠}ب موضع. ولفظة *משכיל* تقترن مع مزمور وشير فى موضع واحد وهو *משכיל* להימן האזרחי. وتقترن مع *חפלה* ايضا وهو *משכיל* לדוד בהיותו במערה *חפלה* فهذه الـ^{١١} تقترن بعضها مع بعض. والـ^{١٢} الاخر اعنى *שניון*. *מכתם*. *חלה* وجدناهما مفردة. وينبغي ان نتبع ذلك بذكر عددهما فنقول. ان لفظة *מزمור* هى كثيرة العنوان وجملتها *ז*. ولفظة *שיר* ^{١٣}ب تقترن مع لفظة *מزمור* و*משכיל* ^{١٤}ا ثلاثة تقترن مع غيرها وهى *רחש*. *להيמן*. *בהיותו במערה*. و*מכתם* سبعة اول فى *אשר* والستة فى *כאיל*. و*חפלה* خمسة ولدود اثنين. *למשה*. *لعني*. *بמערה*. و*חלה* ^{١٥}ا' *ارومم* *אלהי*. و*שניון* ^{١٦}ا'. ونجب ان نبين معنى لفظ *السبعة* فمعنى *שניון* هو سهو جرى من *כוש* بن *ימיני*. ومعنى *מכתם* فهو اثر اما ولد او ملك او فعل. و*משכיל* معناها تختلف فى المزامير فى معنى الرش والهدايا. ومعنى *חפלה* هو شخوة الحال ومسلة الله فى الخلاص وانجاز الوعد. ومعنى *חלה* هى فى مديحة الله على خليفته وحسن تدبيره وبسط رزقه وعجائبه. وقد تختلف المعلمين فى لفظة *שיר* فبعضهم قال ان كل مزمور فى عنوانه *שיר* فهو *שיר* *ישועה* وليس ثم ما ينقص عليهم هذا الاصل غير موضع واحد وهو *י* *אלהי* *ישועה* فان ليس فيه ذكر *ישועה* فقالوا انه *שיר* *ישועה* وانما وصفوا كيف كانوا يدعون الى الله تعالى فى *الانلوت*. وبعضهم قال ان *الشير* يقال على *الحميد* او *الموفق*. والذى يقرب منا هو انه ذلك *الشير* تسبقه حادثة عظيمة وفى ما بين جمع وهو فى كل موضع بحسب ما يحتمله *المزمور*. ومعنى *מزمור* صعب فى *التخريج* جدا. والذى يقرب فيه انه يقول على ضرب آلة ولحن نشاكلها فان وجدناها فى مواضع يظن فيها انها تبطل هذا الاصل مثل *בהיותו במדבר יהודה*. فينبغى ان تعلم ان وان كان اول ما قيل ذلك *المزمور* بغير آلة ولحن فليس بد من ان يكون قد اعادوه *المشورרים* على ضرب ولحن. فهذا الباب قدمنا ذكره ههنا اصل مكفى فبقى علينا ذكر المزامير التى ليس لها عنوان والتى فى اول *הללויה* والذى فى اول *הודו* والذى فى عنوانه *למנצח*. ونحن نذكر كل واحد منها فى اول مزمور ذكره فيه واحدة من هذه الالفاظ:

Abu'l-Walid R. Jonah ibn Jannāh¹ does not afford much

¹ See *The Book of Hebrew Roots*, Oxford, 1875.

material for our subject, and he will rarely be quoted here. Three important commentaries are at present lost, (1) that of Joseph ibn Stanas, Santas, or Satanas (who lived in the tenth century), quoted in another commentary¹; (2) that of Judah ben Bala'm²; (3) that of Moses ibn Jiqatilia (Moses Kohen), frequently mentioned by Abraham ibn Ezra³. Solomon of Troyes, known as Rashi (who died 1105), relies much on the Agadah; sometimes we shall find him agree with those who suppose the titles to refer to instruments.

We now come to the most acute commentator, the well-known Abraham ibn Ezra, who paid a visit to London in 1157. Whilst he seeks to show by enigmatical hints that Moses cannot be the author of the whole Pentateuch, we shall find him most conservative in the Psalms, unless the anonymous view mentioned in the following preface is his own⁴. He says:—

'This book of *Tehiloth* contains songs, with the name of either the singer or the author prefixed; many, however, are anonymous, such as i, ii, xci and the following Psalms. The commentators are divided as to the authorship of the Psalms. Some say that the entire book is by David, who was a prophet, as it is said, "According to the commandment of David, *the man of God*"⁵, an expression which is used in Scripture of a prophet. David also says, "The Spirit of the Lord spake by me"⁶ (which means, who speaks with me), and His word was on my tongue." When we find the name of Jeduthun together with that of David in the title to a Psalm, the meaning is that David is the author and that he gave it to Jeduthun for performance, for he was one of the chief singers. Psalm lxxii is a prophecy of David concerning Solomon, his son. Psalm xc is also by David, which he gave to the sons of Moses for performance. The same is the case

¹ See Dr. Harkavy's article with the title חורשים גם ישינים in the *Quarterly Review*, fasc. i, St. Petersburg, 1885.

² *Oxford University Gazette*, 1876, p. 100.

³ Printed in the so-called 'Rabbinical Bibles.'

⁴ 2 Sam. xxiii. 2.

⁵ Ps. cx.

⁶ Neh. xii. 24.

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with the names of the sons of Korah and Heman. Psalms lxxix and cxxxvii are prophecies of David, similar to that of the birth of Josiah¹. Others say that there is no prophecy in the Psalms, and therefore it is put together with Job and the "Megilloth," as is shown by the expressions *song* and *prayer*. According to their opinion Psalm cxxxvii was composed in Babylonia. The same is the case with the Psalms which are headed "of the sons of Korah," which were composed by the sons of Heman in the Babylonian captivity, as is clear from the fact that these Psalms contain matter concerning this captivity, which is not the case in those of David. Asaph, the author of the Psalms, was also one of the Babylonian captives, and not identical with the contemporary of David. Ethan the Ezrahite composed his Psalms on the destruction of the empire of the family of David under Zedekiah. As to the anonymous Psalms, the compilers did not know the names of their authors; the same is the case with the "sons of Korah," when they did not know the name of the individual authors. Psalm cxix, they say, was composed by a young captive in Babylonia, who was greatly honoured² there, as appears from the following verses: "Wherewithal shall a young man cleanse his way?" (ver. 9); "I am small and despised" (ver. 141); "Princes also did sit and speak against me" (ver. 23).

'My opinion, however, inclines towards the words of our wise men who say that the whole book was written by the Holy Spirit. As to the word "song" (שִׁיר), we find it also applied to the prophecy in Deuteronomy xxxii; the expression "prayer" (תַּפִּלָּה) we find applied to the prophecy of Habakkuk iii. 1, and Isaiah lxiii. 17. Whenever we find in the superscriptions לַיהוָה "to David," it means that the Psalm is either by David or a prophecy concerning him, similar to Psalm lxxii, which was written with reference to Solomon. Psalm xci is by Moses, and the Psalms marked "to Asaph" are by Asaph, the contemporary of David, "who prophesied according

¹ 1 Kings xiii. 2.

² So MSS. and editions in spite of what follows.

to the king¹." The sons of Korah, the sons of Heman, lived also in the days of David (comp. 1 Chron. xxv. 5). As to the word *לשלמה*, Psalm lxxii, "to Solomon," it means a prophecy concerning him or concerning his son, the Messiah, as it is said, "And David my servant shall be king over them²." Servant here is used as in the passage, "Fear not, O Jacob, my servant³." The Psalms which have no author's name may still be by David; as Psalm cv, where no name is mentioned, is, according to 1 Chron. xvi. 7, by David, who handed over the Psalm to Asaph. As to the objection against the authorship of David, on the ground that the book is not introduced with the name of David, is it not the same with Genesis, of which no one⁴ denies that it was written by Moses, for such is the tradition, although the book does not begin with the words, "And God spake to Moses?"

'The Gaon (Saadyah)⁵ says that this Psalm was composed by David, who gave it to one of the singers to sing it constantly, according to the use of the word *לנצח*⁶. Others think that this word means "the chief over the singers," like *ומנצחים עליהם*⁷. And this is right; the *ל* has a patah (denoting the article), because he was perfectly known. *ננינו* means two melodies. Others take it as an instrument. I believe that there were in Israel songs and praises in different melodies; *ננינו* means the beginning of the song, thus the melody is written with it; the same is the case with *מעלות*, *מלכות*, etc.'

In general Ibn Ezra takes the enigmatical superscription as the opening words of a song, to the melody of which the Psalm was sung.

Contemporary with Ibn Ezra is the Karaite Jacob ben Reuben, author of the Book of Richness, of which a MS. exists in Paris. There is not much that is new in it. The same is the case with the lexicon of Solomon Pirhön, or Parhön⁸ (who flourished 1169), and the Karaitic lexicographer, Ali ben

¹ 1 Chron. xxv. 2.

² Ezek. xxxiv. 23.

³ Isaiah xlv. 2.

⁴ See, however, his commentary on Gen. xii. 7.

⁵ See p. 11.

⁶ 1 Chron. xxiii. 4.

⁷ 2 Chron. ii. 2.

⁸ Edited by G. S. Stern, Pressburg, 1844.

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Soleiman, who compiled his work from predecessors¹. Shortly after Ibn Ezra follows the famous David Qimhi², who in his short introduction, after having quoted the passages of the Talmud given above³, concludes that 'David composed the Psalm with the help of the Holy Spirit, to be distinguished from prophecy. And although David, Jeduthun, Heman, and Asaph are called prophets, they are so only in a certain degree, for prophecy is classified in various degrees, the one higher than the other⁴. Daniel, for instance, who had visions in dream and when awake, did not reach the level of Isaiah, Ezekiel, and the other prophets; therefore his book is included amongst the Hagiographa, which means books written with the aid of the Holy Spirit. The Psalms composed by David he gave to the singers to recite, viz. to Asaph and his brethren (comp. 1 Chron. xvi. 8, Ps. cv), to Jeduthun (Ps. lxii. 1). There are Psalms which refer to events which happened to him or to Israel when fighting with their enemies; others contain prayers and thanksgivings, without allusion to any special occasion. The Psalms which are headed לְדָוִד and those without headings are by David. לְדָוִד, however, sometimes signifies "concerning David⁵." David incorporated in his book a prayer which he found and which was referred by tradition to Moses⁶; he also spoke of events after his time, e.g. the Babylonian and other captivities, and pronounced consolation in view of the restoration of the house of David to its former position. The Psalms of all kinds were recited, some with, some without, an accompaniment of music. We do not know now the meaning of the various words found in the superscriptions.' Here David Qamhi quotes the Talmudic passage on נְצִיחַ, etc.⁷

At the beginning of the third chapter he writes as follows: 'מְנַצֵּחַ is the chief musician, who distributed their parts to the singers and players. Accordingly we find always לְמְנַצֵּחַ and

¹ MS. St. Petersburg, first Firkowitsch collection, No. 75.

² Rather Qamhi, flourished from 1160 to 1230.

³ Page 7.

⁴ According to Maimonides. See *The Guide of the Perplexed*, transl. of Dr. Friedländer, vols. ii and iii.

⁵ Pss. xx. 1, 2; cx. 1.

⁶ Ps. xc. 1.

⁷ See p. 8.

never למשורר or למנן. Comp. Habakkuk iii. 19; 1 Chron. xxiii. 4, xv. 21. There were chiefs for the instruments called נגינות and שמינית; and with the accompaniment of these instruments the various Psalms were recited, each to some well-known melody; for music is a great science, which attracts the intelligent soul, and it is included amongst the external sciences. The instruments used in the Temple for accompanying Psalms were the nabla, harp, cymbal, trumpet, and horn, of which each was distinguished by its special style of music. One of the tunes is called עלמח¹, others are called נגינות, משכיל, נחית, שנינות, נחילת, שנין, מכתם. There are instruments called עשור, עונב, and מנים, each of which is recognised by its notes, as those acquainted with this science are aware. We find (1 Chron. xxiii. 5), "And four thousand praised the Lord with the instruments which I made to praise therewith," but it is not known whether those who used the instruments also sang the praises, or whether the singers were facing the players, Comp. also 2 Chron. vii. 7 and xxix. 28. The trumpets were blown by the priests (Num. x. 8); the other instruments were played by the Levites (2 Chron. xxix. 26)².

Before returning to another Arabic commentator, we may briefly notice a commentary on the Psalms by Isaiah of Trani, the elder (who lived about 1230), which is chiefly based on Abraham ibn Ezra. MSS. are to be found in Paris (No. 217, 3) and Parma (No. 308). Some glosses are to be found in the Bodleian Library which seem to belong to the same school³.

The dictionary (MS. in the Bodleian Library, No. 1484 of the New Catalogue) of Moses of England (who lived early in the thirteenth century) will be rarely quoted here.

¹ 1 Chron. xv. 20; Ps. xlv. 1.

² Qamhi's commentary to the Psalms has been printed many times, and there exist Latin translations of it. The last edition of the first book only, by Dr. Schiller-Szinessy (1883), claims to be based upon twenty MSS. and three early editions, yet it does not offer a single variation, and is therefore uncritical.

³ MS. No. 221. See Mr. H. J. Mathews' *Notes . . . on Psalms, etc.*, in the *Isr. Letterbode*, iv. p. 1 sqq.

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Thanhum ben Joseph of Jerusalem (who lived about 1240), although somewhat of a collector, is of importance on account of his quotations from other authors. He was a good grammarian, and holds himself free from the Agadah. Unfortunately only fragments of his commentary on the Psalms are preserved in the St. Petersburg Library¹. From the extracts which will be quoted later on, it may be concluded that he does not believe David to be the only author of the Psalms.

We have seen represented the East and Spain; there remain still to be added Abraham Remokh of Barcelona and Menahem ben Solomon Meiri of Perpignan, both Catalans. We append the text and translation of the latter's preface to the third Psalm, from which his opinion may be learnt².

'After having taken note of this preface you will remember what we said in the name of our rabbis, viz. that David wrote this book at the direction of ten elders³. That means to say that each of them composed some of the Psalms, which David incorporated in this book, together with those which he had composed himself. These ten elders are Adam, Melchizedek, Abraham, Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, Moses, and three sons of Korah; but this is only an Agadic saying. Literally said, it may possibly be the case with some Psalms, e.g. with the one headed "Prayer of Moses⁴," which David may have found and inserted in his book; but for the other Psalms, David is the author, and gave them out to the Levites, who are called in general the "sons" of Korah, to sing them in the service before the ark. Some of the more important Levites, such as Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun and his brethren, he mentions by name. Comp. 1 Chron. xvi. 6; Ps. lxii. 1. Even "Moses" (Ps. xc) may be the name of some well-known Levite. Thus David is the author of all the Psalms provided with names, as well as the anonymous ones. The rabbis

¹ Codd. 111 and 183. I am indebted for the extracts to Magister J. Israelsohn.

² MS. Bodl. Libr., No. 325. See *Hist. litt.* xxvii. p. 528 sqq.

³ See p. 6.

⁴ Ps. xc.

have, moreover, enumerated ten terms expressive of praise, with the meaning of which the Psalms were composed¹; in our opinion, however, these are merely synonyms with one meaning. Some of the Psalms are provided with superscriptions respecting the musical instruments used when they were sung, but we do not know whether the Psalms without such title were simply recited or were also sung with musical accompaniment.' Meiri enumerates the various headings which mention instruments, although he thinks that some of them might bear another meaning, which he promises to explain when the time comes. He gives then the names of instruments used in the Temple service, but not mentioned in the titles to the Psalms. The general expression למנצח he explains as denoting the chief of the singers and the musicians, for we nowhere find the expression 'to the musician' or 'to the singer'²; but only to the chief of them, who distributed the Psalms to the performers on different instruments, such as נגינות and שמינית and others, of the true meaning of which he says that he is not sure, but he will attempt to explain it in its proper place.

ואחר שתדע הקדמה זו צריך שתזכור מה שכבר קדמו מדעת רבותי' ע"ה שע"י עשרה זקנים חברו דוד ספר זה. וכוונתם שכל א' מאלו העשרה חבר קצת מזמורי' וחברם דוד בספר הזה עם המזמורי' שחבר הוא מעצמו וכבר ביארנו שעשרה זקנים אלו הם אדם הראשון מלכי צדק אברהם אבי' אסף הימן וידותן משה ושלשה בני קרח והיו דרך דרש אלא לפי הפשט איפשר שיהיה כן בקצתם כמו חפלה למשה שאיפשר שמצאה וכתבה בספרו אבל השאר יראה שחברם דוד והיה נותנם ללויים שהוא קוראם דרך כלל בני קרח לזמר בהן ברוכני לפני הארון וחזכיר מן הלויים בפרט לרוב חשיבותם. אסף והימן וידותן ואיתן האזרחי והוא שכתו' או נתן דוד בראש להודות ליי' ביד אסף וידותן ואחיו. וכן ראינו אמרו למנצח על וידותן מזמור לדוד ואף למשה איש האלי"ם איפשר שהיה לוי מיוחד בדורו וכלם חברים דוד עם אותם שלא הזכיר בהם שום אדם או שהזכיר בהם לדוד לבד. ועוד דרשו רז"ל שספר זה נאמ' בעשרה לשונות של שבת בניצוח בנינו במזמור בשיר בהשכל בתהלה בברכה בהודאה באשרי בהלליה.

¹ See p. 8.

² See p. 11.

ולרעחנינו כלם ענין א' במלות שונות אלא שרצ'ל דרשו ניצוח ונינון לעתיד משכיל ע"י תורגמן לדוד מזמור ששרתה עליו רוח הקדש תחלה וא"כ אמ' שירה מזמור לדוד שאמ' שירה וא"כ שרתה עליו רוח הקדש וכן יש מן המזמור' שנתחסה זמירתם לכלי זמר לא ידענו אם אותם שלא נכתב בהם כלי זמר היו נאמרים בשירת הפה לבד או אף אם הם כלי נינון שלא נכתב וכן הוא חלוק שמות בלי נינון לא נודע לנו והנה מצאנו למנצח בננינות וכן למנצח על הנחילות למנצח בננינות על השמינית. שנינו לדוד. למנצח על הנתיב. מכתם לדוד למנצח על אילת השחר. לדוד משכיל מזמור לדוד לחזק. למנצח על שושנים למנצח לבני קרה על עלמות למנצח על מחלת למנצח על יונת אלם רחוקים. למנצח על שושן עדות. מכתם לדוד ללמד. שיר המעלות וכל אלו הם רובם כלי שיר ומיעוטם איפ' שפירושם בענין א' כמו שיתבאר כל א' בפרטיו ומשמות כלי הנינון עד שלא נכתבו בראשי המזמורים נבלים וכנורות ומצלות חצוצרות עוגב מינים עשור ומלת למנצח יראה שהיא כללית והיא נאמרת למסונה על כל המזמורים והמנגנים ולא תמצא בשום מקום למנן ולא למשורר אלא למנצח כל' שיהא ניתן המזמור על ידו לחזמר באי זה מכלי הנינון הנאות אילו לפי עניינו פעם על הכלי הנקרא ננינות פעם על השמינית. וכן בכלם ומעם השמות לא נודע ל[נ]י אלא שבפרטים יתבאר קצת מעם בקצתם :

Remokh inclines more to philosophical interpretation, but he is interesting on account of his quotations, unfortunately all anonymous.

The last author to be noticed is Immanuel ben Solomon of Rome (Manuelo, the friend of Dante), who has still a certain originality. Finally we have to mention an anonymous commentary by a Spanish author, MS. of the Bodleian Library, No. 332, and the Arabic Dictionary of Saadyah ibn Danân (composed 1486), MS. of the same Library, No. 1492. Here we stop with the Jewish interpretation. Mendelssohn and his followers are too modern, and belong more to the beginning of the critical school.

It remains to give the interpretations of the titles according to the translators and commentators who have been enumerated. One commentator often follows another; but we shall avoid repetition as much as possible, though sometimes it will occur inevitably when full texts have to be quoted.

PSALM III.—מזמור.

Ο'. Ψαλμός. Σ. ᾠδῆ.

I. V. psalmus.

Targum everywhere translates מזמור by תשבחתא, praise. The rabbis observe that this Psalm ought rather to be headed קנה, lamentation. This remark would be satisfactorily met by Dr. Graetz's hypothesis¹, that מזמור is a general expression, indicating that a new Psalm begins, when this is not done by a special heading. That is the reason why Psalms i and ii are reckoned as one, since there is no separation between them.

S. مقال لداود مجد الله به في هربه من بين يدي ابنشالوم ابنه. An utterance of David's, in praise of God, when he fled before Absalom his son.

D. A. and A. W. التسبيح والتعجيد, praising.

PSALM IV.—למנצח בנגינות מזמור לדוד.

Ο'. εἰς τὸ τέλος ἐν ψαλμοῖς ᾠδῆ, taking למנצח from נצח, eternal, end. 'A. τῷ νικητοῦ ἐν ψαλμοῖς μελωδῆμα, no doubt from נצח, to be victorious. Σ. ἐπινίκιος διὰ ψαλτηρίων. Θ. εἰς τὸ νίκος ἐν ὑμνοῖς ψαλμός.

I. In finem, Psalmus Cantici ipsi David. V. In finem, in carminibus, psalmus David.

Tg. לשבחא על חנינתא תשבחתא לדוד, to celebrate upon an instrument (for dance?) the praise of David.

S. قول لداود يسبح به المواظمين بالخان. A composition of David's, with which the constant (Levites; למנצח derived from לנצח 1 Chron. xxiii. 4) praise in (various) tunes.—Sy., Y. A. to the chief of the Levites to be sung with an instrument of more than one tune (comp. Ps. li. 1).

D. A. استحثاث للعمل لنצח על מלאכת בית יי. لنצח על עשי (so) המלאכה. والمستحث يستحق مننح وقوله لدود يعني دود عم المستحث للمشوردين المعلم لهم النشيد فيجوز ان كان رسمهم ان اذا وقف المشورر حدا موبح " ان حضرة شى يقول من نفسه قال والا قال ما تعلم من غيرة لذلك اسمى المعلم مننح نحو قوله مبن עם חלמיד وفي ذلك يقول لمننח لירותן מזמור לדוד المستحث الذى له הממור דוד والمستحث على القول هو يדותן والكثرة مننחים. (ננ) وكل لمنנח בנגינות الخان نغمت. מנצח means to instigate to work (1 Chron. xxiii. 4; Ezra iii. 9), the instigator is called מנצח. The word לדוד means that David instigated the singers, by teaching them the method of recitation.

¹ Kr. Comm. Ps., p. 78.

² MS. אומסי.

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It is possible that when the singer stood before the altar he presented to him a song of his own or something which he had learned from others. Therefore the teacher is called *מנצח*, as in the words 'the teacher with scholar' (1 Chron. xxv. 8); and so it is said in the title of Ps. xxxix, 'to the instigated, to Jeduthun, Psalm of David,' i. e. the instigator who was the author of the Psalm was David, and the instigated for reciting it was Jeduthun. The plural form is *מנצחים*. *ננינות* means tunes.

A.W. to the chief.—P. to king David.—M.N. *למנצח הוא הלי המנן*. *נצח בלי הפסק על כלי שיר כך פ' ר' סעדיה*.—For Tm. see VI.—Imm. the chief of the singers on a certain instrument.

PSALM V.—*למנצח אל הנחילות ממור לדוד*.

Ο'. *ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρονομώσεως*; *נחלת* read as *נחל*, participle from *נחל*, to inherit. So the Agadah and Rashi, the nations taking away the inheritance. (Sy. mentions also this explanation, saying that it is against the grammar (it ought to be *נחלות*), and against the contents of the Psalm, where there is no reference to any inheritance.) 'Α. *ἀπὸ κληροδοσιῶν*. Σ. *ὑπὲρ τοῦ Δαυὶδ ἐπιτίκιος ὑπὲρ κληρουχιῶν*.

I. pro his qui haereditabunt.—V. pro ea, quae haereditatem consequitur.

Tg. *לשבחא על חננין*, to praise upon (dancing?) instruments.

S. *قول لداود يسبح به المواظبون المبتهلون*: *أتى صرفت אל הנחילות*. *من وحل مשה وفسره ابتها*. An utterance of David's with which the indefatigably praying Levites praise, deriving *נחילות* from *وحل* (Exod. xxxii. 11).

D. A. *ومن ذل (محل) قوله لمنצح ال النحילות للمستحق على* *الاجاع والامراض يعنى ضربات الالوت وعلى ما يشرح في نفس المزمور كقوله بي لا فمخ رسع اتمه واشبه ذل. وقد فسروه قوم من نحله وهو قول ضعيف وان استدلل صاحب هذا التفسير بالمسرة بان فيها دل لشون نحله على بر من الوادر كل النحילות¹ فذلكه ضعيف لان رسم المسرة تضم الفاط تشبه في المنطق لا في التفسير كما ضمت وعة بعن " مع وعة لך זאת وايضا העירה והקיצה مع ויבאו העירה: נחילות means the instigator upon the woes and the sickness, i. e. the blows of misfortune, as is said in the Psalm itself, vv. 4, 5, and other passages. Some explain it from *נחלה*, inheritance², relying upon the Massorah,*

¹ See the Massorah, where there is the following reading, *אל מן ג' אל*.

² So also Jerome.

which includes נחלות under the rubric נחלה. But that is a weak argument, since it is the habit of the Massorah to put together words according to the sounds, and not according to the meanings, e. g. ורעה (Mic. v. 3; 2 Sam. xix. 8); העירה (Ps. xxxv. 23; 1 Chron. xix. 15).

Sy., Haya (in Qamhi), Imm., Meiri, R., S. D. explain it as an instrument, to which three of them give the derivation of the Talmudic נחיל של דבורים (*Mishnah*, Baba Qamâ x. 2), 'a multitude of bees,' i. e. an instrument sounding like the noise of bees. Sy., Y. and A. derive it from נחלה, sickness (Ezek. xxxiv. 4), 'those who are sad in heart,' i. e. Israel in exile.—Rashi and Imm. refer it to the multitude of the nations coming upon David, deriving it from נחיל as above.

J. R. נַחֲלֵי מִלֵּי נחלה מכתך כמשקל נדיבות וקרא לשארית ישראל בלשון נקבה כי הם כצאן נחילות שנ' את הנחלות לא חזקתם וי"א על נחלת ארץ כי לקחו הגוים וי"א על אבילי ציון כי הם כצאן נחילות וי"א הוא בלי נחילות חשיר. Χαλεπουμένη? Comp. נחלה (Jer. xxx. 12); נחילות is analogous in form to נדיבות. The remnant of Israel is spoken of in the feminine form because they are the sickly flock (comp. Ezek. xxxiv. 4). There are other opinions: 1. נחילות refers to the inheritance taken away by the heathen; 2. to the mourners of Zion (the Karaites), who are the sickly flock; 3. נחילות means a musical instrument.

A. S. נחל מן המרץ וקיל אן מנע למנצח אל הנחילות ואנע מקאם. את הנחלות לא חזקתם. וקיל אן מן אנתאל מקאם אלה הנחלות. Some take נחילות as in Ezek. xxxiv. 4, sickness; others take it in the sense of inheritance, comp. Josh. xix. 51.

PSALM VI.—למנצח בנגינות על השמינית.

Ο'. ἐν ὕμνοις, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀγδόης. 'Α. ἐν ψαλμοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης. Σ. διὰ ψαλτηρίῳ περὶ τῆς ὀγδόης.

I. pro carminibus, pro die octava psalmus ipsi David. V. in carminibus, psalmus David, pro octava.

Tg. לשבחא בנגינתא על כינרא דחמניא נימא. to praise with song on a harp of eight cords.

S. قول لداود يسبح به المواظبون بالحن الثامن: انا استدللنا على ان الليوايين كان لهم في القدس ثمانية الحان كل قوم منهم متوليين واحد منها. To praise in the eighth tune. This proves that the Levites had in Jerusalem eight different tunes, of which separate groups made use.

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—על־ה' אֹתָר, D. A. and Sy. an instrument with eight cords, Y. on the eighth horn, which is the Ishmaelitic dominion.

J. R. says the same : פתרו אותם על שם כלי השיר ככתו' בכנורות על השמינית לנצח יש בו ח' יתרי' ולעתיד יהיה בי' שנ' עלי עשור. ויש שיפתור אותו על מלכות שמינית וביאורו כי דניאל ראה חזותא רביעתא ליה קרן עשר. דע כי יש לאדם י' מגדלות בי' ארצות והם. ברומה ובקוסטמנדינה ובפרנגיאה ובולגריאה ודרנן ונרגן ופארמן ובאסכנדריאה ועכה ואנדוכיא. לקחו מהם בני ישמעאל ג' אנטוכיא ועכה ואסכנדריאה נשאר להם י'. ככתו' משתכל הוית בקרניא וכאשר לקח ג' ונדיה כא' נקרא שמינית Some explain ננינות by a musical instrument with eight cords (comp. 1 Chron. xv. 21), later with ten (Ps. xlii. 4). Others refer it to the eighth kingdom, which is represented with ten horns (Dan. vii. 7). Know that the Christians possess ten fortresses (capitals) in ten countries, viz. at Rome, Constantinople, in France, Bulgaria, Darghân, Jorjân, Armenia (l. ובארמן ?), at Alexandria, Acco, and Antiochia; the last three having been taken from them by the Arabs, there remained seven, and the three taken by the Arabs, taken as one, make eight, and to this event the word השמינית refers.

A. S. ממלכה ثامنة وقيل بشمانية أوتار, the eighth kingdom, or an instrument with eight cords.

שמינית קיל לַחַן ثامن بعد, لرأس الألمان Tm. chief of the tunes. سبعة لُحَانٍ مُتَقَدِّمَةٌ قَبْلَهُ. والاصحّ انه آلة ذات ثمانية أوتار, the eighth tune after the preceding seventh; the true sense, however, is that it is an instrument with eight cords.

Imm., after having the usual opinion, adds the following : Since this Psalm refers to an illness, it is possible that שמינית means the double of a quartan fever.

שנין לדוד אשר שר ליהוה על דברי כוש בן ימיני.—PSALM VII.

Ὁ. εὐ. ἡ ᾠδὴ τοῦ κυρίου ὑπὲρ ('A. Σ. Θ. περι) τῶν λόγων Χουσι υἱοῦ Ἰεμεελ.

I. V. psalmus David, quem cantavit Domino pro verbis Chusi filii Emimi (V. Jemini).

Tg. תרגומא דאודיתא לדוד די שבח קדם יי' מטול די אמר שירתא על בנימן. תבירא דשאל בר קיש דמן שבט בנימן An expression of thanksgiving by David with which he praised God by composing a song concerning the destruction of Saul, son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin.

مقال لداود سبّح به الله تسبيح انتصار في سبب كوش بن يميني: S. انا فسرنا سنيون استنصارا لانا استخرجناه من غرض ما في هذا الفصل قوله الحشيني والحيلاني واشباههما is rendered 'asking assistance'

in the matter of Cush, without any ground except the contents of the Psalm.

Sy. renders להג לדוד, dedication to David, without reason; he gives another explanation from שנה to err, with allusion to David's repentance after cutting off the sleeve of Saul's cloak (1 Sam. xxiv. 6).—Y. also derives it from שנה, meaning Saul's injuring David.

D. A. طلبية.—A. W. love and pleasure (so I. E.), or occupation with music. So Tm.

B. B. says (Habakkuk iii. 1): هو عندي مثل شנין לדוד وهو في ما: يظهر الغناء لحن من اللان. A song. So M. N. זמר ונעימה.

A. S. تعليم الرغبة في الدين وتجاوز ان مثله وكل شנה בו كل راغب فيه وقيل في شنيون شجو ومثله قيل على شنيون وقيل ان الكل من شنيون (Prov. xx. 1) may perhaps be taken in the same sense. Others translate شنيون here and Habakkuk iii. 1 by 'affliction,' and others by 'humility.' معنى السهو

S. D. طرب ملد وقيل انطرب النفس, sweet music, giving pleasure to the soul.

Most explain it as the name of a musical instrument, to which Meiri adds that Cush liked it for its sweetness of tune.

Cush is taken by David Qamhi to mean Saul; so also Imm. and Tm., who say that he was called Cush, 'a negro,' in jest, because he was a most handsome man. He adds: Perhaps David called him Cush on account of the cruelty which he had shown to him and the priests of Nob.

PSALM VIII.—למנצח על הנחית.

O'. Σ. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀγγέλων (i. e. הַמַּלְאָכִים). 'A. Θ. ὑπὲρ τῆς γαβθίτιδος.

I. V. pro [I. lacis] torcularibus.

Tg. לשבחא על כנורא דאחי מנת תושבחתא, on the harp which came from Gath.

S. قول لداود يسبح به المواظبون من العوكر ادمم الليواني: قد يضطرب في. To praise by the constant (Levites) of the house of Obed Edom the Levite. Opinions differ as to the word הנחית, but the right one is that which I have propounded.

D. A. للمستحث على معصار الاوتار ويقال للرقص بلا دليل وقيل على عرس معاصر الشراب والاول عندى اقرب كما يقول في غيره على. To the instigator upon the instru-

ment for pressing wine with cords. Others say for dances (see Y.),—an opinion without proof. Others say concerning the feast (!) of pressing out the juice. I agree with the first opinion, that it is a term analogous to נגינת, שמינית, etc.

Y. says it means reciting tunes (short tunes) in dancing at the time of the vintage, being derived from נת, a winepress. He mentions another explanation of נתינת, referring it to the nations trampling on Israel as on the wine. Most explain it as an instrument, either of the shape of a winepress, or one which came from the town of Gath, or belonged to Obed Edom.

J. R. י"א רוד ירקד וישחק לפני ה' כאיש שידרוך בנת. וי"א ישם אייבי ישראל תחת כפות רגליהם וידריכם בנת. וי"א זה המזמור אמר אותו אחד מבני עובד אדום הנתי. וי"א הוא שם כלי שמו אורגנון ימלאהו רוח וחרו אותו כמו הנתינת כמוהו עשה מלך אדום ושמו נתינת. There are various opinions concerning the word נתינת: 1. David danced and rejoiced before God like a man who treads the winepress; 2. David will place the enemies of Israel under their feet, and tread upon them; 3. This Psalm was composed by one of the children of Obed Edom of Gath; 4. An instrument like an 'organon,' which is filled with air, and let out as is the case with a winepress, a winepress. Such an instrument a king of Edom made, and its name was Gittith.

Tm. قيل انه اسم آلة من آلات الطرب. وفيل انه اسم لحن من الألحان وعلى الوجهين فهو منسوب الى عובד אדום הנתי من הלויים والمשוררים ای انه كان له فيه لحن ما يقوله في המקדש ای انه استخرج. An instrument (so also S. D.) or a tune; in both cases it must be referred to Obed Edom of the Levites, who had the speciality of them for the Temple service.

Imm. says on the melody sung at the winepress or made concerning a woman of Gath.

PSALM IX.—למנצח על מות לבן.

Ο'. εἰς τὸ τέλος ὑπὲρ τῶν κρυφίων τοῦ υἱοῦ ψαλμός (עלמות from עלם, to hide). 'Α. νεανίσκος τοῦ υἱοῦ μελόδημα (youth, from ἐλם). Σ. περὶ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ υἱοῦ. ᾠσμα (על מות) two words, on the death). Θ. Ε'. ὑπὲρ ἀκμῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ. ψαλμός. Σ'. νεανίσκος τοῦ υἱοῦ.

I. propter occulta filii (like Ο'). V. pro occultis filii.

Tg. לשבחא על מיתותא דנברא די נפיק מבני משריתא. To praise, on the occasion of the death of the man who came out from the camp (Goliath).

S. قول لداود يسمع به الموابلون من ابن الليواني بلحن خفي.

مسترق: تفسير واحد هذه الثمانية الحان يقال له علמות وهو مسترق خفي يتصرف من نعلם فاذا نسب صار علמות فلان وفي الليوانيين To praise, مقدم يقال له بن لقوله وعמהم אחיהם המשנים זכריהו بن by the constant (Levites) of Ben the Levite, with a hidden tune. That is, one of the eight tunes, which is called עלמות, derived from נעלם, which becomes עלמות in the construct form. There was a chief Levite with the name of בן (1 Chron. xv. 20)¹.

D. A. says²: בן means a combat. Some commentators think that this title refers to the death of Absalom, but that is contrary to the behaviour of David, as described in 2 Sam. xix. 1. Others refer it to the death of the child of Bathsheba, an opinion which has no value. Others take לבן for נבל, which I shall not even take the trouble of refuting. Others take על מות as one word, 'youth,' and לבן as 'white,' translating 'the youth which became white;' this is against all grammar. I take it as follows: 'To the instigator, on the occasion of the death of the champion Goliath (1 Sam. xvii. 14), the ל is euphemistic, as in Arabic sometimes. [I have explained this more explicitly in my commentary on the Psalms, where I have shown that בן is connected with איש הבנים, and that this last has nothing to do with the word בין. בן מות consists of two words, viz. מות and על, 'upon the death.' The Massorah has made it one word here and Ps. xlviii. 15, as in על-בן (Ps. lxxx. 16), על-אם (Jer. xv. 18), and elsewhere.]

قالوا قوم تفسير على موت يريد دلي شير كقوله على علמות شير. ويقول ايضا دندلي على علמות. ومعنى لبן اسم المشورر بن وهو رئيس من رؤساء المشوررين كقوله وعמהم אחיהם המשנים זכריהו بن ועחיאל ו': والاقترب عندي ان تفسير على موت يريد خفايا الذنوب كقوله علמנו למأور منير مثل ملاو علومي. وقوله لبן يريد بياض اى ثقبنا وثقبنا من الذنوب كقوله حنכسني ومشلل אלבין وقال אם יהיו חמאיכם בשני בשלג ילבינו: ويجوز ايضا [ان] علמות يريد ايام الحداثة والصبي يشتق من علم وعلמה اى ما جرى في ايام الحداثة من الذنوب بيض واغفر ولا تذكر كقوله حمאות نعורי وفشעי ו'. ويكون اشتقاق علמות من ינהגנו علמות. وهذا القول عندي اجود من كل قول وهو قريب. ولم اذكر كل قول

¹ Dunash attributes another explanation to Saadyah, viz. upon the death of Ben, one of the Levites, and that the ל in לבן is prosthetic. See also I. E. This opinion Dunash may have found in the larger commentary of Saadyah. Further on Dunash gives Saadyah's explanation as in the text. Dunash himself takes לבן as a proper name of a warrior, who fought with his tribe against David, and who perished. See Dr. Margulies' essay (see p. 11, note 2), pp. 22, 24.

² For the text, see *Journal Asiatique*, 1862, i. p. 383.

الناس في هذا المعنى اذ ليس فيه فائدة. Some take על מות as an instrument, and בן as a chief of musicians (1 Chron. xv. 18). Others explain עלמות 'the hidden sin' (comp. Ps. xl. 8; Job xx. 11), and לבן 'whiten,' i. e. purify us (make us white) from sin (comp. Ps. li. 9; Is. i. 18). Possibly עלמות is derived from עלם 'youth' (comp. Ps. xlviii. 15), i. e. make white from all which passed in the days of youth, forgive and do not remember it (comp. xxv. 7). I agree best with the last opinion.

Y. also reports several opinions: 1. On the death of the son, either the one born to Bathsheba, or Amnon, or Absalom. 2. Upon the death of Goliath, called איש הבנים (1 Sam. xvii. 4). 3. On the death of Nabal (לבן = נבל; so S. D.). 4. Instrument of Ben the Levite. 5. The white youth (see Sy.). 6. (Which he prefers himself), 'O Lord, make the ignorance (sin) of Israel white,' taking עלמות as one word derived from העלם 'עלימו' (Lev. xx. 4) and לבן an imperative form from לבן 'white.' I. E. and Q. also mention several explanations which agree with those already enumerated. In one of them the following explanation is given: On the death of a prince of the name of Labben. Rashi—after refuting some of the explanations mentioned above—says, that the Pesiqtha refers this to Amalek. Rashi himself applies the Psalm to the Messianic time when Israel will be regenerated (young) and white (without sin). He adds that Menahem ben Saruq explains, to learn to sing with the instrument of Almuth (לבן להבן). Then follows the explanation of Dunash.

J. R. וי"א הוא כלי השיר ככתו' עלמות לגצה. וי"א עלמות נבל. וי"א הוא מהופך נבל לבן. וי"א על איש הבינים גלית ויהיה לבן הַבן על מות הבינים. וי"א על מות אבשלום אשר הוא בן. וי"א על מות בן בת שבע. וי"א על עונות נעורים אשר ימי הנעורים הוא עלמות יהיה לבן ויסלח ככתו' אם יהיו חטאיכם כשנים כשלג. וי"א על מות ישראל שהוא בן לה'. וי"א נביא לה' זכריהו בן על מיתת משורר ה'. The opinions given by Jacob here and elsewhere are already mentioned by older commentators. It will be therefore superfluous to quote him any more. The same is the case with Ali. The Karaitic commentators and lexicographers, as already stated¹, are less original than the Rabbanitical ones.

PSALM XVI.—לדוד. מכתם לדוד.

Ο. Θ. στήλογραφία τῷ Δαυὶδ (Ματθ. 23, see Ali). 'Α. τοῦ ταπεινόφρονος καὶ ἀπλοῦ τοῦ Δαυὶδ. Σ. (τοῦ) ταπεινόφρονος καὶ τοῦ ἀμώμου Δαυὶδ

¹ See p. 27.

(both מַך, מָך; see Tg. to Ps. lvi). E. S'. μαχθὰμ τοῦ Δαυὶδ (transliteration of מַכְתָּם).

I. V. tituli inscriptio ipsi David.

Tg. גְּלִיפָא תְּרִיצָא לְדָוִד. Straight (elegant) writing of David.

S. طرق لداود يقول فيه: ان الطرق في لغة العرب مقام الفن. Peculiar expression. No derivation is given by Saadyah.—Lacuna in Sy.

D. A. תְּאִיִּר לְדָוִד יוֹרִי אֵן לֵה בִּי זֶלֶק הַנִּשְׁתִּיד אִתְּרוּהוּ קוֹלֵה בִּל אִמִּיךָ. נִסְכֵּיהֶם מִדָּם. 'Stain of David,' showing that there is a spot in this Psalm, as it is said, ver. 4, 'Their drink offerings of blood will I not offer.'

A. W. it is possible that מַכְתָּם is derived from both, precious gold and stain.

Anon. פְּרִיסָדוֹ. פִּי' שִׁמְמוֹר זֶה יָקָר וְחֹשֶׁב כִּתְּחָם שֶׁהוּא הַזָּהָב. כָּלֹא שָׁבוּ דְבָרִים נְעִימִים וְנִכּוֹנִים וְחֹשֶׁבִים וְיָקָרִים כִּזְכָּר וְכֵן כָּלִשׁוֹן הַזֶּה שִׁמְעוּ כִּי נִגִּידִים אֲדַבֵּר. הִנֵּה כִּתְּבִיתִי לָךְ שְׁלִישִׁים שְׁרֹ' לֹאֹם דְּבָרִים יָקָרִים וְחֹשֶׁבִים כִּנְגִידִים וְשְׁלִישִׁים שֶׁהֵם חֹשֶׁבִים וְיָקָרִים. וְכִדְרָךְ שִׁקְוִיָּן לְדְבָרִים הַחֹשֶׁבִים וְהַנִּכּוֹנִים מִרְגְּלִיּוֹת וְכֵן לִשׁוֹן עֲדוֹת לֶאֱסֹף שִׁפִּי' פֶּאֶר וְחִמְדָּה הוּא לֶאֱסֹף אִם שֶׁהֵם דְּבָרִי פֶּאֶר וְחִמְדָּה מִן וְעֲדִית עֲרִי שֶׁהוּא עֵנִין תְּכַשִּׁים. *Salmo preciado*, i. e. this Psalm contains precious words like כִּתְּחָם, which means gold, as it is said (Prov. viii. 6), 'Hear, for I will speak of excellent things,' and (Prov. xxii. 20), 'Have I not written to thee excellent things?' i. e. things excellent like princes and chiefs. In the same way precious words are called 'pearls.' And this is meant by the title עֲדִית (Ps. lxxx. 1), an ornament to Asaph, or words of ornament and delight, derived from וְעֲדִית (Ezek. xxiii. 40), which has the meaning of ornament.

Y. refers this Psalm to David's dynasty, and to the child who would usurp his kingdom for a certain time, like a stain which remains in a cloth, מַכְתָּם is therefore derived from נִכְתָּם (Jer. ii. 22). جَعَلَ عَرْنَانُ هَذِهِ الْمَمُورَ مِنْ أَجْلِ أَنْ فِيهِ ذِكْرُ دَوْلَةِ كَقَوْلِهِ (ii. 22). حَبْلًا مِمْسًا لِي فِي بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ. فَمَعْنَى مַכְתָּם هُوَ أَنَّ الْوَلَدَ الَّذِي يَنْتَحِلُ مَلِكَةً عَلَى مَدَّ الزَّمَانِ مِثْلَ الْآثَرِ الْبَاقِي فِي الثَّوبِ وَلِهَذَا اللَّفْظَةُ نَظِيرٌ فِي الْمَقَرَّةِ نִכְתָּם عֹנֵךְ لַפְנִי.

Rashi gives for this word 'crown,' or מַך וְחָם 'oppressed and blameless,' which Meiri refers to the tune.—I. E., besides his general opinion on the subject, mentions the explanation 'lovely Psalm,' derived from כִּתְּחָם פֶּאֶר. So also Immanuel.

It is remarkable that Ali gives in his dictionary an opinion that מַכְתָּם is to be taken as מַכְתָּב, which explains the LXX (Graetz,

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מכתם לדוד אטר וקיל אן הוה נף מכתם (*Psalmen*, etc., p. 83),
 فيقرب من معنى مכתب.—S. D. מכתב.

PSALM XXII.—למנצח על אילת השחר.

Ο'. ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνταλήψεως τῆς ἑωθινῆς (probably from **Λ**ΥΝ, strength, i. e. of the morn). 'Α. ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλάφου τῆς ὀρθρινῆς. Σ. ὑπὲρ τῆς βοηθείας τῆς ὀρθρινῆς (from **Λ**ΥΝ, strength, help, see S.).

I. V. pro susceptione matutina.

Tg. לשבחא על תקופ קרבן תדירא דקדושתא תושבחתא לדוד. To praise, upon the strength of the daily morning sacrifice, praise of David.

8. מִגְדָּלָאֵת יִסְמַח בְּהַר הַבֹּקֶר וְיִשְׂכַּח עוֹלָם אֲפֻקֵּי שָׁמַיִם
 השחר مطلع الفجر لانى جعلت الاصل مشتقاً من ايل واילות اللذان
 هما طاقة ولما كانت اللغة المخرج اليها لا تستحسن ان تقول طاقة
 Praise of David, with which the constant
 Levites praise God at the rise of the dawn. איל is derived from
 and אילות 'majesty,' 'strength,' but this term not being
 applicable to the dawn, we have put 'rise.'

ومثله تقع **אֵילַת** على النوع **על אֵילַת השחר** وهو (so) **מאכלה** D. A. **השחרית** القائمين بالاسحار للعبادة المائلين كايائل الذي تغدو الى الماء وهي عطشانة والحقيقة في التانيث **אֵילַת** refers to the species, as is the case in this superscription. It represents the remnant (of Israel), who rise with the dawn to worship, as the hind rises in the morning to go to the water and quench its thirst. The point of this explanation lies in the feminine form of **אֵילַת**.

Sy. and Y. translate, 'hind of the dawn,'—as a hind which looks for the hour at the dawn, so Israel at the end of the captivity will look for God their Lord.—Y. adds that this Psalm was said by the aid of the Holy Spirit.—So also Rashi, who mentions other opinions: amongst them is one which refers the Psalm to Esther.—I. E. quotes also some opinions: 1. 'Psalm on the dawn' literally; 2. The name of an instrument or beginning of a liturgy.

Meiri, of an instrument which begins with a weak tune like the dawn.—R. at the strength of the light.

פ'י כח עלות מן איילות לעזרתי חשה פיר' מזמור שמנגני בו. Anon. בעלות השחר. ועל דרך הדרש משל על כנסת ישראל שהיא אילת אהבים הנשקפה כמו שחר ונכון הוא הוא שכל ענין המזמור על כנסת ישראל בגלות. 'Strength of rising,' derived from איילות (Ps. xxii. 20), i. e. a Psalm to be said at the dawn. The Midrash refers it to the synagogue, which is likened to 'a loving hind that looketh forth as the dawn.' It is intended to apply the whole Psalm to the synagogue in exile.—S. D. the morning star.

PSALM XXXII.—לְדוֹד מִשְׁכִּיל.

O'. συνέσεως τῷ Δ. 'Α. τοῦ Δ. ἐπιστήμονος.

I. intellectus ipsi D. V. ipsi D. intellectus.

Tg. לְדוֹד מִשְׁכִּיל, intelligence.

Qol Ldaud yefhem be' nass le'efqola: an qole fi wst hza f'el S. אשכילך ואודך هو تفسير ما جعلته عنوانا فقال لְדוֹד מִשְׁכִּיל فִּי עֵץ. To make a man intelligent. The words in verse 8, 'I will instruct thee and teach thee,' explain the heading.

Meiri says it is an instrument which stirs up the heart. Sy. translates 'prophecy.' Y. 'the right direction.'

A. W. translates 'hope and instruction'; P. 'hope.'

Tm. to Ps. lxxiv says as follows: תִּיל תַעֲקֵל וְתִיל נֶזֶר וְתִיל. والمعنيين متقربان لان التأمل للامور النظر فيها وباسبابها وفي كيفية. Understanding or reflecting. Both meanings are near one to the other. Reflecting on and seeing into a matter, for discovering the reasons of its causes or changes, are operations of the intellect.

Anon. שלמו די אינמירדימיינטו פ' מזמור שכל להשכיל כמו לְדוֹד. להזכיר והוא שם מהכבד החמישי ע"מ יתן אכל למכביר כל' שמשכילין ממנו ענינים נבונים או כמשמעו לשון מפעיל כל' שממור זה משכיל ומבין ומזהיר לעם וכן מכתם לְדוֹד ללמד שמלמד ענינו לעם. Salmo de Entendimiento, i. e. Psalm of understanding to make others to understand, as להזכיר (Ps. xxxviii. 1), which are both of the *hiph'il* form. It means either that people will learn from it right things, or in the usual sense, viz. this Psalm will make the nation to understand and be warned, as in ללמד (lx. 1), which means to teach the nation the matter of the Psalm.

PSALM XXXIII.—No title in the Hebrew text; most likely there was none in the LXX.

O'. ψ. τοῦ Δ. Origen says, ἀνεπίγραφος παρ' Ἑβραίοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ῥητοῖς¹. E'. S'. τῷ Δ.

I. in finem, psalmus ipsi D. V. psalmus D.

Saadyah writes as follows: ان هذا المزمور وان كان لم يجعل له قول משכיל عنوانا بالاقرب أن يكون معناه משכיל לְדוֹד مضمار (so) אז. كان أكثر تاديبا وتفهيما وإيضاح عقل على سبيل كل משכיל. Although this Psalm has not the heading משכיל, yet the contents of it would

¹ See Graetz, *l. c.*, p. 267.

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require it, for it is mostly an exhortation for improvement of conduct and development of the intellect.

PSALM XXXVIII.—*לדוד לחזכיר*. מזורר לדוד לחזכיר.

O'. ψαλμός τῷ Δ. εἰς ἀνάμνησιν περὶ σαββάτου. 'A. μελῳδία τοῦ Δ.

I. ps. D., in commemoratione sabbati. V. ps. D., in rememorationem de sabbato.

Tg. *חשבחתא לדוד דכרנא מבא על ישראל*. Praise of David for the good remembrance of Israel.

S. *مجد لداود يذكر فيه بنة*. Praise of David to be remembered continually.

A. W. translates 'praising.'—Rashi and an anonymous author explain, To remember the calamities of Israel.—Imm. says, That they may remember it, and pray in the time of misfortune.—Meiri explains it like *משכיל*, to wake up the heart.

PSALM XXXIX.—*לדוד לדנותן מזורר לדוד*. למנצח לדנותן מזורר לדוד.

O'. τῷ Ἰδuthun φθῆ. 'A. Σ. Θ. ὑπὲρ Ἰδuthun μελῳδία (Θ. φθῆ).

I. Edithun. V. ipsi Idithun.

Tg. *לשבחא על מנצח בית מקדשא על פמיה דידותן תושבחתא*. To praise, for the watch of the Temple by the mouth of Jeduthun.

S. *مجد لداود يسبح به المواظبون من اليدوثون الليواني*. Praise of David for the Levites of Jeduthun to recite.

Sy. Some say that the prophecy is by Jeduthun and David; others say the prophecy was written by David and recited by Jeduthun, who is Ethan. All agree that the Psalm was composed by David, except I. E., who mentions an anonymous opinion to the effect that Jeduthun was the author of this Psalm.

PSALM XLII.—*לדוד לדנותן מזורר לדוד*. למנצח משכיל לבני קרה.

O'. εἰς σύνεσιν τοῖς υἱοῖς Κορέ. 'A. Σ. ἐπιστήμονος τῶν υἱῶν Κορέ.

I. V. intellectus filiis Corae.

Tg. *לשבחא בשכלא מבא על ידיהון דבני קרה*. To praise, with good intelligence by the sons of Korah.

S. *قول تفهيم وتعليم يسبح به المواظبين من بني كره الليواني*. A word signifying understanding and learning with which the Levites of the sons of Korah praised.

Y. says, Know that the first book is by David, except the first two Psalms; the next book is by the sons of Korah, seven by David and one by Asaph. The collector has separated them from the other, because they are connected together. *اعلم ان الجزء الاول كله لدود غير אשר ادايش. لهذا رنשו. وهذه الجزء هي لبني كره ولدود*

ومزمر واحد לאספ فلما كانت فصول בני קרח מתמלת في معانيها
فصلها المدون وجعلها فصول متמלת وافصلها من מזמיר דוד.

PSALM XLV.—למנצח על ששנים לבני קרח משביל שיר ידידת.

Ο'. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοιωθησομένων τοῖς νόοις Κορὲ εἰς σύνεσιν, φῶδῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ (ששנים as ששנים?). Ἀ. ἐπὶ τοῖς κρίνοις τῶν νιδῶν Κορὲ ἐπιστή-
μονος, ἄσμα προσφιλίας. Σ. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνθῶν τῶν νιδῶν Κορὲ, συνέσεως
ἄσμα εἰς τὸν ἀγαπητόν. Θ. ὑπὲρ τῶν κρίνων . . . τοῖς ἡγαπημένοις.

I. pro his quae (V. iis qui) commutabuntur, filiis Corae (V. ad),
intellectum, canticum pro dilecto.

Tg. לשבחא על יתבי סנהדרין דמשה דאתאמר בנבואה על ידיהו. To praise the Sanhedrin
of the time of Moses, which was spoken by prophecy through the
sons of Korah, good intelligence, praise, and thanksgivings.

S. قول تفهيم في وصف محبي الله يسبح به المواطنون من بني
קרח بلحن يلقب بالسوسن: فسّرنا שיר ידידות وصف فضائل محبي
الله لان لفظة ידיד ويדידות كذلك معناها فاول المحبون (so) لله خليفته
الذي اختلفه ثم اتباعهم وجمعهم اولا في اسم ידידות ثم فرد الملك
An utterance of understanding, to
describe the lovers of God, with which the Levites of the sons
of Korah praise with a tune called Shushan. I have explained
שיר ידידות as a description of the advantages of those who love
God; for the meaning of ידידות and ידיד is as follows: the first of
those who love God is his successor; then his followers (l. اتباع),
both of which the Psalmist unites in ידידות; then the king is spoken
of subsequently in the following words: 'I speak of the things which
I have made touching the king.'

للمستحق على زمان السواسن لبنى קרח رشد نشيد التودّات Y.
ذكر في هذه العنوان ثلاثة اشياء. احدها هو على ششנים ويشير به الى
שאריה ישראל المقتلين בששנה בין החוחים وذلك من شان السواسن
تظهر في زمان الربيع اذا بدا الزمان يصيف وكذلك חמימי דוד
يظهرون في آخر الدولות المقتلة بالشتي كقوله כי הנה הסתו עבר.
ومعنى اخر في تمثيلهم بالششנים دون غيرها هو ان السواسن ليس
لها غير حسن فقط وكذلك שאריה ישראל חמימי דוד ليس لهم في
ذلك الزمان غير حسن طاعات فقط وليس لهم لا ملك ولا نعمة في
الدولوت: والثاني لفظة משביל والمعنى فيه هو ان فيه رشد للمسيح عم
في ما يجب عليه ان يفعل حتى يستحق المواعد للزيلة كما سنشرح
بعد: والثالث هو قوله שיר ידידות وقال ידידות بلשון רבים لانها
تودّات كثيرة منها محبة الله تعالى لإسرائيل وللمسيح وايضا محبة

المسيح لله جَلّ ذكره ولأتمته فلذلك قال سיר ידידות: Three things are contained in this heading: 1. The lily represents Israel amongst thorns, which at the end of the captivity will make its appearance like the lily in spring; or as the lily has no beauty, so are Israel in captivity, deprived of their king and robbed of happiness. 2. The word מִשְׁכֵּל refers to the direction given to the Messiah, what he is to do in order to be worthy of the great and promised time. 3. 'Song of loves,' in the plural, for there are several loves, viz. the love of God to Israel and to his Messiah, and the love of the Messiah towards God and his nation.

Rashi refers the lilies to the wise men, like the Targum.

Tm. اسم آلة من آلات التي يقال عليها السّير. وقيل انه اسم لحن وطريقة من الطرائق: سیر ידידות. ידידות صفة للسّير أى انه نشيد محبوب مستحسن يرغب فى سماعه. والمفسر تأوله على المحبين فقال فى وصف محببى الله. والأقرب ان هذا القول قيل فى دود او سلما وهو مديح فيه وفى الملة التى ملكها التى لشدة حسننها وعناية الله بها ولا عليها مثل هذا الملك للليل الحسن الفضائل المستقيم السيرة المحبوب عند الله وتضمن مع ذلك دعاء له بالنصر والتأيّد وهلاك اعدائه واتلافهم بسلحه واسلامهم فى يديه. The name of an instrument or of a tune. سיר ידידות is a description of سיר, i.e. a beautiful and beloved song, which is agreeable to hear. The commentator (Saadyah) applies it to lovers, i.e. to describe the lovers of God. The most probable opinion is that this Psalm is said concerning David or Solomon, to praise one of them together with the nation which made him their king. He is a king who has no equal in his qualities, and is beloved above others with God. The author of the Psalm combines with this praise a prayer to God that he may assist the king to subdue his enemies.

Meiri says it is an instrument to waken great love.—R. says it is a lyre.—Imm. It means a song of love and friendship, composed in honour of Solomon after his coronation and marriage, written with great skill, for it has also a mystical meaning, which is as sweet as a lily. He, however, says that possibly this Psalm is based on a song beginning with שושנים.—Anon. says that it is a song lovely as lilies, or it refers to an instrument or a tune.

PSALM XLVI.—למנצח לבני קרח על עלמות שיר.

Ο'. ὑπὲρ τῶν νιῶν Κορὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν κρυφίων ψαλμός. 'Α. τῶν νιῶν Κορὲ ἐπὶ νεανιοτήτων μελῳδήμα. Σ. τῶν νιῶν Κορὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν αἰωνίων φῶγ.

I. V. [I. pro] filiis Corae pro arcanis.

Tg. לשבחא על ידיהון דבני קרח ברוח נבואה בזמן דאתחבסי אבוהון. מנהון והנן אשתוזבו ואמרו שירתא. To praise, by the sons of Korah, by the spirit of prophecy, at the time when their father was hidden from them, and they were saved and uttered the Psalm.

S. قول يسبح به المواظبون من بني كרח بلحن خفي مسترق. Uttering with which the sons of Korah said praise in a low and subdued melody.

D. A. آلات النشيد, an instrument.—A. W. a kind of pleasant song.—Tm. says, لحن خفي رقيق حاد محرك للنفس على الرقة, a low and subdued melody, sharp, and moving the soul by its tenderness.

Anon. סילאמינמוש די קאנקו או קנקו די סילאמינמוש שיר בכלי ניגון. שקולו ערב ונמוך ונעלם שאינו נשמע למרחוק ובער' שו"ת חפ"י ד"א שיר שעניניו נעלמים ונסתרים כי ענין המזמור הזה מדבר על ענין זמן הנאולה שזמנה נסתר ונעלם. An instrument which produces sweet and low [literally hidden] tones, which are not heard far off. Another opinion is, a song, the meaning being hidden, for this Psalm refers to the time of the redemption, which is unknown and hidden.

PSALM LIII. —למנצח על מחלת משכיל לדוד.

O'. ὑπὲρ Μαελεθ συνέσεως τῷ Δ. 'A. ἐπὶ χορείᾳ ἐπιστήμονος Δ. S. διὰ χοροῦ περὶ συνέσεως τοῦ Δ. Θ. ὑπὲρ τῆς χορείας συνέσεως τοῦ Δ. E'. ὑπὲρ τῆς χορείας.

I. pro Abimelech intellectus David. V. pro Maeleth intelligentiae David.

Tg. לשבחא על פורענותא דרשיעיא די מפסין שמא דקרים שכלא טבא. על יד דוד. To praise concerning the punishment of the wicked, who blaspheme the name of κύριος, good intelligence by David.

S. قول لداود تفهيم حكمة يسبح به المواظبون بطبول في القدس. Spoken by David. An instruction of wisdom with which the Levites praise in Jerusalem with drums.

D. A. طبل, drum.—Sy. מחלח is an instrument, called also מחול and חליל, although it is rather different from those. Some say מחלח refers to the dominion of the Christians (אדום) and the Arabs (ישמעאל), since Esau (אדום) married the daughter of Ishmael מחלח (Gen. xxviii. 9).—Y. mentions the latter opinion.—Anon. מן כתפים. ובמחלות ובער' طنبور והוא כמין תוף ועל כן הוא נזכר תמיד עם התוף. A kind of drum as תוף, the two instruments are therefore mentioned together.

PSALM LVI.—לִמְנַצַּח עַל יוֹנָת אֱלֹם רַחוּקִים לְדוֹד מִכְתָּם בְּאֵחוֹ אוֹתוֹ—
פִּלְשְׁתִּים בְּנָת.

Ο'. ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγίων μεμακρυμμένου, τῷ Δαυὶδ εἰς σπηλογραφίαν, ὅποτε ἐκράτησαν αὐτὸν οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι ἐν Γέθ (see Sy.). 'Α. ὑπὲρ περιστερᾶς ἀλάλου μακρυσμῶν τοῦ Δαυὶδ ταπεινοῦ τελείου, ἐν τῷ κρατῆσαι αὐτὸν φυλιστιαίους ἐν Γέθ. Σ. ὑπὲρ τῆς περιστερᾶς, ὑπὸ τοῦ φύλου αὐτοῦ ἀπωσμένου τοῦ Δ. τοῦ ταπεινόφρονος καὶ ἀμώμου, ὅτε κατέσχον αὐτὸν οἱ φυλιστιαῖοι ἐν Γέθ. Θ. ὑπὲρ τῆς περιστερᾶς . . . , Ε'. ὑπὲρ τῆς περιστερᾶς τῆς μογγιλᾶλου κεκρυμμένου τῷ Δ. εἰς σπηλογραφίαν, ὅποτε ἐκράτησαν αὐτὸν οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι ἐν Γέθ.

I. V. pro populo, qui a Sanctis longe factus est, David in tituli inscriptione, cum tenuerunt eum Allophyli in Geth.

לְשַׁבַּח עַל כְּנֻשָּׁת דִּישְׂרָאֵל דְּמַחֲלָא לְיוֹנָה שְׁתּוּקָא בְּעֵדן דִּי מַתְרַחֵן. מִן קְרִייתָהּ וְחוֹרִין וּמִשְׁבַּחִין לְמַרְי עֲלֵמָא הֵיךְ דְּוֹד מַכִּיךְ וְשִׁלִּים כִּד אַחְדוּ יִתְיָה פִּלְיִשְׁתָּאֵי בְּנָת. To praise concerning the congregation of Israel, which is likened to a silent dove at the time when they are removed from their cities and return and praise the Lord of the world, like David, humble and perfect, when the Philistines took him at Gath.

وهذا طرق لداود يسبح به المواظبون وكان هو سبى به على . . . اضطرهاد الجمع الابعدين حين مسكه الفلستينيون في نحا. A kind of song with which the constant Levites praise. He uttered it concerning the submission of the distant congregation when the Philistines seized him in Gath.

D. A. وعلى مثل هذا المعنى وقع على الجلووتين اسم الخرسه لقوله . . . لَمְנַצַּח עַל יוֹנָת אֱלֹם רַחוּקִים فَقَوْلُهُ يוֹנָת יִשִּׁיר בֶּה אֲמֵת הַזֵּי قَالَ فِيهَا يוֹנָתִי בַחֲנוּי הַסֵּלַע וּשְׁתָּמָם אֱלֹם לְחַרְסָתָהֶם עַן قוֹל הַחֵץ נַחֵר قَوْلُهُ נִאֲלַמְתִּי דוּמִיָּה. נִאֲלַמְתִּי לֹא אִפְתַּח פִּי וְכֵזִי וּמִפִּי שָׁעִיָּה עֵם עַן בְּעֵץ הַשְּׂאִרִית נִגַּשׁ וְהוּא נִעְנָה וְלֹא יִפְתַּח פִּיו כִּשֶׁה לְמַבְחָ יוֹבֵל . . . וּקוֹלֵה. Thus the exiles are called 'dumb' in lvi. The dove is the nation, as in Cant. ii. 14, which is obliged to be dumb; comp. Ps. xxxix. 3, 10; Is. liii. 7. They are called 'far' because they are distant from Jerusalem, as it is said, 'Although I have cast them far off amongst the heathen' (Ezek. xi. 16).

Sy. للمستحقت على حمامة الرواق وهم بعيدين لداود اثر [1] عند اخذ . . . פִּלְשְׁתִּים לֵהּ בִּי נַח: قَالُوا مَعْنَى يוֹנָת אֱלֹם يَرِيدُ يִשְׂרָאֵל الممثلين بـيونا كقوله ويهي افرام بيونا فوته و' وقوله ائلم رحوקים الذين هم بعيدين من قدس رب العالمين. ولم ذكر ائلم دون الهيكل ودبير وغير من المواضع

panions, when in Gath, as a dove which is flying far off, being far away from the land of Israel. The right explanation is 'like a dove far away and dumb, being afraid to speak.'

PSALM LVII.—למנצח אל תשחת לדוד מכתם בברחו מפני שואל במערה.

Ο'. μὴ διαφθείρης, τῷ Δαυιδ εἰς στηλογραφίαν, ἐν τῷ αὐτὸν ἀποδιδράσκειν
ἢ πρὸς πρὸς Σαουλ εἰς τὸ στήλαιον. Σ. περὶ τοῦ, μὴ διαφθείρης, τοῦ
Δαυιδ τοῦ ταπεινόφρονος καὶ ἀμώμου (Ἄ. ταπεινοῦ τελείου).

I. V. ne disperdas, David in tituli inscriptionem, cum fugerunt (V. fugeret) a facie Saul in speluncam.

Tg. לשבחא על עקתא בזמן די אמר דוד לא תחבל אתאמר על יד. דודו מכיז ושלם במעוקיה מן קרם דשאוול באספלידא. To praise concerning the calamity when David said, 'Do not destroy;' said by David, humble and perfect, when he fled before Saul to the cave.

طرق لداود يسبح به الموابيون وكان هو سبّح به وقت هربه من Saul. A kind of song by David, with which the Levites praise, and which David composed when flying from Saul to the cave, asking in it not to destroy.

Sy. does not explain אל תשחח.—Y. takes it as an exclamation like Deut. ix. 26.—Anon. is nearly of the same opinion, saying, לשון תפלה מפני פחד שאול שהיה קרוב למות ואמ' אל תשחח כל' אל תשחיתו.—Qamhi and I. E. take it as the beginning of a song.—Meiri and R. say, David prays that he should not die.

PSALM LX¹.—למנצח על שושן עדות מכתם לרוד ללמד.

Ο'. τοῖς ἀλλοιοιθισμένοις ἔτι εἰς στηλογραφίαν τῷ Δαυιδ εἰς διδασχῇν.
 Ἀ. ἐπὶ κρίνων μαρτυρίας ταπεινοῦ τελείου τοῦ Δαυιδ. Σ. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 μαρτυρία τοῦ ταπεινόφρονος καὶ ἀμώμου τοῦ Δαυιδ εἰς διδασχῇν.

I. (V. pro) his qui immutabuntur, in tituli inscriptionem (V. ipsi) David, in doctrinam.

Tg. לשבחה על עתיק סהדותא די בני יעקב ולבן פרשן על יד דוד. לאלמא. To praise concerning the old witness of the sons of Jacob and Laban, a copy by David for teaching.

وهذا طرق لداود يسبح به المواطنون بلحن يلقب بالسوسن وكان . This is a kind of song of David
 يسبح به ليعلم الجميع نصر الله . with which the Levites praise with a tune called Susan, and its
 object is to make generally known the help of God.

المستحثّ على سوسن الشهادة اثر [١] لداود للتعليم: معنى Sy.

¹ See Ps. xvi.

על שושן עדות ירید אסבא המצוות לן עדות הן התורה קוֹלֵה עדות יו' נאמנה, ושושן ושושנים אהל הפאעה יעני אן הַזֶּה מלוֹה אהל הכְּתָב הַזֶּה אִתְּבָה דוד לְתַעֲלִים יִשְׂרָאֵל חֲתִי יִכּוֹנוּ יִשְׁפְּעוּ בָּהּ פִּי הַדְּלוֹת. To the instigator upon Susan, the testimony, a blot to David for teaching. שושן עדות refers to the people who observe the commandments; this prayer is taught by David for the people in misfortune.

Y. translates as Sy. The following is his commentary: קוֹלֵה על שושן ישיר בֵּה אֶל הַמָּשִׁיחַ הַזֶּה יִנְבֵּט פִּי הַדְּלוֹת כְּמָה יִנְבֵּטוֹן חֲמִישִׁי דֶּרֶךְ הַמִּתְּלִין בַּלְשׁוֹנִים. פֶּאֱוִרִי אֵן יִנְבֵּט פִּי זְמַנְהֶם וּפִאֲעֵתָהּ כְּפִאֲעֵתָהּ וְתַעֲבֵר עֲלֵיהֶם צָרוֹת כְּמָה תַעֲבֵר עֲלֵיהֶם לְפִיכֵן מִתְּלֵם בְּשׁוֹשְׁנִים. וְקוֹלֵה עֲדוּת הִיא עֵלָמָה תִּדֵּל עַל אִנֵּה הַמָּשִׁיחַ וְזֶלֶק אֲנִי וְגִדְנָה מִתֵּל הַזֶּה לְלִשָּׁה פִּי יוֹאֵשׁ מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה קוֹלֵה וִיתֵנוּ עֲלֵינוּ אֶת הַנּוֹר וְאֶת הָעֲדוּת וְהַגִּרְשׁ הוּא אֲנֵם שְׁהִדּוּ בַּלְנִסְבָּה . . . וְאִגְרָדֵה אֶל זִרְבְּבָל מִשְׁחָה; comp. 2 Kings xi. 12. The Messiah is either Zerubbabel or David himself.

A. W. שושן עדות like מִכְתָּם, golden, so שושן עדות.—Rashi applies it to the Sanhedrin. See the anonymous author.—Meiri and Remokh take שושן עדות as a choice instrument (from עדוּת).—M. takes שושן עדות as a choice instrument (from עדוּת), i. e. to stir up the heart. Thus a noble instrument chosen for teaching and to stir up the heart.—R. to teach Israel to pray.

Anon. שִׁיר נְחֻמָּה בְּשׁוֹשָׁן. עֲדוּת דִּי פִּירְמוֹשָׁדָא פִּי עֵינִי פֶּאֶר חֲמִידָה. וְכֵן וְחֲבִישִׁים יוֹפִי מִן וְאֶעֱדֵךְ עֲדִי כְּלָא שְׁדַּבְרִי נְחֻמָּה וְנִפְאָרִים כְּחֻשִׁים. וְכֵן מִכְתָּם שְׁדַּבְרִי יָקִירִים כּוֹזֵב כְּמוֹ שְׁאִמְרֵנוּ וְכֵן וִיתֵנוּ עֲלֵינוּ אֶת הַנּוֹר וְאֶת הָעֲדוּת. ד' א' עַל עֲדוּתוֹ שֶׁל מִנְהַדְרִין שְׁנִמְשְׁלוּ לְשׁוֹשְׁנִים שְׁהִעִידוּ לְהַלְחָם בָּאֵרֶם וּבְבְנֵי עַמּוֹן וּבְאֶדוֹם כְּמוֹ שִׁיחְפָּרֵשׁ לְדוֹד: לְלַמֵּד פִּי לְלַמֵּד וְלִהְבִּין עֵינֵינוּ כְּדִי לְהַלֵּל לְהַקְבִּי. ד' א' כְּשֶׁנֶּצֶמֶךְ דוֹד שִׁילְמִדּוֹהוּ מֵהַ יַעֲשֶׂה כְּשֶׁנֶּלְחָם עִם אֲרָם שָׁאֵל לְמִנְהַדְרִין אִם מוֹתֵר לְהַלְחָם בָּם מֵאַחַר שְׁנִשְׁבַּע (see Targum). A song pleasant like a lily. שושן עדות means beauty and ornament, like מִכְתָּם, meaning that his words are beautiful like a jewel. Others say that שושן עדות means the witness (decision) of the Sanhedrin, who are likened to lilies; the Sanhedrin advised David to make war upon Aram, Ammon, and Edom. לְלַמֵּד means to teach and to understand how to praise God. Others say, to learn from the Sanhedrin whether it was allowable for him to wage war upon Aram, after the agreement made between Laban and Jacob (Gen. xxxi. 52).

52 *The Authorship and the Titles of the Psalms*

PSALM LXIX.—למנצח על שושנים לדוד.

Ο'. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοιωθησομένων τῷ Δαυὶδ¹. 'Α. τῷ νικοποιῷ ἐπὶ κρίνων τοῦ Δαυὶδ. Σ. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

I. V. pro his (V. pro iis), qui commutabuntur.

Tg. לשבחא על גלות סנהדרין על יד דוד. To praise concerning the exile of the Sanhedrin by David.—S. as above².—Y. שושנים, the remnant of Israel, who are in exile and suffering.

PSALM LXX.—למנצח לדוד לחזכיר.

Ο'. τῷ Δαυὶδ εἰς ἀνάμνησιν, + εἰς τὸ σῶσαι με κύριον (τοῦτο ἐν ἐνίοις μὲν ἀντιγράφοις εὗρον, ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ οὐ· πλὴν οὔτε παρὰ τῷ Ἑβραίῳ, οὔτε παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐρίσκεται). 'Α. τοῦ Δ. τοῦ ἀναμνήσκειν.

I. V. psalmus D. In rememorationem, quod saluum fecerit eum Deus.

Tg. לשבחא על יד דוד למדבר על צדך לבונתא. To praise by David to remember the use of incense.

Σ. قول لداود يسبح به الموابون بذكر الله. A composition of David's with which the Levites praise in remembrance of God.

Other commentaries as above, Ps. xxxviii.

PSALM LXXV.—למנצח אל תשחת ממונך לאסף שיר.

Ο'. μὴ διαφθείρης, ψαλμὸς ᾠδῆς τῷ Ἀσάφ. Σ. περὶ ἀφθαρσίας ψαλμὸς τοῦ Ἀσάφ.

I. ne corrumpas, psalmus Asaph Canticum (V. cantici Asaph).

Tg. לשבחא בזמן די אמר דוד לא תחבל עמך תושבחתא על ידווי דאסף ושירא. To praise at the time when David said, 'Do not destroy thy people.'

Σ. مجد لداود يسبح به الاسف الموابون تشعنا يقولون لا تهلك. Praise by David with which the Asaphite Levites praise, interceding and saying, 'Do not destroy.'

All commentators agree that David prays to God not to destroy Israel.

PSALM LXXVII.—למנצח על ידותן לאסף ממור.

Ο'. ὑπὲρ Ἰδιθουν ψαλμὸς τῷ Ἀσάφ. 'Α. ἐπὶ Ἰδιθουμ μελῶδημα τῷ Ἀσάφ. Σ. διὰ Ἰδιθουμ ᾠδῇ τοῦ Ἀσάφ.

I. pro Idithum, huic Asaph Psalmus. V. pro Idithun, psalmus Asaph.

Tg. לשבחא על יד ידותן לאסף תושבחתא. To praise, by Jeduthun, to Asaph a Psalm.

¹ See Ps. xlv.

² See Ps. xlv.

S. وهذا مجد يسبح به المواظبون من الاسف ويدوتח. This is a Psalm with which the constant (Levites) descendants of Asaph and Jeduthun praise.

Y. The prophecy came to Jeduthun and rested upon Asaph by the Holy Spirit.—Meiri takes על ידותח as על ידותח, to Jeduthun.

PSALM LXXX.—למנצח על שושנים עדות לאסף מזמור.

Ο'. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοιωθησομένων μαρτύριον τῷ Ἀσάφ, ψαλμὸς [ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου]. 'A. Σ. ὑπὲρ τῶν κρίνων μαρτυρίας (ἀνθῶν μαρτυρία) τοῦ Ἀσάφ μελωδία.

I. V. pro his (V. iis) qui immutabuntur (I. in) testimonium Asaph pro Assyrio (V. psalmus).

Tg. לשבחא על יתבי סנהדרין די מתעסקין בטהרות אוריתא על ידיו. ראספ תושבחתא. To praise, respecting the Sanhedrin, who are busy with the testimony of the law, by Asaph praise.

S. وهذا مجد شهادة يسبح به المواظبون من الاسف بلحن ملقب بالسوسن. Praise of testimony with which the Asaphite Levites praise with a tune called Susan.

Rashi refers the Psalm to Israel, who witnessed the three captivities.—I. E. עדי, according to A. W. a beautiful thing.—Q. does not accept this explanation, but says that the meaning is unknown.—Meiri, who refers it to an instrument, quotes the opinion that חק=עדות, a fixed rule for this instrument.—Anon. quotes the opinions already given.

PSALM LXXXI.—Compare above, Ps. vii.

S. قول يسبح به المواظبون من العوكر ادم الجني والاسف. An utterance with which the constant Levites of the families of Obed Edom of Gath and of Asaph praise (in Ps. lxxxiv, and of Korah).

PSALM LXXXVII.—לבני קרח מזמור שיר.

The Greek and Latin translators treat the words 'His foundation' etc. as a separate verse (comp. A. V.).

Tg. על ידיהון דבני קרח אתאמר שירתא דמתיסר על פום אבהתא. רבן לקרמן. By the sons of Korah this Psalm is uttered, being based upon the mouth of the fathers of old.

S. مجد يسبح به المواظبون من بني كרח وهو نعت القدس الذي اساسه في جبل القدس. Praise with which the Levites, the sons of Korah, praise; a description of the Temple, the foundations of which are on the Temple mount.

Y. The basis of this Psalm is the description of the excellence of the holy mountains; comp. Ps. lxxxvii. 3. Others say the Psalm describes the foundation of the glory of God.

I. E. says that the Psalm was composed by one of the grandchildren of Samuel; the Psalm refers to the foundation of the holy mountains. So also Q.

PSALM LXXXVIII.—שיר מזמור לבני קרח למנצח על מחלת לענות—
משכיל להימן האזרחי

O'. φῶς ψαλμοῦ τοῖς υἱοῖς Κορὲ, εἰς τὸ τέλος ὑπὲρ Μαελέθ τοῦ ἀποκριθῆναι, συνέσεως Αἰμὰν τῷ Ἰσραηλίτῃ. 'A. Σ. ᾠσμα μελωδήματος τῶν υἱῶν Κορὲ, τῷ νικοποῦ τῷ ἐπὶ χορείᾳ (Σ. διὰ χοροῦ) τοῦ ἐξάρχειν, ἐπιστημοσύνης τῷ Αἰμὰν τῷ Ἰσραηλίτῃ.

I. V. psalmus cantici filiis Corae (V. canticum psalmi), in finem, pro Maleleth ad respondendum, intellectus Aemat (V. Eman) Israhelitae.

Tg. שירא ותושבתתא על ידיהן ובני קרח על צלותא לשבתא שכלא. מבא על ידו דהימן יציבא. Song and praise by the sons of Korah, concerning a prayer to praise good intelligence by Heman the native.

S. وهذا مجد يسبح به الموابون من بني كרח بتطيل واجابة. بفهم يجابونهم الهيمن الازרחي: عنوان هذا المزمور يظن انه لثلاثة انفس والامر كما قدمنا ان جملة السفر لداود وانما هذا المزمور دفعه الى بني كרח وبني الهيمن يسبحون به فامر بني كרח ان يضربوا بالطبول وبني الهيمن يجابونهم كقوله לענות وهذه اللفظة وعلى انها مدغشة فهي تصلح ان تنصرف الى الجواب مثل قوله بיום ההוא כרם חמר ענו. Praise, with which the Korahite Levites praise with drums, and the Hemanites give the intelligent responses. The meaning of this Psalm is that there are three composers, but it is as we said, that the whole book is by David, but this Psalm he handed over to the sons of Korah for the music, and the Hemanites for responses, which is the meaning of לענות; hence the dagesh as in ענו (Isaiah xxvii. 2).

Rashi explains מחלת לענות Israel being sick and oppressed. Heman, one of the sons of Zerah, who are called sons of מחול because they have composed Psalms.—Q. says the same.—Meiri takes מחלת as an instrument.—Anon., a well-known Psalmist.

I. E., although, as usual, explaining מחלת as the beginning of a liturgy, refers it to the sickness of the Psalmist, and explains לענות as meaning to answer; comp. קול ענות (Exod. xxxii. 18). He quotes the Karaite Joshua, who says that Heman was a grandson

of Samuel, who is called אֶזְרָח because he was familiar with the singers, most of whom spring from his family. Others say the אֶזְרָח is the same as זֶרַח, i.e. son of Zerah, his brother being Ethan. Others say that Heman and Ethan are brothers, sons of Ezra.—Tm. is of the same opinion.—A. D. renders לענות by الغناء, to sing; so also Anon. *por cantar*.

PSALM LXXXIX.—משכיל לאיתן האזרחי.

O'. Αἰθὰμ τῷ Ἰσραηλῆτῃ. "Αλλος Αἰθὰμ τῷ Ζαραίτῃ. "Αλλος Αἰθὰν τῷ Ἐζραίτῃ.

I. Intellectus Heman Istrahelitae. V. Intellectus Ethan Ezrahitae.

Tg. שיכלא טבא דאתאמר על ידא דאברהם דאתא מן מדינחא. Good intelligence uttered by Abraham, who came from the east.

Other commentators agree that Ethan was one of the singers, except Remokh, who says that he was one of the ten elders.

PSALM XC.—תפלה למשה.

O'. Προσευχῇ I. V. Oratio

Tg. צלותא דצלי משה נביא דיי' כר חבו עמא בית ישראל במדברא. Prayer which Moses, the prophet of God, prayed when the people of Israel sinned in the desert.

S. حلوة يسبح بها بنو موسى رسول الله. Prayer with which the [Levites of the] sons of Moses prayed.

The opinions on this Psalm are summed up in the following lines of the anonymous commentator: אמרו שמא משה אמרו וכתבו: דוד בכלל מזמוריו. ויש לומר' כי דוד עשהו לבני משה הלויים לנגן בו כמו שנתן לאספ' לבני קרח לידותון. ורבו' דרשו י"א מזמור יש מכאן ועד לדוד מזמור וכלן אמרן משה ונגנן ביד י"א ברכות לאחר עשר שבטים. במדר חזא הברכה. Some say that Moses composed this Psalm, and David incorporated it in his collection; others think that David is the author who gave it to the sons of Moses, the Levites, for recitation, just as he did with Asaph, the sons of Korah, and Jeduthun. The rabbis say that Moses is the author of this Psalm and of the following ten; and so Moses blessed eleven tribes with eleven blessings (Deut. xxxiii).

PSALM XCII.—מזמור שיר ליום השבת.

O'. ψαλμὸς ψδῆς (Σ. ᾠσμα ψαλμοῦ) εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ σαββάτου.

I. V. psalmus cantici, in die sabbati.

Tg. שבחא ושירא די אמר אדם קדמא על יומא דשבתא. Praise and song which Adam, the first man, said upon the sabbath day.

56 *The Authorship and the Titles of the Psalms*

PSALM CIII.—לְדָוִד.

ו'. θ. δαυίδ. I. V. ipsi David.

Tg. על ידי דוד אתאמר בנבואה. Spoken by David in a prophecy.

The Greek and Latin translations, as well as the Targum, kept the word הללויה LXX in some MSS. τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς Ἀγγαίου καὶ Ζαχαρίου.

S. سبحوا الألى وقولوا, praise the eternal and say.

Tm. has already forestalled the modern critics. He says: معنى הללויה في البداية كأنه يأمر بالجمع ويدعوهم أن يشاركوا في التسبيح ويكونوا معه جملة وهم الإسرائيليين والعדה الذين سيذكرهم بقوله في موضع آخر لכו نرنנה ل'י' وهكذا كل موضع يتدى فيه הללויה هذا معناه. The meaning of הללויה at the beginning is to call on the congregation to join him in the praise of God. Compare Ps. xcv (see Graetz, *Psalmen*, etc., p. 9).

PSALM CXX.—שִׁיר הַמַּעֲלוֹת.

ו'. θ. ᾠδὴ (θ. ᾠσμα) τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν. 'A. Σ. εἰς τὰς ἀναβάσεις.

I. canticum ascensum. V. canticum graduum.

Tg. שירא דאתאמר על מסוקן דתהומא. Praise uttered concerning the rising of the deep¹.

S. تسبيح للرفع صوت. Praise with a loud voice.

D. A. الدرج, degree. All commentaries agree that these fifteen Psalms were recited by the Levites on the fifteen steps leading from the Court of the men to that of the women in the Temple.—Q. quotes an opinion that it refers to the ascent (comp. המעלה, Ezra vii. 9) from exile, by which Israel will be restored to its own God.—Remokh makes the fifteen agree with the numerical value of יה, Yah.

PSALM CXXVII.—לְשִׁלְמֹה.

ו'. ᾠδὴ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν (alia exempl. add. τοῦ Σολομῶν). 'A. Σ. ᾠσμα τῶν ἀναβάσεων Salomonis.

I. V. canticum graduum Salomonis (I. Solomonis).

Tg. על יד שלמה, by Solomon.

S. وتسبيح برفع صوت في ما يكون من سليمان. Praise with a loud voice in matters concerning Solomon; probably, as I. E. says, for Solomon, who wished to build the Temple.

¹ The legend in the Babylonian Talmud (*Sukkah*, fol. 53 a) says that when David was digging to find the deep, it rose tremendously and threatened to flood the world; then David said these fifteen Psalms and the deep retired.

From all these different expositions of the titles of the Psalms it is evident that the meaning of them was early lost; in fact the LXX and the other early Greek and Latin translators offer no satisfactory explanation of most of them. Of the best Jewish commentators like Ibn Ezra and David Qamhi, the former treats them as the opening words of popular melodies, the other as names of instruments, both confessing that the real meanings are unknown. Saadyah is no more successful; the Karaitic authors refer them mostly to the present exile, which is more Midrashic than the Midrash upon which the Targum is based. Immanuel and Remokh put Averroism in them and in the Psalms. The Syriac headings are a comparatively late production and arbitrary. That titles are omitted in the Hebrew text can be seen from the LXX: 23 (24); 24 (25); 26 (27); 28 (29); 30 (31); 32 (33); 37 (38); 42 (43); 47 (48); 65 (66); 69 (70); 70 (71); 75 (76); 79 (80); 90 (91); 92 (93); 93 (94); 94 (95); 96 (97); 97 (98); 98 (99); 99 (100); 103 (104); 104 (105); 106 (107); 113 (114)—118 (119); 135 (136); 136 (137); 137 (138); 142 (143); 143 (144); 145 (146); 146 (147); 148 (149). Thus when all traditional matter is exhausted, the only remaining resource is the critical method, which, however, on the present subject has as yet made no considerable progress.

AUTHORS AND WORKS QUOTED IN AN
ABRIDGED FORM.

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------|
| 'A. = Aquila | } (p. 9). |
| 'E. = Quinta | |
| O'. = LXX | |
| Σ. = Symmachus | |
| Θ. = Theodotion ¹ | |
- Anon. = Anonymous Commentator (p. 32).
A. S. = Ali ben Soleiman (p. 27).
A. W. = Abu-'l-Walid (p. 24).
B. B. = (Jehudah) Ben Bal'am (p. 25).
D. A. = David ben Abraham (p. 20).
I. = Itala (p. 9).
I. E. = Abraham ibn Ezra (p. 25).
Imm. = Immanuel ben Solomon (p. 32).
J. R. = Jacob ben Reuben (p. 27).
Men. = Menahem Meiri (p. 30).
M. N. = Moses ben han-Nesiah of England (p. 29).
P. = Solomon Pirhōn (p. 27).
Q. = David Qamhi (p. 28).
R. = Abraham Remokh (p. 30).
Rashi = Solomon of Troyes (p. 25).
S. = Saadyah Gaon (p. 10).
S. D. = Saadyah ibn Danān (p. 32).
Sy. = Salmon ben Yeroham (p. 18).
Tg. = Targum (p. 10).
Tm. = Thanhum of Jerusalem (p. 30).
V. = Vulgate (p. 9).
Y. = Yepheth ben Eli (p. 20).

¹ These five according to Field's *Hexapla*.

II.

THE ORIGIN AND MUTUAL RELATION OF
THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.

[F. H. WOODS.]

THE subject of this paper is one upon which so much has been already written, that it may seem to some to have been fairly threshed out. That this however is not altogether the case is clear from the variety of conclusions arrived at by those who have made the work their special study. This very fact both justifies and necessitates a certain independence of judgment and treatment in any one who would solve for himself as much of these problems as seems possible. Where we have so many masters, none can claim absolute authority. This was the reason why, some years ago, I began, for my own sake and that of my pupils, to attack this subject as freely and independently as possible; and the reason why I venture now to publish the results of my work is that I found that, while they contained little that is absolutely new, they did not, as far as I could tell, exactly agree with those arrived at by others. At any rate there is, I believe, a considerable difference in some of the arguments adduced, and in the manner of treating them. It will be seen that the essential feature in the line of argument adopted is the importance attached to parallelism of sequence between the three Synoptics, as distinguished from mere resemblance in subject-matter and even language.

Though the general line of argument, and the rough draft of the Table, were in the first instance worked out independently, I afterwards obtained some valuable hints from Dr. Holtzmann's earlier work¹, and found Mr. Rushbrooke's

¹ *Die Synoptischen Evangelien*, 1863. But see p. 94.

Synopticon an invaluable help in revision. The publication of that book has rendered a service to the study of the Synoptic Gospels, which can never be too gratefully acknowledged ¹.

I should be glad to take this opportunity of expressing my indebtedness to my pupils, Mr. Green and Mr. Peake, and to Professor Sanday and the Rev. R. Shann, who, partly by actual co-operation and partly by their kind sympathy and encouragement, have lightened what seemed at times an almost hopeless task.

The first three Gospels in many parts resemble each other very closely, not merely in the subjects selected, but also in the order in which these subjects are given, the way in which they are treated, and frequently also in the actual language employed. In all these respects they present an obvious contrast to the evidently independent narrative of the fourth Gospel.

The first question we naturally ask is whether any one of these three Gospels was the source of the other two? Now if St. Matthew ² or St. Luke were the original Gospel, we cannot at all satisfactorily explain the omission of so much important matter in St. Mark; and on the view that any one of the three is the original source, it is difficult to account in many cases for the alterations of language found in the other two. These objections taken together seem fatal to the originality of either St. Matthew or St. Luke, and the second raises at first sight a presumption against that of St. Mark.

Assuming then for the present that no one of these Gospels is the original, the next question which arises is whether we can trace in them any single common source which forms the basis or groundwork of all three; or whether the parallel passages are merely different forms of a number of scattered

¹ For some differences in arrangement of parallelism see p. 97.

² The names St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke are used throughout of the three first Gospels, or of the authors of these Gospels, without any intention of prejudging the question of actual authorship, with which this paper does not deal.

fragments of written or oral tradition, which have been pieced together by the several evangelists each in his own way. The latter alternative is rendered more than improbable from the fact that in many parts of the Gospels two of the Synoptists, and sometimes all three, follow for several chapters consecutively nearly the same order of events¹. This agreement in order is one of the most striking features in the first three Gospels; and the more closely we examine them, the greater it will be found to be. We are therefore bound to decide in favour of the first alternative. We then have to ask a further question. How far and by what methods can we trace this common basis? It is obvious, I think, that we are not justified at the outset in necessarily limiting it to what is actually common to *all three* Synoptists². This would be to assume that all three evangelists made a point of omitting nothing which they found in this original source. On the other hand it can, I think, be satisfactorily proved that in many cases the original element is only to be found in two of them, and in some few cases probably only in one.

I will now give the reasons which seem to me to prove conclusively that the original basis of the Synoptical Gospels coincided in its *range* and *order* with our St. Mark³. (1) The earliest and the latest parallels in all three Gospels coincide with the beginning and end of St. Mark. The first is the ministry of St. John the Baptist, the last the visit of the women to our Saviour's tomb. (2) With but few exceptions

¹ It is not argued that some *Sammlung* hypothesis may not conceivably be the true explanation of the first origin of the common source, but that it does not account directly for the composition of our Synoptical Gospels throughout.

² This is done by Dr. Abbott (in his article in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in which he carries out his view to all its logical absurdity).

³ By our St. Mark here and throughout is meant our present Gospel according to the best critical texts, and excluding therefore xvi. 9-20, against the genuineness of which this inquiry alone will be found to add strong evidence. No Marcan section of anything like the same importance is absent from St. Matthew and St. Luke.

we find parallels to the whole of St. Mark in either St. Matthew or St. Luke, and to by far the larger part in both.

(3) The *order* of the whole of St. Mark, excepting of course what is peculiar to that Gospel, is confirmed either by St. Matthew or St. Luke, and the greater part of it by both.

(4) A passage parallel in all three Synoptists is never *immediately* followed in both St. Matthew and St. Luke by a *separate incident or discourse* common to these two evangelists alone.

(5) Similarly in the parts common to St. Matthew and St. Luke alone, no considerable fragments, with some doubtful exceptions¹, occur in the same relative order, so that it is unlikely that they formed part of the original source.

(6) To this we may add the fact that in the same parts the differences between St. Matthew and St. Luke are generally greater than in those which are common to all three.

Not one of these arguments is of itself necessary to prove our point. That the Synoptists should have preserved so much of the original source and of its order, is for the Gospel student a happy accident which enables him to determine its limits with a certain degree of exactness. It may be added that arguments of a like kind could not be adduced to prove the priority of a Gospel resembling St. Matthew or St. Luke.

The first argument will hardly be disputed, but its real force is only fully felt when we bear in mind that the similarity of the first three Gospels consists in the phraseology, and even the sequence of phrases, as well as in the subject-matter. The second is based, not on the number of words and phrases which St. Mark has in common with St. Matthew or St. Luke, or with both, but on the amount of parallel matter taken in block, those parts being considered parallel which contain the same subject or subjects with a marked resemblance of treatment and language. The exceptions spoken of become quite insignificant if we regard the parable

¹ Cf. Matt. xii. 22-30 with Luke xi. 14-23; xii. 38-42 with xi. 29-32; xii. 43-45 with xi. 24-26. See pp. 77, 78. Perhaps we should add Matt. xii. 33-35 compared with Luke vi. 43-45.

of the tares (Matt. xiii. 24-30) as parallel to that of the seed growing secretly (Mark iv. 26-29), and the general statement of healings (Matt. xv. 30, 31) as parallel to the miracle of the deaf man of Decapolis (Mark vii. 32-37), and covering to a certain extent that of the blind man of Bethsaida (Mark viii. 22-26)¹.

The value of the fourth and fifth arguments may seem to depend on a too arbitrary distinction between what can or cannot be regarded as distinct incidents or fragments of history; but in no case does the parallelism of St. Matthew and St. Luke beyond their co-parallelism with St. Mark extend further than a few verses². It is also noticeable that in the portions contained in St. Matthew and St. Luke alone there are, even within what are certainly separate incidents (such as the Temptation), greater variations of order than are usually found in the parts common to all three. But the full strength of these arguments, and also the sixth, can only be seen after a detailed comparison, the results of which it is difficult to tabulate.

The third argument is by far the most important, and requires some fuller explanation. When we say that the order of St. Mark is maintained either by St. Matthew or St. Luke, we mean the relative order, without taking into account the insertions by either of what is not in St. Mark at all, or the omissions from St. Mark by both. It is clear that this is all that is needed for our present argument, and adds greater weight to it than if the order had been exact. In a word, we find so general a tendency to state the facts of St. Mark in the order of St. Mark, that this order is very frequently preserved, even though the introduction of new matter or the omission of Marcan matter entirely changes the context. That there should happen to be no portion of St. Mark of which the order cannot be traced either in St. Matthew or St. Luke shows how far-reaching this tendency was. It may be added

¹ The ground for assuming such a parallelism is the order in which these passages occur (see Table). All that is intended here is that they suggest that the alternative in either case was known to St. Matthew.

² The longest is Matt. iii. 7-10 || Luke iii. 7-9



that we do not at present think it necessary to take into account the transposition of single sentences (never exceeding a verse), such as the quotation Mark i. 3, as belonging rather to a later stage of the inquiry.

We will now test this third argument by an examination of the Table at the end of this essay. In the first place we find a long passage (*a*) Mark i. 2-iii. 6, generally parallel with Luke iii. 2 b-vi. 10. The only passage where this parallelism fails is i. 14 b-20, which St. Luke omits; but this is parallel to Matt. iv. 17-22, the position of which agrees relatively with St. Mark, Matt. iv. 13 b-16 being peculiar to St. Matthew, and Matt. iv. 12 being parallel to Mark i. 14 a. The parts of St. Matthew corresponding to *a* are contained in Matt. iii. 1-xii. 14, and occur in nearly the same order as in St. Mark. Thus, Matt. iii. 1-iv. 22 is parallel to Mark i. 2-20, Matt. vii. 28 b, 29 with Mark i. 22, Matt. viii. 14-16 with Mark i. 29-34, Matt. ix. 1 b-17 with Mark ii. 1-22. There are only three omissions from St. Mark, two transpositions, and several insertions, the largest being the episode of the Sermon on the Mount (iv. 23 c-vii. 27). The parallelism of *a* with St. Luke overlaps a new parallelism of St. Mark with St. Matthew, which begins with Matt. xii. 1 || Mark ii. 23 and continues to xiii. 34 || Mark iv. 34 a, only two passages of any importance being omitted by St. Matthew, viz. Mark iii. 14-19 a, which he had anticipated in x. 2-4, and Mark iv. 21-24, but the Marcan position of both of these omitted passages is supported by the order of St. Luke, the first corresponding to Luke vi. 13 b-16, which follows vi. 12, 13 a || Mark iii. 13; the second to Luke viii. 16-18 a, which follows 4-15 || Mark iv. 1 b-20. In connexion with the first parallel it should be noticed that the correctness of the Marcan order of iii. 7-10 immediately after ii. 23-iii. 6, is supported by Matt. xii. 15 following after xii. 1-14. This shows, what would be in itself probable from many similar transpositions in that Gospel, that St. Luke has transposed vi. 12-16 and 17 b-19. At Mark iv. 35 it is difficult at first to trace the parallelism of order; but it be-

comes evident on careful examination. It is clear enough that there is a general parallelism between Mark iii. 31-v. 43 and Luke viii. 4-56. In the last part of this, Mark iv. 35-v. 43 || Luke viii. 22-56, the parallelism is exact, and is supported moreover by Matt. viii. 18-ix. 25. But in the first part the parallel to Mark iii. 31-35 occurs in St. Luke after, instead of before, viii. 4-18 b. That here again St. Luke, and not St. Mark, has made the transposition is proved by the position in St. Matthew of xii. 46-50, which, but for insertions not contained in St. Mark, viz. xii. 33-45, follows upon xii. 31, 32 || Mark iii. 28, 29. The parallelism with St. Luke which began in Mark iii. 31-35 is continued down to Mark vi. 35-44 || Luke ix. 12-17. The only difficulty lies in Mark vi. 1-6, which is omitted by St. Luke, and its position not very clearly supported by St. Matthew. But the order of 6 b before 7-11 is confirmed by Matt. ix. 35 a before x, 1 (after the insertion of ix. 35 b-38), and that of vi. 1-6 a indirectly both by Matt. xiii. 34 || Mark iv. 33, 34 a and Matt. xiv. 1, 2 || Mark vi. 14, because all the intermediate portions, both before and after Mark vi. 1-6 a, excepting a few verses omitted altogether by St. Matthew, had already been anticipated¹. The parallelism with St. Mark continues from Matt. xiv. to xxviii. 8 a || Mark vi. 14 to the end. The only breaks of order lie in the omission of Mark ix. 38-40, xii. 41-44 (both of which are confirmed by St. Luke), of Mark vii. 32-37 and Mark viii. 22-26 (which are quasi-parallel to Matt. xv. 30, 31), of Mark ix. 50 and xi. 25 (to which quasi-parallels had occurred in Matt. v. 13 a and vi. 14, 15), and also of a few passages not occurring at all in St. Matthew, and in the insertion of several passages which are, with very few exceptions², peculiar to St. Matthew. The slight variation in Mark xvi. 8 b must be reserved for future discussion. By far the greater part of this long parallel is supported also by St. Luke, the chief variations being the entire

¹ The double parallelism of sequence with St. Mark, which is a peculiar feature of St. Matthew, is more fully discussed on p. 71.

² Such as Matt. xviii. 7 and xxi. 44, if this last is genuine.

omission of Mark ix. 41-x. 12 (excepting perhaps ix. 42), and of a few other passages, the insertion practically of Luke ix. 51-xviii. 14, and several transpositions, especially in chaps. xxii. and xxiii, and the more important displacement apparently of Mark x. 42-45.

We may sum up the chief results of the previous examination thus. If we divide St. Mark into three parts, (a) i-iii. 6, (b) iii. 7-vi. 13, (c) vi. 14-xvi. 8, the relative order of *a* agrees exactly with St. Luke, and for the most part with St. Matthew; that of *b* with either St. Matthew or St. Luke, and in parts with both; that of *c* agrees exactly with St. Matthew, and for the most part with St. Luke. This division is merely convenient for purposes of comparison, and does not in any way point to different component parts of St. Mark's Gospel. Indeed, the way in which the parallels continually overlap and even intersect one another, shows clearly enough that St. Matthew and St. Luke depended on a whole Gospel in the Marcan order, and not on two or three evangelical records afterwards pieced together by St. Mark.

The only point in this examination to which we think any exception can possibly be taken is the argument employed to prove that the position of Mark vi. 1-6 *a* is confirmed by St. Matthew. The parallelism of order has been made out by excluding from consideration Marcan passages to which the parallels have already occurred in St. Matthew's Gospel. But we are certainly justified in doing so, because the evangelist would naturally avoid repeating what he had already related, and the position of all the omitted passages is confirmed by St. Luke, Mark iv. 35-v. 43 being parallel to Luke viii. 22-56, and Mark vi. 7-13 to Luke ix. 1-6.

It might be argued that the results arrived at by our examination would be equally accounted for on the hypothesis that the whole of St. Matthew and St. Luke existed previously to St. Mark, and that he compiled his Gospel from them¹,

¹ Such was Griesbach's view, and he has been followed by many others. The chief argument for this view depends upon some peculiar features of St. Mark's language, and lies therefore beyond the limits of our present inquiry.

adopting now the order of one, now the order of the other. But the following objections seem fatal to such a view. (1) We cannot reasonably account for the remarkable omissions which St. Mark must continually have made, such as of the Birth and Childhood of our Lord, the details of the Temptation, the Sermon on the Mount, the full ministerial directions to the Apostles or the Seventy, and above all the accounts of our Lord's appearances after His Resurrection. All these are topics which would have become of increasing interest and importance as the Church grew; and it is extremely unlikely that we should find them in the earlier Gospels, and not in the later. (2) It is almost impossible to suggest any method by which St. Mark could have made his selections. (3) This view would not account for the order of St. Mark in several passages, especially in section *b*, and would certainly not explain how it is that the parallels with St. Matthew and St. Luke so frequently overlap. (4) Lastly, this view leads us into greater difficulties than those which it proposes to solve. The relations between St. Matthew and St. Luke, which the views argued out in this paper at least partially explain, become an almost hopeless enigma, at which we can only guess. We seem therefore forced to adopt the opposite alternative, viz. that St. Matthew and St. Luke both made use of a Gospel very nearly agreeing with our present St. Mark in its subject-matter and the order of its contents. That agreement of order, let it be carefully noticed, is not limited to the larger episodes of our Lord's life, but generally extends to single incidents, and frequently even to more minute details. Our arguments have not proved either that this primary Gospel was verbally identical with our St. Mark, or that it was necessarily even written. But they certainly prove that it was a definite whole, as distinct from merely a collection of incidents in a recognized order, and give very good ground for supposing that it was regarded as an authorized account, so to speak, of our Lord's ministry. We will in future call this

primary Gospel the Marcan tradition¹, for want of a better phrase, which will not prejudge questions which have not yet been discussed.

It will now be our object to consider the relation which each of our three Synoptical Gospels bears to this original Gospel, confining our attention as before to portions of evangelical matter (not necessarily separate incidents) and their order, and not considering the minuter details or phraseology.

It is obvious at a glance that St. Matthew and St. Luke must have compiled their Gospels from other sources in addition to the Marcan tradition. Some of the passages so derived are peculiar to each Gospel, others are more or less parallel; but we find no positive proof of the existence of any one single body of narrative at all comparable with the Marcan tradition in point of size and completeness. The difference of order, and in many cases the striking dissimilarities even in matters of fact, would seem rather to point to several distinct sources, and often to only an *indirect* connexion with them. Now it is obvious that the incorporation of fresh matter would be likely to modify in some degree the form and language of the new Gospel. And this is what we actually find. The marvel is indeed that these evangelists should have left so much of the earlier Gospel which they incorporated, in its original form and order.

We may at this stage take St. Mark's Gospel provisionally as representing very nearly the Marcan tradition, and compare it severally with the two other Synoptics. If we can thus explain their method of composition, it will add very strong additional proof of the close similarity between St. Mark and this primitive Gospel, and go some way even towards proving their identity.

To begin with St. Matthew. If we divide the part of the

¹ The phrase 'triple tradition' is an unsatisfactory title for what in several places has been preserved by only two evangelists, and sometimes perhaps by only one.

Gospel with which we are concerned into three sections, (*a*) chaps. iii-vii, (*b*) chaps. viii-xiii, and (*c*) chaps. xiv-xxviii. 8, we shall find that there is hardly a single break in the *relative* order as compared with St. Mark in *a* and *c*. The slight breaks in *c* arise merely, as we have seen, from the omission of two verses, Mark ix. 50, xi. 25, to which parallels or quasi-parallels had already occurred in the Sermon on the Mount. These are both striking sayings of our Lord, which would have been frequently repeated, and the language in St. Matthew and St. Mark differs very considerably. We may therefore safely conclude that they were not derived from the Marcan tradition. The only break in *a* arises from the displacement of Mark i. 21 *a* (as Matt. iv. 13 *a*) to before, instead of after, the call of the four Apostles. The chief cause of this transposition is clearly the insertion of the quotation from Isaiah in iv. 14-16. The prophecy is naturally quoted at the first mention of our Lord's ministry in Galilee in Matt. iv. 12 || Mark i. 14, but St. Matthew wishes to connect it also with the residence at Capernaum, seeing a special fulfilment of the words ὁδὸν θαλάσσης in this sea-side village (hence the addition of the explanatory epithet παραθαλασσίαν). He therefore combines Mark i. 14 *a* and 21 *a*, but leaves 21 *b* in its original place, prefacing it by a repetition of the mention of Galilee, and inserting κηρύσσω τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας, slightly altered from Mark i. 14 *b*. By a further modification of the language, διδάσκων ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν for εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐδίδασκε, he makes it part of the introduction to the Sermon on the Mount. The general character thus given to this verse, and the introduction of the Sermon on the Mount, which gave a different reference to Matt. vii. 28 *b*, 29 || Mark i. 22, involved the omission of the special incident of the healing of the demoniac, Mark i. 23-28.

Our inquiry is now limited to chaps. viii-xiii. of St. Matthew. These chapters form the crucial difficulty in the composition of this Gospel. It is very important that we should clearly distinguish between the actual treatment of this part of the

Marcan tradition by St. Matthew and the principles or reasons which governed that treatment. The first is that with which we are now directly concerned, and is capable, as I hope to show, of definite demonstration: the latter belongs more to the special history of St. Matthew's Gospel. Our object is to prove that St. Matthew shows acquaintance with the corresponding portion of the Marcan Gospel in the Marcan order, and we can hardly more satisfactorily prove this than by showing that (supposing the Marcan tradition to have existed, for believing which we have already given good grounds) he has actually treated this in a certain way. Now if we omit from our consideration x. 15-xi, to which there is no parallel in St. Mark, we shall find that the portions before and after this, (α) viii-x. 14 and (β) xii. and xiii, form, in their relation to St. Mark, distinctly characterised sections. The second agrees relatively with St. Mark throughout, except that it omits the portions which have already occurred in α , whereas α itself differs considerably from the relative Marcan order. And yet even in this section the variations are only three in number¹. In the first place St. Matthew displaced the list of the Twelve (Mark iii. 14-19 α) from just before the Sermon on the Mount to x. 2-4, inserting it just before the special address to the Twelve. This change of arrangement is easily explained. The new position is extremely suitable, whereas the list would have come in awkwardly after the description of the gathering together of the multitude (Matt. iv. 24, 25), intended evidently as an introduction to the Sermon which, according to St. Matthew, was mainly addressed to the collected crowds (see vii. 28, 29). The difference of the phrase with which the list is introduced in x. 2, 'now the names of the twelve apostles are these,' as compared with Mark iii. 14, 'and he ordained twelve,' shows that St. Matthew did not intend his readers to suppose that

¹ Matt. ix. 32-34 is not the real parallel to Mark iii. 22, and Matt. ix. 27-30 is not parallel to Mark viii. 22-26, but the true parallels to these are Matt. xii. 24, and in a certain sense Matt. xv. 30, 31 (see above, p. 63).

the Apostles were then first appointed. The second and third deviations from the Marcan order were made by taking out Mark i. 40-ii. 22, and placing the first part of it, the account of the leper, Mark i. 40-44, immediately after the Sermon on the Mount, as Matt. viii. 1-4, and the last part of it, Mark ii. 1-22, beginning with the account of the paralytic, immediately after the incident of the Gadarene demoniac, as ix. 1 b-17. Even here the order of the three incidents comprising Mark ii. 1-22 is preserved, and throughout *a* there is far more agreement than disagreement with the Marcan order. Whether these three displacements are due to the influence of some other evangelical fragment or tradition, or in some way to this double revision, if we may call it so, of Mark i. 29-vi. 11, must be more or less a matter of conjecture¹. But we have still to consider the general principle according to which this double revision was made. We cannot, as is often done, regard Matt. viii-xiii as simply a collection of miracles followed by a collection of our Lord's teachings, because *a* contains in ix. 9-17 two separate teachings, and another in ix. 35-x. 14, the Mission of the Twelve (which comparison with the Marcan order, Mark vi. 6 b-11, compels us to place in *a*), and *β* contains one miracle, Matt. xii. 9-14 || Mark iii. 1-6. The true explanation seems to be that St. Matthew in writing viii-x. 14 was influenced partly indeed by the desire to group the miracles together, but partly also by the order and contents of the Marcan tradition upon which his Gospel was based. Having on this principle made selections from the Marcan tradition up to and including the Mission of the Twelve, and added a new portion, x. 15-xi. 30, from other sources, he again revised this portion of St. Mark, introducing in its proper order almost everything which he had previously omitted². The import-

¹ The presence of the doublets, Matt. ix. 32-34 (cf. Matt. xii. 22-24), and 35 (cf. Matt. iv. 23), give some ground to the first of these possibilities.

² The final omissions are: Mark i. 35-39 and 45, which of necessity dropped out through the rearrangement; Mark iv. 21-25, comprising short sayings which have their parallels in other parts of St. Matthew (viz. v. 14-16, x. 26, xi. 15, vii. 2, and xiii. 12); and Mark iv. 26-29 (the parable of the seed

ance of this modification of the theory of a collection of miracles followed by a collection of teachings, is the strong evidence it furnishes for the pre-existence of the Marcan order throughout. If the other view were absolutely correct, St. Matthew and St. Mark might have independently borrowed from two previous collections of miracles and teachings. It will have been seen that the argument hinges upon the position of the Mission to the Twelve, which is in its Marcan order if placed, as we have placed it, at the end of α , but out of its Marcan order if placed at the beginning of β , as the other view requires.

If we now apply the same test to St. Luke, we shall get results of a similar kind. We shall again find it convenient to divide the parts of the Gospel with which we are concerned into three sections, (*a*) iii. 2 b-ix. 50; (*b*) ix. 51-xviii. 14; (*c*) xviii. 15-xxiv. 9 a. In α St. Luke has, with one or two trifling exceptions, followed the relative order of the corresponding section of St. Mark. The exceptions are Luke vi. 17 b-19, which should, according to the position of the parallel Mark iii. 7-10, have followed the healing of the man with the withered hand, vi. 6-11, and viii. 19-21, which according to Mark iii. 31-35 should have come before viii. 4-18. The omissions from St. Mark in this section of St. Luke are very considerable. Besides three, to which parallels occur in the second section, and which may on that account have been omitted in this (viz. Mark iii. 22-27 || Luke xi. 15-22, Mark iii. 28-30 || Luke xii. 10, Mark iv. 30-32 || Luke xiii. 18, 19), we find the following omissions: (1) Mark i. 14 b-20; (2) iii. 9-12; (3) iii. 19 b-21; (4) iv. 1 a; (5) iv. 26-29; (6) iv. 33-34; (7) vi. 1-6; (8) vi. 17-29; (9) vi. 45-viii. 26; (10) viii. 32, 33; (11) ix. 11-13; (12) ix. 15, 16, 21-24, 26-29; (13) ix. 33 a. Of these, 3, 4, 6 and 13 are notes or notices which would all, except the last, naturally fall out by the re-arrangement which occurs just in these places. This may also

growing secretly), for which is substituted the more striking parable of the tares in Matt. xiii. 24-30.

be the cause of the omission of 2 and 5 (the parable of the seed growing secretly). The omissions in 12 are, with the exception of ix. 28, minute descriptions of a kind specially characteristic of St. Mark's Gospel. 1 (the appointment of the first four Apostles) and 7 were probably considered too much like other incidents recorded in St. Luke (see v. 1-11, iv. 16-30)¹ to admit of repetition. The same principle may ultimately account for the great omission of 9. The omission of the feeding of the 4000, as being too much like that of the 5000, made it convenient (in a Gospel which was probably a selection from a large mass of material) to leave out what came between the two similar miracles, and necessitated the omission of Mark viii. 13-21, the point of which incident is the reference to the two miracles in vv. 19 and 20. The eleventh and twelfth verses were naturally omitted, as parallels occurred in section *b* (Luke xi. 16, 29). The stern rebuke of a great apostle in 10 was very possibly thought likely to give offence. Probably a similar cause contributed, in addition to that suggested above, to the omission of 3. The intention of seizing our Lord under the impression that he was suffering from religious mania, and that too by those who afterwards held, some of them, distinguished positions in the Church, was a subject which would have been obviously distasteful to the early Christian teachers. The two remaining omissions in this section of St. Luke, 8 and 11, are accounted for by Dr. Abbott², as originating from a desire to subordinate St. John the Baptist to our Lord; but part of the first had already been anticipated in iii. 19, 20, and the latter may probably have been omitted, as being of little importance to St. Luke's Gentile readers.

Between the first and second sections there are three omissions of what does not occur elsewhere in St. Luke, viz. of Mark ix. 41, 43-49, and x. 1-11. Of these the first

¹ Cp. especially iv. 22-24 with Mark vi. 3, 4. There are several omissions from apparently the same cause in section *c*, and they are much too frequent to be accounted for by coincidence.

² Article 'Gospels' in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition.

two are probably due to the rearrangement of this part of the Gospel, the third was probably made because the saying in x. 12, which forms the pith of that discourse, occurs among a collection of sayings in Luke xvi. 18.

In *c* the relative order of St. Mark is again practically preserved. The rather frequent, but for our present inquiry unimportant, transpositions which occur, especially in chapters xxii. and xxiii, have already been noticed. Several Marcan passages appear to have been omitted, because incidents like them are related elsewhere. This seems to be the principle of almost all the omissions in this section. Thus we find omitted the cursing of the fig-tree (Mark xi. 12-14, 19-21), presumably because of the parable of the fig-tree (Luke xiii. 6-9)¹; the anointing of our Lord in the house of Simon the Leper (Mark xiv. 3-9), because of the anointing in the house of Simon the Pharisee (Luke vii. 36-50); and the mocking of our Lord before Pilate (Mark xv. 16-20 a), because of the mocking before Herod (Luke xxiii. 11). In Mark x. 41-45, xi. 22-24, xii. 28 b-34 a, xiii. 21-23, the parallelism with Luke xxii. 24-27, xvii. 6, x. 25-28, xvii. 21-23, is closer, and would obviously account for the omission of these passages in their Marcan context, but not close enough to warrant us in supposing that St. Luke obtained his parallels directly from the Marcan tradition. The omission of Mark x. 41-45 involved the omission of vv. 35-40, which supplied the motive of the discourse. Excepting Mark xiv. 51, 52 (for which see below, p. 91), the only other omissions from St. Mark in section *c*, longer than a single verse, are xii. 32-34 a, xiv. 33, 34, 38 b-42, 56-61 a, xv. 4-5, 34-36, which are probably due to the rearrangement of details (not of separate events), and the introduction of fresh matter which characterizes chapters xxii. and xxiii. of St. Luke.

We have now to deal with the middle section *b* of St.

¹ There is a curious but indirect trace of the former in Luke xvii. 6; cf. Mark xi. 23, Matt. xxi. 21.

Luke. Now it is at once clear that this section cuts into the order of St. Mark, whereas the sections before and after are in their regular Marcan order. The whole section occupies the place of Mark ix. 41-x. 12, which is practically omitted by St. Luke, the only possible parallels being Mark ix. 42, cf. Luke xvii. 2, and Mark x. 11, 12, cf. Luke xvi. 18. When we consider how St. Luke in the other sections usually follows the Marcan order, this remarkable deviation creates an *a priori* probability that he derived this section from some other source or sources than the Marcan tradition. This probability is confirmed by two features which are very characteristic of this section of St. Luke, and absent or much less marked in the rest of that Gospel. (1) The frequency of doublets, i.e. of passages to which we find parallels in other parts of St. Luke, e.g. xii. 2, cf. viii. 17; xii. 9, cf. ix. 26; xii. 11, 12, cf. xxi. 12-15; xii. 40, cf. xxi. 34-36; xiv. 27, cf. ix. 23. There are also at least two cases of doublets which have their parallels within this section itself, viz. xiii. 15, cf. xiv. 5, and xiv. 11, cf. xviii. 14 b. (2) The frequent occurrence of short passages, often single verses or less, and generally sayings of our Lord, in a totally different connexion from that in which they occur in the other Gospels. These are found especially in chapters xi. and xii.

This section of St. Luke does certainly contain several seeming parallels to St. Mark, but a closer examination makes it probable that they were not directly taken from the Marcan tradition. (1) This is clearly the case with those quasi-parallels, such as the parable of the fig-tree, the anointing in the house of Simon the Pharisee¹, which are sufficiently like the similar incidents recorded in St. Mark, to cause the omission of the latter in their original sequence by St. Luke, but not like enough to have been derived from them. (2) Most of the seeming parallels are doublets in St. Luke, and the corresponding passages in that Gospel are evidently, from their position, the true parallels to St. Mark. Thus Luke xi. 33 is

¹ A complete list has been already given on p. 74.

a doublet of viii. 16 || Mark iv. 21, Luke xii. 2 of viii. 17 || Mark iv. 22, Luke xii. 9 of ix. 26 || Mark viii. 38, Luke xii. 11, 12 of xxi. 12-15 || Mark xiii. 9-11, Luke xii. 40 of xxi. 34-36 || Mark xiii. 33, Luke xiv. 27 of ix. 23 || Mark viii. 34. Less obvious doublets are Luke x. 1-17, cf. ix. 1-6 || Mark vi. 7-13¹; Luke xi. 53, 54, cf. xx. 20 || Mark xii. 13; Luke xvii. 20-37, cf. xxi. 5-36 || Mark xiii². (3) In other cases the parallelism with St. Mark is not close enough to warrant us in supposing that the passages were directly derived from the Marcan tradition, e.g. cf. Luke ix. 51 with Mark x. 32, Luke xi. 38-44 with Mark vii. 2-9, Luke xii. 1 with Mark viii. 15, Luke xii. 50 with Mark x. 38, Luke xiii. 22 a with Mark vi. 6 b. (4) Several passages, most of them short sayings of our Lord, though in language sometimes closer to St. Mark than to St. Matthew, yet agree with the latter and not St. Mark in context, and should be referred for their origin not to the Marcan tradition, but either to St. Matthew or the sources of St. Matthew. These are Luke xiii. 18, 19, cf. Mark iv. 30-32 and Matt. xiii. 31, 32; Luke xiv. 34, cf. Mark ix. 50 a and Matt. v. 13 a; Luke xvi. 18 a, cf. Mark x. 11 and Matt. v. 32 a³; Luke xvii. 2, cf. Mark ix. 42 and Matt. xviii. 6. Thus the verses following the first three and preceding the last of these Lucan passages — Luke xiii. 20, xiv. 35, xvi. 18 b, xvii. 1⁴ — are parallel to Matt. xiii. 33, v. 13 b, v. 32 b, xviii. 7, but have no parallels in St. Mark. (5) Two other sayings of our Lord, Luke xii. 10 (cf. Mark iii. 28, 29 and Matt. xii. 31, 32) and Luke xiii. 30 (cf. Mark x. 31 and Matt. xix. 30), have no contextual parallelism in either St. Matthew or St. Mark. But the first agrees much more closely in language with St. Matthew than St. Mark; and the second, though differing very much from both, agrees with

¹ See below, pp. 86, 87.

² See below, pp. 88-91.

³ It is a significant fact that Matt. xix. 9, which is the true contextual parallel to Mark x. 11, is, but for the qualifying addition *ἐἰ μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ*, in almost verbal agreement with it, whereas Matt. v. 32 a differs considerably.

⁴ In Luke xvii. 1, 2 there is a characteristic transposition of verses, but these are so common in this Gospel that it does not seriously affect the argument.

St. Matthew in the only point in which the latter differs from St. Mark, viz. the omission of *oi* before the second *ἐρχαται*.

We have still to consider two important passages in section *b*, where the parallelism with St. Mark extends for several consecutive verses, St. Luke x. 25-27 and xi. 14-23. The first is the episode of the lawyer, and is to some extent parallel to Mark xii. 28-31 and Matt. xxii. 35-39. Here we may notice, (1) that the incident in St. Luke differs in almost every detail¹ from St. Mark, and was derived almost certainly from a different form of narrative; (2) that in all three Gospels we have two similar incidents recorded, or possibly two accounts of one incident. The first is contained in Matt. xix. 16-22, Mark x. 17-22, Luke xviii. 18-23. And here the three Gospels agree in context, and pretty closely in language and details. The other is Matt. xxii. 34-40, Mark xii. 28-34, cf. Luke x. 25-28. In this case St. Matthew and St. Mark agree in context, though with a serious difference of motive; St. Luke has no narrative of the kind in its Marcan order, and that under consideration has all the appearance of a combination of the two incidents², and in the parts parallel to Matt. xxii. and Mark xii, resembles St. Matthew much more closely than St. Mark. It is not, therefore, at all probable that St. Luke obtained it from the Marcan tradition. The discourse about Beelzebub, Luke xi. 14-23, which is parallel to Matt. xii. 22-32, Mark iii. 20 b-30, presents at first sight a serious difficulty; but even here there are good grounds for thinking that it was not directly derived from the Marcan tradition. (1) It has a certain contextual parallelism with St. Matthew, Matt. xii. 38-42 being parallel to Luke xi. 29-32, and Matt. xii. 43-45 to Luke xi. 24-26³.

¹ Except the words 'thou shalt love,' etc., quoted from Deut. vi. 5, and even these are by St. Luke ascribed to the lawyer instead of our Lord, and the quotation resembles St. Matthew much more closely than St. Mark.

² The question of the lawyer in Luke x. 25 is word for word the same as that of the ruler in Luke xviii. 18 b, and our Lord's answer has the same general bearing. Such a combination is most naturally explained by the influence of oral tradition.

³ According to St. Matthew this should have followed xi. 29-32, but such

(2) Contrary to what we usually find, the language of St. Luke throughout this incident is remarkably similar to that of St. Matthew¹, and differs very considerably from that of St. Mark.

(3) We find traces in this chapter of St. Luke, and partially also in St. Matthew, of a portion of evangelical history differing very widely in detail, but having a general parallelism with the Marcan tradition, appearing therefore to be related to it, so to speak, but not derived from it. At any rate the reference to the Virgin Mother, and the lesson drawn from it in Luke xi. 27-28, bear some resemblance to the interruption of our Lord by His Mother and brethren, and a similar lesson drawn from that in Mark iii. 31-35. It is to be noticed that these quasi-parallels agree in position. Here St. Matthew agrees with St. Mark, the true parallel in St. Luke having been anticipated in viii. 19-21. It seems therefore probable that St. Luke derived his account of the Beelzebub discourse from a non-Markan source, which partly influenced St. Matthew. The motive with which the discourse is introduced by St. Matthew (xii. 22) and St. Luke (xi. 14) was in all probability derived from the same source. The existence of other forms so beginning is confirmed by the abridged doublet in Matt. ix. 32-34.

Our investigations have now included all the passages in the middle section of St. Luke which have any parallel to St. Mark. It will have been seen that every one of them has also a parallel in St. Matthew, and that a closer one, especially in the matter of setting or context. We do not argue therefore that they were taken from St. Matthew, at least directly; but only that they were not taken from the Marcan tradition. The results of our inquiry then into the relation between St. Luke's Gospel and the Marcan tradition are briefly these: that sections *a* and *c* were evidently derived from that source, and that *b* almost certainly was not.

transpositions are so common in St. Luke that it cannot be considered a serious objection.

¹ Except in vv. 21, 22, where it is singularly unlike both St. Matthew and St. Mark, which are in this passage nearly agreed.

We now come to a far more difficult subject, the relation of St. Mark's Gospel itself, as we now have it, to the Marcan tradition. The difficulty of the problem is seen from the fact that those critics who agree in connecting the original Gospel with St. Mark, differ very widely in their view of the character and range of this original Gospel, or *Ur-Marcus* as it is frequently called. Some, as Dr. Abbott, would admit only a very small fraction of St. Mark as the original nucleus. Others, as Dr. Holtzmann, consider that the original Gospel was considerably larger than our present St. Mark¹. He would include in it the shorter form of the Sermon on the Mount, nearly as in St. Luke vi. 20-49, the healing of the centurion's servant, two of our Lord's appearances after the Resurrection, as in St. Matthew, and even the *pericope adulterae*. But our inquiry has already very much reduced these limits. Our principle has been to seek for the original source not merely in passages where the three agree, nor necessarily where two of them agree, but where there is also an agreement of order or context. This rests on the presumption, reasonable in itself, that the evangelists would probably keep to the order of what they were copying, unless for a purpose, and our examination has shown that they certainly generally did so. Dr. Abbott's view, which accepts as the original tradition only what is verbally common to all three, assumes, on the other hand, that each of the three would necessarily have incorporated the whole of the original tradition. We shall see that views like Dr. Holtzmann's are equally at variance with our principle in the opposite direction. We have already proved that the Marcan tradition, as far as matter and order are concerned, is very nearly identical with our St. Mark. We will now see whether, judging by comparative order, we find any evidence that St. Mark altered the form of the original tradition, whether by (1) transpositions, (2) omissions, or (3) additions, remembering that at present we are not concerned with the more minute details and phraseology, which are beyond the limits of this essay.

¹ Such are the views expressed in his earlier work. See, however, p. 94.

(1) That St. Mark did not make any serious transpositions has been indirectly shown at almost every stage of the previous inquiry. (2) We have next to ask whether he omitted anything from the Marcan tradition. (a) We cannot possibly prove that he omitted passages which are not contained in St. Matthew or St. Luke, such as the *pericope adulterae*. Indeed, the fact that this was probably found in the Gospel of the Hebrews, though perhaps in another form¹, seems to raise a positive presumption against it. (b) Nor can we prove that St. Mark omitted passages which are only supported by one of the other evangelists, such as the incident of the tribute money (Matt. xvii. 24 b-27), or that of Zachaeus (Luke xix. 1-10). Our principle raises a positive argument against the originality of any such passage, where the Gospel which agrees with St. Mark in omitting it, agrees also in a parallel continuity of context; or where the Gospel which presumably inserts it agrees otherwise in context with St. Mark. Thus the parable of the two sons, Matt. xxi. 28-32, is on both these grounds proved to be an insertion. It breaks the continuity of the Marcan tradition, 23-27 being parallel to Mark xi. 27-33, and 33-42 being parallel to Mark xii. 1-11; while on the other hand Mark xi. 27-xii. 11 is continuously parallel to Luke xx. 1-17. On the same principle a passage is proved to be an insertion, if it occurs in a context which has no agreement with the Marcan order. We must thus exclude from the Marcan tradition the parables of the prodigal son, &c., in Luke xv. 11-xvi, the context before and after having no parallel in St. Mark. This principle thus applied will be found on examination to exclude all the peculiar passages of St. Luke, and by far the most of St. Matthew. On the same grounds we must admit that Dr. Holtzmann's hypothesis² that the *Ur-Marcus* originally ended like St. Matthew, is at least not proven. But this case is quite exceptional. We cannot compare the end of St. Mark with St. Matthew, because it is almost certain that we have not got the end of St. Mark. In the first place, it is ex-

¹ See Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* iii. 39.

² See p. 94.

tremely unlikely that the Gospel should have ended so abruptly with the words 'for they were afraid' (ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ); in the second, it may be almost proved not to have so ended on our principle, for both St. Matthew and St. Luke continue the episode of the visit of the women to the tomb with their announcement of our Lord's Resurrection; or, to be perfectly accurate, it is implied in St. Matthew (xxviii. 8 b), definitely stated in St. Luke (xxiv. 9-11). And if so, how did the Marcan tradition end? In favour of Dr. Holtzmann's view, we have the fact that the language in the last episode of St. Mark (xvi. 1-8) agrees much more closely with St. Matthew than with St. Luke. On the other hand, it is remarkable that St. Luke should have omitted so much in a part of his Gospel which generally agrees with the Marcan tradition. It may be owing to that principle of selection, which clearly influenced his Gospel throughout, that he wished to give a few very remarkable appearances of our Lord, and preferred those which he actually gives. In want of further evidence we must leave the question undecided.

(c) Even where a passage not contained in St. Mark is found in both St. Matthew and St. Luke, this will not of itself prove that it occurred in the Marcan tradition, unless it can be further shown that it stands in the two Gospels in a parallel sequence of narrative; but this parallel sequence must go backwards or forwards to a point where they both agreed with St. Mark. For example, it is argued by Dr. Holtzmann¹ that the miracle of the centurion's servant was part of the *Ur-Marcus*, on the ground that both St. Matthew and St. Luke agree in placing it shortly after the Sermon on the Mount. This agreement, though by no means exact, would go some way to proving his point, if it could be proved that the Sermon itself was part of the Marcan tradition. Dr. Holtzmann argues that it was so in its shorter Lucan form², (a) from the great similarity of arrangement

¹ See p. 94.

² Excepting Luke vi. 38 a, 39, 40, 45, which do not occur in St. Matthew, at least in this connexion, but including 24-26. But see p. 94.

and language in the parts common to St. Matthew and St. Luke; (β) from the similarity of its setting in the two Gospels. They both relate the ascent to a mountain and the choosing of certain Apostles before the Sermon, and add soon after it the miracle of the centurion's servant.

But on the first head we may observe, that we still have to explain the very remarkable discrepancy between the two accounts in the first section of the discourse, and on the second that there are serious disagreements on each of the three points raised by Dr. Holtzmann. In St. Luke the Sermon is most explicitly separated from the ascent to the mountain in vi. 12; in St. Matthew the names of the twelve Apostles are omitted, and the appointment of the four Apostles is not directly connected with the Sermon, and the miracle of the centurion's servant is separated from the Sermon both by vii. 28 b, 29, and by the healing of the leper, viii. 1-4. These, taken together, are certainly greater discrepancies that we usually find between St. Matthew and St. Luke, where both correspond with St. Mark. But a careful examination of the contexts as compared with St. Mark, shows Dr. Holtzmann's view to be still more improbable, if not wholly untenable. In both St. Matthew and St. Luke the Sermon is prefaced by a description of the assembling of the multitude from different regions, Judaea, Jerusalem, &c., Matt. iv. 25 || Luke vi. 17 b. This occurs in St. Mark neither after i. 21, which would have agreed with its position in St. Matthew, nor after iii. 19 a, which would have agreed with that in St. Luke, but in iii. 8. In St. Mark the object of the gathering is the healing, which is described in vv. 10-12, just before the ascent to the mountain. St. Matthew mentions the healing, but places it just before the gathering of the multitudes, and so connects the latter directly with the Sermon. St. Luke puts the healing after the gathering, as in St. Mark, but has, instead of the words 'when they heard what great things He did' (*ἀκούοντες ὅσα ἐποιεῖ*), 'to hear Him' (*ἀκούσαι αὐτοῦ*). Neither mention

the actual or contemplated withdrawal from the crowd into a ship in Mark iii. 9. The most simple explanation of all this is that both St. Matthew and St. Luke, each in his own way, modified the account of St. Mark, in order to introduce the Sermon on the Mount. That St. Luke altered the original position of the gathering is placed almost beyond a doubt by the fact that its position in St. Mark is confirmed by the doublet Matt. xii. 15, which occurs in the consecutive parallel to this part of St. Mark. What Dr. Holtzmann's arguments do really go to prove is that the Sermon in St. Matthew and St. Luke does come from some common source, and that covering more ground than the Sermon itself; but that alone is no ground for assuming that it was taken from the *Ur-Marcus*¹.

We have now to consider a number of passages in which we do find a continuance of parallelism between St. Matthew and St. Luke beyond St. Mark, and which at first sight would seem therefore to be original elements of the Marcan tradition, omitted by that evangelist. Deferring for the present the consideration of those which occur in the missionary and eschatological discourses in Matt. x., xxiv. and xxv., the only remaining instances of any importance are (1) Matt. iii. 7-10, 12 || Luke iii. 7-9, 17; (2) Matt. iv. 3-10 || Luke iv. 3-12; (3) Matt. v. 13 b || Luke xiv. 35; (4) Matt. xii. 27, 28, 30, 38-42, 43-45 || Luke xi. 19, 20, 23, 29-32², 24-26²; (5) Matt. xiii. 33 || Luke xiii. 20, 21, and perhaps we should add (6) Matt. xviii. 7 || Luke xvii. 1².

Now it will be observed that in all except the first two of these passages, the Lucan parallel occurs in the middle section of that Gospel. That fact alone, if our former reasoning about that section is correct, makes it almost certain that

¹ The argument of Ewald, which Dr. Holtzmann repeats, that there appears to be a break in Mark iii. 19, proves nothing. There are many apparent breaks in St. Mark, as e. g. after ver. 12 of this very chapter, and they belong to an earlier question, the origin of the Marcan tradition itself.

² The characteristic transpositions in these passages have already been noticed. Thus Matt. xviii. 6, not 8, is parallel to Luke xvii. 2.

St. Luke did not derive them from the Marcan tradition, but from some other forms of the same incidents or discourses. It seems also likely that St. Matthew either derived or adapted them from the same source, while he continued to place them in the original position of similar passages in the Marcan tradition. We have already shown¹ that this is probably the true account of the variations in 4, the Beelzebub discourse. It is obvious that he would have preferred a form of the discourse which contained a reference to the Jewish exorcists (xii. 27). St. Luke would, for the opposite reason, have preferred St. Mark's account. That he did not adopt it was probably because he found it in the other form in the sources from which he derived this section of the Gospel. In the case of 5 it is quite possible that St. Mark may have contented himself with the general statement in iv. 33, that our Lord 'spake with many such parables,' and omitted this particular parable. On the other hand, it is at least as likely that St. Matthew and St. Luke took it from some list of parables, in which the parable of the leaven, from the similarity of its teaching, naturally followed that of the mustard seed; or, for the same reason, the two parables may have been frequently associated in the oral teaching of the Church.

In 3 and 6 the differences between St. Matthew and St. Luke are greater than they usually are in passages where both have parallels in St. Mark. The resemblances are just enough to show that they have a common origin and no more. Besides, that the first occurs in St. Matthew in the inserted Sermon on the Mount is in itself all but a proof that it was not derived from the Marcan tradition. In the account of 2, the Temptation, the difficulties are so great that it seems almost impossible to offer anything but a conjectural solution of the problem. It is important to notice at the outset that the account in St. Mark has distinct features of its own, which mark it as an independent, and not an abridged version of the narrative. The mention of the wild animals and the

¹ Pp. 77, 78.

continued Temptation (mentioned but not emphasized by St. Luke, and omitted altogether by St. Matthew), in contrast to what appears to be the continued ministry¹ of angels, forms a graphic and striking picture, all the more vivid from its brevity. On the other hand, the three specific temptations, corresponding to the three-fold temptation of Eve (Gen. iii. 6 ; cf. 1 John ii. 16), the forty days' fast, like those of Moses and Elijah, the angelic ministry at the close of the final triumph over the Tempter, all of which we find in St. Matthew and the first two in St. Luke, are just the sort of features which would have been insisted upon when our Lord's Temptation became the ground of homiletic discourse. The mention of the wild animals might easily have fallen out, as the preachers preferred to dwell on the spiritual rather than the natural horrors of the scene. On the other hand, it is very difficult to account for the omission by St. Mark of the details supplied by the other Synoptists, especially the fasting, if he had found them in the original source. The retention of the imperfect *διηκόνουν* by St. Matthew with a slightly different force, and perhaps a different meaning², is certainly very remarkable, and is a good illustration of the conservative spirit with which he usually treated the Marcan tradition.

In 1, the account of St. John the Baptist, the continual parallelisms in St. Matthew and St. Luke are certainly very remarkable ; and it is difficult to see any other solution, except that St. Mark has omitted these verses from the Marcan tradition. The case is unlike all the others in these respects : (a) The language of St. Matthew and St. Luke in these verses is remarkably close, and the few differences look like characteristic alterations of St. Luke. (b) The context of all the evangelists, both before and after, agrees, except for the peculiar passages introduced by St. Luke, iii. 10-14, and 18-

¹ Dr. Westcott (*Study of the Gospels*, ch. vi. § iii) notices the force of the imperfect *διηκόνουν* in Mark i. 13.

² In St. Matthew the word seems to refer, as generally in the New Testament, to ministering to our Lord's bodily wants. In St. Mark, where there is no mention of the fast, it seems to have a more spiritual meaning.

20. (c) Except for the passages which are under discussion, and the words *καὶ πρῶτ*, just before Matt. iii. 12, and evidently connected with it, there are in the whole account of the Baptist very few expressions¹ common to St. Matthew and St. Luke against St. Mark. It is not likely therefore that the agreement of St. Matthew and St. Luke in the verses omitted by St. Mark is to be explained by the influence of an independent source. There seems then a strong probability that here at least our St. Mark has omitted some verses from the original source, possibly as being not suited to his Gentile readers.

We have still to consider two examples of continued parallelism in St. Matthew and St. Luke against St. Mark of a somewhat different kind, viz. those in the missionary and eschatological discourses, such as Matt. x. 12, 13 || Luke x. 5, 6, and Matt. xxiv. 27 || Luke xvii. 24. These two discourses, or pairs of discourses, present remarkably similar features, and the explanation in one case is pretty likely to be in principle the explanation of the other. (1) We have at least two of each of these discourses in St. Luke, only one of each in both St. Matthew and St. Mark. (2) In both cases St. Matthew, in his form of the discourse, includes a considerable quantity of matter which is not in St. Mark, but is found in those forms in St. Luke's Gospel which do not in point of order and general contents form the true parallels to St. Matthew and St. Mark.

The missionary discourses are in Matt. x., Mark vi. 7-11, Luke (α) ix. 1-5, (β) x. 1-16. Here we find that St. Matthew's account, as far as ver. 16 inclusive, differs from St. Mark by the insertion of 2-4, 5 b-6, 7-8, 10 b, 12-13, 15²-16. Of these passages the first (the list of the Twelve) has been already discussed³, the second (the direction to go to Jews only) is obviously an insertion, exactly suited to the character

¹ The only one of the slightest importance is *ἡνεκ' ἧσαν* (Matt.), *ἀνεκ' ἧσαν* (Luke), for the very singular expression *σχιζομένους* in Mark i. 10.

² The corresponding Mark xi. b is omitted by the best authorities.

³ Page 70.

of St. Matthew's Gospel; the third has concise parallels in St. Luke α and β (cf. Luke ix. 2, x. 9), and to a certain extent also in Mark vi. 12, 13. The three last again have parallels in Luke β (cf. Luke x. 7 b, 5-6, 12-13). After ver. 16 St. Matthew has a number of sayings of our Lord, nearly all of which occur elsewhere, and by far the majority of them in the middle section of St. Luke's Gospel. The last verse but two (40) corresponds again to the last verse of St. Luke β (x. 16). St. Luke α agrees very nearly with St. Mark, but omits the injunctions to go two and two and to be shod with sandals in Mark vi. 7-9. In St. Luke β we find, besides most of what is parallel to St. Mark, and still more closely to Luke α (though carefully expanded and somewhat rearranged), the introduction of considerable additional matter, which, taken by itself, forms a sufficiently clear and connected account, bearing a general similarity to the other. We find the parallel to St. Mark mostly in vv. 4, 5 a, 7-11, the supplementary account mostly in vv. 1-3, 5 b, 6, 12, and 16¹. In the first, 7 b c-8 may fairly be regarded as a substitute for $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\ \delta\pi\rho\upsilon\upsilon$ omitted in 4, as also by St. Matthew (see below). Again, Luke x. 9 may be simply a paraphrase of Luke ix. 1, 2, which is found in Matt. x. 7, 8, and in Mark vi. 12, 13 is given not as a charge, but as a statement of fact.

The following appears to be the most probable explanation of this complicated problem. There seem to have been originally two independent short accounts, the one describing the Mission of the Twelve, the other the Mission of the Seventy. The first of these is preserved, in its original form in St. Mark and St. Luke α , and underlies St. Luke β . The first and second are found combined in St. Luke β , whereas St. Matthew appears to be a combination of St. Mark || St. Luke α , with the already composite account of St. Luke β . Otherwise it is difficult to account for the insertions in Matt. x., to which we find parallels only in St. Luke β ; whereas their

¹ 13-15 (if not 12-15) either belongs to this supplementary account or is a further insertion. Cf. Matt. xi. 21-23 (or 21-24).

appearance in St. Luke β is quite intelligible, on the supposition that that is a combined account, of which one element no longer exists separately. Of course it does not follow that St. Matthew borrowed directly from St. Luke β in the form which we now find it in that Gospel, but more probably it was from an earlier combined account, from which St. Luke himself took it¹. The discourses are just such as would have been constantly repeated, and their close resemblance would have made them specially liable to mixture.

That St. Matthew's account and St. Luke β are partially derived from the same source is further confirmed by the fact that immediately before the discourse St. Matthew inserted ix. 37, 38, parallel to Luke x. 2; and in the chapter following this discourse has inserted a long parallel to what in St. Luke immediately follows it, Matt. xi. 20-27 || Luke x. 13-15, 21, 22. Probably in the original source of Luke β this discourse, or rather collection of sayings, followed directly, as in St. Luke. Curiously enough, while St. Luke has retained what is presumably the original order, he has made the last part of these sayings refer to a different occasion by introducing the return of the Seventy, &c., in vv. 17-20.

The explanation just given of the history and mutual relation of the missionary discourses may not be correct in all its details; but enough has been shown to establish, I think, beyond reasonable doubt at least this, that we have in St. Mark the original account of the Mission of the Twelve as contained in the Marcan tradition, and that what is common to St. Matthew and St. Luke beyond that, comes from some other independent source.

The sections containing the chief eschatological discourse are, Matt. xxiv., xxv. || Mark xiii. || Luke (α) xxi. 5-36; and there are two others apparently in Luke (β) xvii. 20-37, (γ) xii. 35-48. We will first examine the earlier part of

¹ St. Luke β has quite the characteristic grace and flow of St. Luke's style. And the omission of the directions (alluded to above) in Mark vi. 7, 9 a, in St. Luke α , probably because they occurred in β , seems to show that the combination itself in the latter was not originally St. Luke's work.

this discourse contained in Matt. xxiv. 1-36 [37-41] || Mark xiii. 1-32 || Luke xxi. 5-35. What strikes us most in this part of St. Luke α , is the way in which the language of St. Mark is modified or explained so as to refer more explicitly to the taking of Jerusalem. Compare especially Mark xiii. 14 with Luke xxi. 20, Mark xiii. 19, 20 with Luke xxi. 23 b, 24. Such modifications probably arose from the natural but unconscious tendency to substitute the current explanation for the obscure words of Christ. The same cause probably accounts both for the alteration of Mark xiii. 15 (cf. Luke xxi. 21 b), and the omission of Mark xiii. 21-22. But the fact that a parallel to the first, and part of the second, of these passages occurred in St. Luke β (xvii. 31 and 23) made this treatment of them in St. Luke α more natural.

In the corresponding part of St. Matthew's discourse we have to notice, in the first place, three insertions of matter peculiar in a certain sense to St. Matthew¹, viz. xxiv. 11-12, 30 a, b, and μετὰ σάλπιγγος φωνῆς μεγάλης in ver. 31. The first of these occurs in a passage (9-14) which is a free paraphrase of Mark xiii. 9-13, all the more remarkable because the language of St. Matthew in the early part of the discourse usually follows St. Mark very closely. But a much closer parallel to this Marcan passage had already been inserted by St. Matthew in the missionary discourse (x. 17-22). St. Matthew has besides two insertions, vv. 27 and 28, which correspond more or less closely with St. Luke xvii. 24 and 37. After 36 he makes a still more important insertion, vv. 37-41, agreeing with Luke xvii. 26-30, 34, 35. It is clear, therefore, that St. Luke β will account both for the more important insertions of St. Matthew, and, to a certain extent, for the omissions of St. Luke. St. Matthew has incorporated into his narrative matter derived from an eschatological dis-

¹ xxiv. 11 is a doublet of ver. 24, and 30 a, b of 30 c, influenced by 3 b. The relation of the first and last of these insertions to 2 Thess. ii. 3-12 || 1 Thess. iv. 16, 1 Cor. xv. 52, is too large a question to be discussed here. All that need be said is that the resemblance of language is not close enough to prove the prior existence of St. Matthew's discourse.

course, of which we find part at least in St. Luke β ; and St. Luke did not wish in α to repeat passages, or forms of passages, less suited to this than to β .

St. Luke β has, besides these parallels with St. Matthew and a few peculiar expressions, two verses, xvii. 25, 33, which have doublets occurring together in Luke ix. 22, 24, where in language and context they are closely parallel to Matt. xvi. 21, 25 and Mark viii. 31, 35. But St. Luke's language in xvii. 25, 33 differs considerably, and is clearly not derived from the same source. It is thus evident that St. Luke β has a composite character, and is quite independent of the Marcan tradition. We have every reason, therefore, for thinking that so far the Marcan tradition has been preserved by St. Mark. After Mark xiii. 32 the parallelism becomes very curious and instructive. St. Mark has in xiii. 33-37 a triple injunction to watchfulness, *ἀγρυπνεῖτε* (ver. 33), *γρηγορεῖτε* (ver. 35), and *γρηγορεῖτε* (ver. 37), in connexion with a single short parable or trope illustrating the duty. St. Matthew has in the place of this three parables, the faithful servant, the ten virgins, and the talents (xxiv. 42-xxv. 30), which, taken together, bear out every phrase of St. Mark. The first two definitely teach the necessity of watchfulness, the injunctions to this duty being repeated almost in St. Mark's language (Matt. xxiv. 42, 43, xxv. 13); the third, after beginning very much in the language of St. Mark's parable, goes on to introduce a distinctly different lesson, but yet one suggested by the Marcan phrase, *ἐκδότω τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ* (Mark xiii. 34). In St. Mark that phrase seems to refer to the division of the household duties among the servants, which they were expected to be found faithfully carrying out when their lord returned; whereas the main thought of the parable of the talents is the duty of making the best use of God's gifts. Now all these three parables of St. Matthew have parallels in St. Luke in quite other connexions, and differing considerably in form, cf. Matt. xxiv. 42-51 with Luke xii. 38-46, Matt. xxv. 1-3 with Luke xii. 35-37, Matt. xxv. 14-30 with Luke

xix. 12-27. St. Luke ends the eschatological discourse α in xxi. 36 with a parallel to Mark xiii. 33¹. But Luke γ not only, as we have seen, contains parallels to the two first parables of St. Matthew, but has in some points a striking resemblance to Mark xiii. 35 (cf. especially Luke xii. 38), yet not more than might reasonably be expected in two forms of an original discourse preserved orally. The most probable explanation of all this again seems to be, that St. Matthew has incorporated into his discourse elements derived from other sources preserved independently of the Marcan tradition. St. Luke, on the other hand, seems in α to have omitted parts of the Marcan tradition, from an unwillingness to repeat what he had already said in other forms elsewhere. It may here again be observed that the great difference between the forms of the extra-Markan parallels in St. Matthew and St. Luke is a strong proof in itself that they did not derive them from the Marcan tradition.

We have already given reasons for thinking that St. Mark did not transpose the original order of the Marcan tradition, and also that he did not make any serious omissions, except probably in the account of St. John the Baptist. It now remains, lastly, to consider whether he added anything to this original source. Now the portions of St. Mark's Gospel without parallels in either St. Matthew or St. Luke are singularly few, and most of them no larger than a single verse, and frequently much less. They belong generally to what may be called characteristic details, and are therefore beyond the limits of our present inquiry. The most important of them is the incident of the man with the linen cloth in Mark xiv. 51, 52.

Putting such passages on one side, we will examine all others that are peculiar to St. Mark in their order. Mark i. 1 proves nothing. If the original Gospel did not begin here, some sort of heading must have been added ; if it did,

¹ Or it would perhaps be more correct to regard Luke xxi. 34-36 as a very free and concise paraphrase of Mark xiii. 32-37.

St. Matthew and St. Luke must equally have omitted it. It seems hardly possible to explain the prophecy in Mark i. 2 b as an insertion into the Marcan tradition, unless it be a very early marginal gloss which has crept into the text of St. Mark, but such conjectures are extremely hazardous. On the other hand, if it existed in the Marcan tradition, the necessary rearrangement of the opening verses, and the fact that the prophecy is not from Isaiah but Malachi, would quite account for its omission by St. Matthew and St. Luke. If what was said above¹ about the Sermon on the Mount is correct, the omission of Mark iii. 9 by St. Matthew and St. Luke was almost necessitated by the rearrangement of the context. Again, they very naturally omitted iii. 20, 21 when they supplied the motive of the discourse about Beelzebub from another source². And besides, the passage might, as already suggested³, have been the cause of offence; or, at any rate, it might seem awkwardly divided by the discourse from Mark iii. 31. The omission of iv. 26-29 (the parable of the seed growing secretly) by St. Matthew is probably to be explained, as already suggested, by the substitution of the somewhat similar, but more striking parable of the tares, for which an opportunity was given by Mark iv. 33. Mark vii. 2-4 is partly a motive for the following discourse, partly an explanation of the Jewish custom of ceremonial washings before eating. The latter might with equal probability have been added for Gentile readers, or omitted as unnecessary for Jewish readers. But the further omission by St. Matthew of the motive, seems to show that he made the whole omission to connect the hostile attack of the Scribes and Pharisees more closely with their mission from headquarters. Mark vii. 32-37 (the deaf and dumb man of Decapolis) is, as the context before and after shows, really parallel to Matt. xv. 30, 31, and this general statement of St. Matthew may very probably be an abridgement of this miracle and that of the blind man of Bethsaida in Mark viii. 22-26,

¹ See p. 82.² See above, pp. 77, 78.³ See p. 73.

which is also omitted by St. Matthew. This last omission may be partly also accounted for by the fact that he had already related a somewhat similar miracle in ix. 27-31.

The originality of Mark ix. 48, 49, 50 b and xi. 25 (26 is certainly spurious) may be open to question. These verses have the appearance of being detached sayings of our Lord pieced together from a general resemblance of subject, rather than parts of a connected discussion. For example, xi. 25 gives us another duty connected with prayer which has no direct connexion with the incident of the fig-tree. But this very fact may be the cause of its omission by St. Matthew, especially as in vi. 14, 15 he had already taken a very similar saying from an independent source. Mark xii. 32-34 a may have been omitted by St. Matthew, because the words of the lawyer, and what immediately followed, were partly in a certain sense a repetition of our Lord's own language, and therefore thought unnecessary, and partly a merely personal incident. Neither had any direct bearing on the theological force of our Lord's teaching, which seemed designed to show the fulfilment of the law in Christianity. The difference of the motive of the lawyer's question in St. Matthew (xxii. 35) and of our Lord's relation to the lawyer, are explicable enough if we regard Luke x. 25-28 as a modification of an independent account of this, or of a similar incident¹. St. Matthew may, while he retained the Marcan order, have modified his account in the direction of this other, with the view of making it harmonise better with the context, which describes certain attacks made by different parties against our Lord. Indeed, Mark xii. 13 || Matt. xxii. 15 seemed to require that a special attack by the Pharisaic party should be narrated². It has already been observed that there are singular points of verbal coincidence between St. Matthew and St. Luke. The difficulties in supposing that St. Mark modified his account from

¹ See above, p. 77.

² It is worth noticing that St. Matthew in vv. 34, 35 specially mentions the fact, not stated by St. Luke, that the lawyer was a Pharisee.

St. Matthew's are far more serious. It should be noticed that three of the passages which we have been discussing occur in the large section of the Marcan tradition, Mark vi. 45-viii. 26 omitted consecutively by St. Luke, and where we have consequently only the evidence of St. Matthew to go upon. Had St. Luke contained this section at all, we have no necessary grounds for supposing that he would have omitted them.

We may sum up the results of our examination of St. Mark's Gospel thus. There are a few unimportant passages where it is not unlikely, and yet by no means certain, that St. Mark modified the earlier tradition; one only where it is almost certain that he did so, viz. in the omission of Matt. iii. 7-10, 12; and there are some grounds for thinking that the Marcan tradition (or perhaps we should say St. Mark) originally contained what corresponded to Matt. xxviii. 9, 10, 16-20. We conclude, therefore, that the common tradition upon which all the three Synoptics were based is substantially our St. Mark as far as *matter, general form, and order* are concerned. Whether we can go further, and say that in point of language and the more minute details it is generally identical, is a further question which we have not attempted to settle. This may seem to carry us a very small way; but if critics could come to an agreement even upon this one point, it would at least be a definite step towards the solution of what is, from any point of view, one of the most intricate and interesting of literary problems.

Unfortunately it was not till after this essay was in the press that I had an opportunity of seeing Dr. Holtzmann's new work *Die Synoptiker*, Freiburg, 1889. It is gratifying to find that he has given up I believe all the opinions which I have ventured to criticise, especially that fundamental theory of an *Ur-Marcus* larger than our Synoptical Gospel. He now holds that St. Mark itself was the main source of both St. Matthew and St. Luke. In fact the argument on which he lays the greatest stress is just what it has been my

chief object to point out, the continuity of the Marcan order traceable in these two Gospels.

Although this work thus gives important additional support to my arguments, it would have required too much shifting of type to have made the necessary corrections ; and I have felt obliged to leave the references to his earlier work as they stand.

Although I have not attempted to discuss the originality of St. Mark's Gospel *as far as language is concerned*, I may be permitted, perhaps, to add the following remarks. (1) It is certainly *a priori* probable, though not a necessary consequence, that if the common basis of the Synoptics can be found to have coincided in range and order almost exactly with our St. Mark, it did so also in language. (2) It is in itself far more probable that the graphic details of St. Mark, many of them of no importance from a religious or doctrinal point of view, should have fallen out in the more elaborate works of later evangelistic compilers, than that they should have been added by a later writer by way of embellishment, specially by one like St. Mark, who gives us little or no evidence of literary skill. (3) The differences of language between St. Matthew and St. Mark can to a very large extent be explained either by the rearrangement made in certain parts by St. Matthew, or by his desire to correct the crudities of his original. Yet we find in these respects a distinct conservative tendency. (4) In St. Luke, so remarkable for his literary skill, we naturally find alterations from both these causes more frequent: but still there is abundant evidence of the direct influence of St. Mark's language. Except in certain pretty definitely marked passages, such as the discourse about Beelzebub (see p. 78), his language resembles St. Mark more closely than St. Matthew, and but few remarkable expressions agree with St. Matthew against St. Mark.

EXPLANATION OF SYNOPTIC TABLE.

THE object of this Table is to show at a glance the relation in which St. Mark stands to the two other synoptical Gospels, and they to each other. The divisions of St. Mark are not made as a rule with any regard for the natural divisions of subject-matter; but simply so as to indicate how much of the Marcan tradition was continuously made use of by either St. Matthew or St. Luke, or by both, or by neither. Hence it has frequently been necessary to break into a paragraph or even a verse. For example, Mark ix. 33 a is separated from 33 b, because the first part of the verse, 'And he came to Capernaum,' has no parallel in St. Luke, and in St. Matthew it is separated from the second by the inserted episode of the didrachma. The relations between St. Matthew and St. Luke are less obviously shown; but that is mainly because there are so few traces of connexion except through St. Mark.

Close dotted lines mean that a Gospel contains no certain parallel to a given passage. Square brackets [. . .] show that the passage included in them is peculiar to a particular Gospel. In order to avoid the unnecessary and confusing multiplication of lines, it has often been found convenient to use these brackets in the middle of parallel sections, to show that though such sections are clearly parallel as a whole, yet one or more evangelists have smaller peculiar passages within them. In such cases all but the verses actually bracketed off must be considered as parallel. Thus in putting Mark iii. 7-[9]-11 a[11 b] as parallel to Luke vi. [17 a] 17 b-19 it is meant that Mark iii. 7, 8, 10, 11 a is parallel to Luke vi. 17 b-19, and that Mark iii. 9, 11 b, Luke vi. 17 a have nothing to correspond to them in the other Gospels. Occasionally I have included in square brackets passages which are parallel or quasi-parallel in two Gospels, as Matt. iii. 7-10, 12 || Luke iii. 7-9, 17; Matt. xv. 30, 31 || Mark vii. 32-37: but the reasons are generally pretty obvious. Round brackets

(. . .) are used where verses or small passages occur very nearly, but not exactly, in their Marcan order, and have the appearance of having been intentionally transposed. These are almost confined to St. Luke.

The passages placed in the right-hand column for comparison with sections in the Gospel columns are very variously characterised. Some are mere independent treatments of the same or similar subjects, as the genealogy in Matt. i. 1-16 compared with that in Luke iii. 23-38, and the call (apparently) of St. Peter in Luke v. 1-11 compared with the call of the four in Mark i. 16-20. Others are partial parallels with considerable difference of treatment, as Luke iv. 22, 24 compared with Mark vi. 1-6 a. Many are doublets of passages, which from their agreement with the Marcan order are placed in the Gospel columns. Thus Matt. xii. 24-26 is placed as parallel to Mark iii. 22-26, and the doublet Matt. ix. 32-34 is placed in the right-hand column. In dealing with Luke ix. 51-xviii. 14, I have admitted into the Lucan column only such passages as show traces of a continuous parallelism with St. Matthew, viz. Luke xi. 14-23 || Matt. xii. 22-30, xi. 24-32 || Matt. xii. 38-45, xiii. 18-21 || Matt. xiii. 31-33, xvii. 1, 2 || Matt. xviii. 6, 7 (see pp. 77, 78, 83, 84).

Some attempt has been made to make clearer the double revision, as I have ventured to call it, of St. Mark in Matt. viii.-xiii., by placing the chapter-figures of passages belonging to the second selection a little to the left and leaving the rest in their natural position.

The chief differences between this Table and Mr. Rushbrooke's Synopticon are that I have added Matt. iv. 13 a as || Mark i. 21 a, and Matt. iv. 23 b as || Mark i. 21 b (thus showing that Matt. iv. 28 b-29 is a true contextual parallel to Mark i. 22), Matt. ix. 1 a as indubitably || Mark v. 18 a-21, and Luke xii. 11-12, as an additional parallel to Mark xiii. 11, 12; Luke xxiii. 3, 2 (not 4, 10) as || Mark xv. 2, 3. It will be seen that they arise mainly out of the stress laid on parallelism of context as distinct from mere resemblance.

SYNOPTIC TABLE,

SHOWING THE RELATION BETWEEN ST. MARK AND THE TWO OTHER SYNOPTICAL GOSPELS.

ST. MATTHEW.	ST. MARK.	ST. LUKE.	REMARKS.
ii. 1-[7-10] ¹ -[12] ¹ -[14, 15]-17	i. 2-11	iii. 2b-[5, 6]-[7-9] ¹ -[10-14]-[17] ¹ -[18-20] ^{2, 22}	¹ parallels in Matthew and Luke. ² With Luke iii. 19, 20 cf. Mark vi. 17, Matt. xiv. 3.
iv. 1-[3-10] ² -12	12-14 a	[23-38]	cf. Matt. i. 1-16.
[13 b-16] . . . . .	.....	iv. 1-[3-12] ² -14 a	² parallel.
17 . . . . .	.....	[14 b, 15]	cf. Matt. iv. 23, 24; ix. 26; xiii. 54; Mark vi. 2.
18-22	14 b, 15 . . . . .	.....	cf. Luke v. 1-11.
.....	16-20	[16-30]	cf. Matt. xiii. 53-58; Mark vi. 1-6.
13 a	21 a	31	cf. Luke vi. 12-49; Mark iii. 7-9.
[23 a] 23 b	21 b . . . . .	.....
[23 c-viii. 27] . . . . .	.....	32	
vii. [28 a] 28 b, 29	22	33-37	
.....	23-28	38-41	
viii. 14-16 [17]	29-34	42-44	with Mark i. 39 cf. Matt. iv. 23.
.....	35-39	v. [1-11]	cf. Matt. iv. 18-22; Mark i. 16-20.
viii. 1-4	40-44	12-14	cf. Luke vii. 1-10.
[5-13] . . . . .	.....	15, 16	
ix. 1 b-17	45	17-38 [30]	Matt. omits Mark ii. 4, Luke v. 19.
i. [5-7]-14	ii. 1-22	i. 10 [11]	
15	23-iii. 6	[17 a] 17 b-19	cf. Matt. iv. 25, 24 b.
.....	iii. 7-[9]-11 a [11 b]	[20-49]	cf. Matt. v. 2-vii. 27.
16 [17-21]	12 . . . . .	.....
.....	13	12, 13 a	cf. Matt. v. 1.

x.	2-4	14-19 a [19 b-21]	13 b-16		
xli.	22, 23	22-26	xl. 14		cf. Matt. ix. 32-34.
	24-26	27, 28	15-18		
	29	29	19, 20		
	30	27	21, 22		
	31, 32	28, 29 [30]	23		
	33-35 [36, 37]	28, 29 [30]	xlii. 10		cf. Matt. viii. 5-13.
	38-42	28, 29 [30]	vi. 43-45		4 cf. Matt. xxvi. 6-13; Mark xiv. 3-9.
	43-45	28, 29 [30]	vii. [1-10]		5 transposed.
	46-50	28, 29 [30]	[11-17] [36-50] ⁴		cf. also Luke xi. 27, 28.
xlii.	1	31-35	xi. [27, 28] 29-32		
	2-[12] ⁶ -[14-15a]-[16-17] ⁷ -23	31-35	viii. 19-21		
	24-30	1 b-20	viii. [1 ⁸ -3] 4-15		6 cf. Mark iv. 25. ⁷ cf. Luke x. 23, 24. ⁸ see Matt. ix. 35 a and references.
	31-32	21-24	16-18 a		cf. Matt. v. 14-16; x. 26; xi. 15; vii. 2; Luke xi. 33;
	33	25	18 b		xii. 2; vi. 38.
	34 [35]	[26-29] . . . . .	.....		cf. Matt. xlii. 12.
viii.	[30-52]	30-32	xlii. 18, 19		possibly parallel.
	18-[19-22] ⁹ -27	33, 34 a	20, 21		possibly parallel.
ix.	28-ix. 1 a	[34 b]	viii. 22-25		⁹ cf. Luke ix. 57-62.
	18-25 ¹⁰ [26] ¹¹	35-41	26-40		Matt. omits Mark v. 3-5, 8-10, 18 b-20.
	[27-31]	v. 1-21	41-56		¹⁰ Matt. omits Mark v. 29-33, and most of 41 b-43.
	[32-34]	22-43 . . . . .	.....		¹¹ cf. Luke iv. 14 b.
xlii.	53-58 . . . . .	.....	.....		cf. Mark vii. 22-26.
ix.	35 a [35 b-38] ¹² . . . . .	.....	.....		cf. Matt. xii. 22-24; Mark iii. 22-26; Luke xi. 14, 15.
		vi. 1-6 a . . . . .	.....		cf. Luke iv. 22, 24.
		6 b . . . . .	.....		cf. Matt. iv. 23; Luke viii. 1; xlii. 22
			.....		Matt. ix. 36 cf. Mark vi. 34 ¹² cf. Luke x. 2.

ST. MATTHEW.	ST. MARK.	ST. LUKE.	REMARKS.
x. 1, 5a[5b-6]-[7, 8] ¹ - [10b] ¹ -[12, 13] ¹ - 14[15] ¹ , [xi. 1- 19] ⁵ [20-27] ⁶ .	vi. 7-11 ³	ix. 1-5 ²	1 of Luke x. 9; 7; 5 b, 6; 12. 2 of Luke x. 4-5 a, 7, 8-11.
[28-30] . . . . .	.....	.....	3 of Luke x. 3. 4 Mostly in other Gospels. With Matt. x. 40 of Luke x. 16. 5 of Luke vii. 18-[29, 30]-35; xvi. 16. 6 of Luke x. 13-[16-20]-22.
xiv. 1, 2 . . . . .	.....	.....	cf. Matt. x. 7, 8; Luke ix. 2; x. 9.
3-12 a	12, 13	6.	
12 b-14.	14	7.	
15-21.	15, 16	8, 9 a 9 b]	
22-[28-31]-[33]-36	17-[20 b]-[23]-29. . . . .	.....	cf. Luke iii. 19, 20.
xv. 1-[12-14]-20.	30-34 ⁷	10, 11	7 of Matt. ix. 36.
21-[23-25]-29	35-44	12-17	
[30, 31] ⁸	45-[52]-[56 a] 56 b . . . . .	.....	cf. Luke xi. 38-44
32-39	vii. 1-[2-4]-23 . . . . .	.....	8 doubtful parallels. cf. also Matt. ix. 32, 33.
xvi. 1-[2, 3] ⁹ -5	24 a[24 b]-[30]-31 . . . . .	.....	cf. Matt. xii. 38, 39; Luke xi. 16, 29. 9 of Luke xii. 54-56.
6.	[32-37] ⁸ . . . . .	.....	cf. Luke xii. 1 b.
7-12	1-10 . . . . .	.....	cf. Matt. ix. 27-30; xv. 30, 31.
.....	11-14 . . . . .	.....
13-21	15 . . . . .	.....
22, 23	16-21 . . . . .	.....
24-[xvii. 6a] 6b [7]- xvii. 9	[22-26]	18-22	
xviii. 10-13	27-31 . . . . .	.....
14-18	32, 33	23-[31, 32]-37 a	with Mark viii. 34 of Luke xiv. 27, and with Mark viii. 38 of Luke xii. 9.
	34-ix. 9 [10] . . . . .	.....	with Mark ix. 23 of Luke x.
	ix. 11-13 . . . . .	.....
	14-[15, 16]-[21]-[22 b-24]-26 a	37 b-42 [43 a]	

..... 19 [20] ¹⁰ . . . . .	..... [26 b, 27] 28 [29] ¹⁰ . . . . .	...............	...............
22, 23	30, 31	43 b, 44 . . . . .	.....
.....	32	45 . . . . .	.....
24 ^a	33 ^a . . . . .	.....	.....
[24 b-27] ¹¹	33 b-37	46-48 ¹³ . . . . .	.....
xviii. 1-[3, 4]-5 ¹²	38-40	49-50 ¹⁴ . . . . .	.....
.....	.....	[ix. 51-62 x. 33-xi. 23, xi. 33-xiii. 17, xiii. 22- xvi. 31, xvii. 3-xviii. 14]	.....
.....
.....	41 . . . . .	.....	cf. Matt. x. 42.
.....	42	(xvii. 2) ¹⁵	¹⁵ transposed.
6 . . . . .	.....	xvii. 1	.....
7	43-47 [48, 49]	.....	.....
8, 9	[50 a] . . . . .	.....	.....
.....	[50 b] . . . . .	.....	.....
.....
[10-35]	x. 1-9 . . . . .	.....	.....
xix. 1-8	[10] 11, 12 . . . . .	.....	.....
9 [10-12]	13, 14	xviii. 15, 16 . . . . .	.....
13, 14	15	17 . . . . .	.....
.....	16	18-30 . . . . .	.....
15	17-[24]-30 . . . . .	.....	.....
16-29	31 . . . . .	.....	.....
30 . . . . .	.....	.....	.....
xx. [1-15]	32-34	31 ¹⁶ 33 [34] . . . . .	.....
17-19	35-41 . . . . .	.....	.....
20-24	42-45 . . . . .	.....	.....
25-28	46-52	35-43 . . . . .	.....
29-34 . . . . .	.....	xix. [1-10] [11-28] ¹⁷ . . . . .	.....
.....

¹⁰ doubtful parallels. With Matt. cf. Luke xvii. 6.
(Matt. xvii. 21 is spurious.)

¹¹ one phrase in 25 is parallel to Mark ix. 33 a.
¹² cf. Matt. x. 40. ¹³ cf. Luke xxi. 26.
¹⁴ cf. Luke xi. 23.
there are throughout a few parallels to St.
Matthew.

cf. Matt. x. 42.
¹⁵ transposed.

cf. Matt. v. 13; Luke xiv. 34

cf. Luke xix. 10; xv. 4-7; xvii. 3, 4

cf. Luke xvi. 18; Matt. v. 31, 32.
cf. Matt. xviii. 2.
cf. Matt. xviii. 3 [4].

cf. Luke xiii. 30.
Matt. xx. 16 is spurious.
¹⁶ cf. Luke ix. 51.
with Mark x. 38 cf. Luke xii. 50.
cf. Luke xxi. [24] 25-27.

¹⁷ cf. Matt. xxv. 14-30.

ST. MATTHEW.	ST. MARK.	ST. LUKE.	REMARKS.
xxi. 1-[4, 5]-9.	xi. 1-10	xix. 29-38 [1 39, 40] [41-44]	¹ cf. Matt. xxi. 15, 16. cf. Mark xi. 15.
10a.	11a. . . . .	.....	² cf. Matt. xxi. 17.
[10b, 11]	[11b] ² . . . . .	.....	³ transposed.
(18, 19a) ³	12-14 . . . . .	.....	⁴ cf. together Matt. 14, Mark 17 a (<i>ἐξέλασε</i>), and
12, 13 [14] ⁴	15 [16]-17 ⁴	45, 46 [47a] ⁴	Luke 47 a.
15, 16 ⁵	18	47b, 48	⁵ cf. also Luke xix. 39, 40, and vid. Matt. xxi. 11.
17	19 . . . . .	.....	of Mark xi. 11 b; Luke xxi. 37.
19b, 20	20, 21 . . . . .	.....	cf. Luke xvii. 6.
21, 22	22-24 . . . . .	.....	cf. Matt. vi. 14, 15. Mark xi. 26 is spurious.
.....	[25] . . . . .	.....
23-27	27-33	xx. 1-8	
[28-32] . . . . .	.....	.....
33-42 [43]	xiii. 1-11	9-17	⁶ genuineness doubtful.
44 ⁶ . . . . .	.....	18	
45, 46	12	19	
xxii. [1-10] . . . . .	.....	.....
[11-14] 15-32	13-27	20-38	cf. Luke xiv. 16-24.
[33] 34-39 [40]	28-31 [32-34a]	39	cf. Luke xi. 53, 54.
(46)	34b	40	cf. Luke x. 25-27.
41-45, 47-[xxiii. 3-5a] ⁷ ⁸	35-39	41-46	⁷ transposed.
xxiii. [7b-13 ⁹] . . . . .	.....	.....	⁸ with Matt. xxiii. 4 cf. Luke xi. 46.
[15-22]	40	47	⁹ cf. Luke xi. 52. Matt. xxiii. 14 is probably spurious.
[23-36] . . . . .	.....	.....
[37-39] . . . . .	.....	.....	cf. Luke xi. 39-51.
xxiv. 1-7a	41-44	xxi. 1-4	cf. Luke xiii. 34, 35.
8	xlii. 1-8a	5-11a [11b]	
	8b . . . . .	.....

9-[11, 12]-14	9-13	12-[18]-19	cf. Matt. x. 17-22; Luke xii. 11, 12.
15, 16	14	20, 21 ^a	cf. Luke xvii. 31.
17, 18	15, 16	21 b [22]	
19-21	17-19	23-[24 a]	
22	20 . . . . .	.....
23-26	21-23 . . . . .	.....	cf. Luke xvii. 21-23.
[27, 28] . . . . .	.....	.....	cf. Luke xvii. 24 and 37.
29 ³⁰ -36	24 ³⁰ -32	24 b ³⁰ -33 [34-35] ¹¹	¹⁰ cf. Luke 24 b with Matt. 20 a, ἐθέλω, ἐκείνον, and Mark 24 ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις. ¹¹ cf. however Luke 34-35 with Matt. 36, Mk. 32, 36.
xxxv. { [37-41] [42-43]-44 [45-51] ¹² [1-12]-15 [16-30] ¹³	.....	.....	cf. Luke xvii. 26-[31-33]-35; xvii. 36 is spurious.
	33-37	36	cf. Luke xii. 35-40. ¹² cf. Luke xii. 42-46.
.....	.....	[37, 38]	¹³ cf. Luke xix. 12-26 [27].
.....	.....	.....	cf. Matt. xxi. 12 a, 17 a; Mark xi. 11 b, 12 a (?).
xxxvi. { [31-46] [1] 2-5	xiv. 1, 2	xxii. 1, 2	
6-13	3-9 . . . . .	.....
14-20	10-17	3-14	¹⁴ transposed.
21, 22	18, 19	(21, 23) ¹⁴	
23	20 . . . . .	.....
24 [25]	21	(22) ¹⁵	¹⁵ transposed.
26	22	(19 a) ¹⁶	¹⁶ transposed.
27-29	23-25	15-18 ¹⁷	¹⁷ Luke 19 b-20 is probably spurious.
.....	.....	[24-30]	cf. Matt. xx. 20-28; Mark x. 35-45; Matt. xviii. 1-5; Mark ix. 33-37; Luke ix. 46-48.
30	26	(39) ¹⁸	¹⁸ transposed.
31-34	27-30	31-34	the parallel to Luke xxii. 37, viz. Mark xv. 28, is spurious.
.....	.....	[35-38]	
35	31 . . . . .	.....
36	32	40	
37, 38	33, 34 . . . . .	.....
39-41 a.	35-38 a	41-[43, 44 ¹⁹]-46	¹⁹ genuineness doubtful.
41 b-46	38 b-42 . . . . .	.....

III.

THE DAY AND YEAR OF ST. POLYCARP'S
MARTYRDOM¹.

[C. H. TURNER.]

Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ ὁ μακάριος πολύκαρπος μὲνός ζανθικοῦ δευτέρᾳ ἱσταμένου, πρὸ
ἑπτὰ καλανδῶν μαρτίων, σαββάτῳ μεγάλῳ, ὥρᾳ ὀγδόῃ· συνελήφθη
ὑπὸ ἡρώδου ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως φιλίππου τραλλιανοῦ, ἀνθυπατεύοντος
στατίου κοδράτου, βασιλεύοντος δὲ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ·
ὧ ἡ δόξα, τιμὴ, μεγαλωσύνη, θρόνος αἰώνιος ἀπὸ γενεᾶς εἰς γενεάν,
ἀμήν.

THE readers of this volume of *Studia Biblica* will not unnaturally ask why, in presence of the very numerous questions which might reasonably demand notice in our sphere of work, one so apparently trivial as the exact date of a martyrdom should require to be re-opened for a fresh discussion after the learned and exhaustive paper read before the Society by Mr. Randell, of St. John's, in February, 1884, and printed in the earlier number of the series of which the present publication is the second.

To this question two answers may be offered.

In the first place, on the general ground it may be asserted that, minute as the enquiry doubtless is, there are few problems in the Christian history of the second century of equal interest and of equal importance with the precise dating of St. Polycarp's death. It is not only that it is a pivot of ecclesiastical chronology, but that on it depends largely the value we can place on the succession St. John, Polycarp, Irenaeus. Irenaeus was born not later, probably earlier, than

¹ An abstract of this paper has already appeared in print in the *Guardian* for April 18, 1888; and the writer takes this opportunity of thanking the Editor for his courtesy in consenting to what is more or less a republication of it.

A.D. 130. St. John lived on in Asia Minor down to the close of the first century. Between them stands Polycarp, and it is on the chronological proof of his intercourse with each of them that the issue turns. For Polycarp was eighty-six years old at the time of his martyrdom (*Mart. Pol.* § ix), and thus, after covering the at most thirty years' interval between the death of St. John and the birth of Irenaeus, more than half a century of his life remains which, if anything like equally divided between the life-time of his teacher and the life-time of his pupil, is amply sufficient to warrant him a trustworthy link between the one and the other. But when we fix the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, we fix also his birth, and therewith the length of his possible connection alike with his successor and with his predecessor.

It needs no more to show the intrinsic importance of the enquiry. But even so the re-opening of it here would be scarcely in place, were it not that the present writer—and this must be his main defence—is in a position of great advantage as compared with Mr. Randell, both because the latter's paper is ready to his hand, and even more by the intermediate appearance of the Bishop of Durham's volumes on St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp; not the least exhaustive or least conclusive portion of that memorable work being the discussion (vol. i. pp. 610–702) of the date of the martyrdom in question¹.

When Mr. Randell wrote there was, it is true, already a general tendency among English scholars as well as on the Continent to admit the soundness of the arguments with which M. Waddington had sought, by the aid of a reconsideration of the chronological notices given in the rhetorician Aelius Aristides, to fix the date of the Asiatic proconsulship of T. Statius Quadratus—under whom, according to the

¹ All references in these pages are to the first edition of Bishop Lightfoot's work unless otherwise stated: the new edition (1889) came to hand too late to be employed in the text, and I have therefore added to my appendices a note on the new matter introduced, and especially on the criticism he has done me the honour to devote to my own view.

notices of the Letter of the Church of Smyrna (known as the *Martyrium Polycarpi*) the saint undoubtedly suffered—not, as had hitherto been the case, to the reign of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–180), but to that of his predecessor Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–161). Aristides dates events both by proconsuls and by the years of a certain malady to which he was long subject, and so, if we can find external evidence for the date of any one proconsul who is mentioned in this connection, we could then argue by the years of the malady to other proconsuls similarly introduced. Now Julianus was, says Aristides, proconsul a year and some months after the malady commenced, and an inscription fixes this proconsulship to A.D. 145. From Julianus we get to Severus, from Severus to Quadratus, who is in consequence usually placed in A.D. 154–155¹.

But there were then still those who held to the traditional view. Among ourselves, Bishop Chr. Wordsworth, in his latest work (cf. *A Church History to the Council of Nicaea*, 1881, p. 161, note²), held it, though hesitatingly; and in Germany, Keim, a writer of by no means conservative tendencies, was equally unconvinced. Now, however, by the labours of Bishop Lightfoot, the question may almost be said, at least in England, to have been set at rest. Whatever doubt may have hung over the reconstructed Aristidean chronology, when that reconstruction stood alone, has surely been dis-

¹ However, since the proconsuls held office, not from January to January, but from May to May, and because of the impossibility of arguing from one date to another without leaving a certain margin, more cannot be claimed with certainty for the ultimate result (as Dr. Lightfoot admits, p. 650), than that Quadratus came into office not earlier than A.D. 153, and not later than A.D. 155, so that the martyrdom can so far fall anywhere between May A.D. 153 and May A.D. 156; and though both the writers whose investigation into the details of this subject gives them the best claim to be heard, Waddington and Lightfoot, place the martyrdom early in A.D. 155, there are not wanting critics of the first rank, such as Hilgenfeld and Lipsius (see below), who on one ground or another prefer to place it early in A.D. 156.

² But in the latest edition (1889) the note in question has been re-written, 'in accordance with a request made by' the late Bishop before his death to the present Bishop of Salisbury. See below, note, p. 152.

sipated by the striking coincidence with it of the epigraphical evidence relative to the date of another official mentioned in the account of the martyrdom. As the first discussion started from the name of the Proconsul, Quadratus, so the later discoveries centre round the name of the Asiarch, Philip of Tralles (*Mart. Pol.* §§ 12, 21). From one Trallian inscription we learn that the Trallian games of the 'eighth Olympiad after the Restoration' took place shortly before the death of Antoninus, probably late in A.D. 160 or early in A.D. 161. The 'Restoration' must therefore have happened about thirty years beforehand, and was doubtless reckoned from Hadrian's visit to Asia Minor in A.D. 129, so that the first Olympiad would probably begin in A.D. 129, and the eighth in A.D. 157. Hence we can also fix the fifty-sixth Olympiad, if, as seems the case, that is only a magniloquent paraphrase for the sixth, to A.D. 149-153; and the fifty-sixth is mentioned in two inscriptions in connection with the Trallian games held under G. Julius Philippus, who was simultaneously 'High-Priest of Asia.' This interpretation is confirmed by a further inscription from Olympia, which speaks of Philip of Tralles as Asiarch in the 232nd Olympiad, that is, some time in A.D. 149-152. These two results so entirely coincide that no hesitation need be felt in concluding that Philip of Tralles was Asiarch somewhere in the years A.D. 150-152. Then since the Asiarchate, like the periodical games, was 'pentaeteric,' that is renewed every four years, it may either be supposed that Philip was re-elected for a second tenure of office, or more simply that he was originally elected in A.D. 151 or 152, and so did not vacate till A.D. 155 or 156. These conclusions are worked out by the Bishop of Durham (pp. 612-618, cf. ii. 987-998), and this close agreement of two independent lines of evidence to the central years of the decade, A.D. 150-160, seemed to remove any possibility of scepticism ¹.

¹ One or two suggestions may be added in completion of the Bishop's argument. Since the Asiatic year began in September (see *inf.* p. 113) it may be presumed that the 'Restoration' Olympiads date from September A.D. 129, and

Before, however, dismissing for good the older view, which connected the martyrdom with the reign of Marcus, it will be worth while to examine for one moment the grounds on which it was based. In this, as in so many other chronological matters, it is pretty clear that later writers¹ have

the sixth or fifty-sixth would not end till September A.D. 153, nor the eighth till September A.D. 161. Again, if Trallian games occurred shortly before Antoninus' death in March 161 A.D., then since they were no doubt pentasteric, the other inscriptions relating to victories in the Trallian games two Olympiads earlier, may be fixed with great probability near the early months of A.D. 153. Future epigraphic discoveries may, one cannot help surmising, give us substantial help in this sort of way towards the Polycarpian question.

¹ Thus Jerome (*De Vir. Illustr.* 17) mentions Polycarp's visit to Anicetus as under Antoninus Pius, his martyrdom as under 'M. Antoninus' and L. Aurelius Commodus; apparently following Eusebius, *H. E.* iv. 14, 15, where the visit is mentioned before, the martyrdom after, the accession of 'Marcus Aurelius Verus, who is also Antoninus.'

The Church historian Socrates is, however, a strange exception, for in his well-known chapter on diversities of usage in different Churches (*H. E.* v. 22, p. 238, Bright), he instances the Quartodeciman dispute, and in connection with it the visit to Anicetus of Polycarp, *ὁ καὶ ὕστερον ἐπὶ Γορδιανῷ μαρτυρήσας*, that is between A.D. 238 and A.D. 244! The only point of interest in so extraordinary a blunder is the question how can it have arisen, especially as Socrates is a more than usually careful writer, and ordinarily follows Eusebius closely; indeed, the visit to Anicetus, which is the only motive for the introduction of Polycarp's name here at all, is taken from the earlier historian (though from *H. E.* v. 24, not iv. 14). It would be natural to suppose that he would have turned to Eusebius for the date of the martyrdom as well, if he had not believed himself to have other quite trustworthy authority for his statement. Either then he confused the great Polycarp with one of the other martyrs of the same name, to whose existence the oldest Kalendars witness (cf. Lightfoot, i. p. 689, Syriac K. under Jan. 27, Latin K. under Feb. 23); or, if he had, as is not unlikely, the martyrdom at his command (§ 21 *μαρτυρεῖ δὲ ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος . . . ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Φιλίππου Τραλλιανῷ ἀνθυπατεύοντος Σεβαστοῦ Κοδράτου*), the conjecture may be offered that the phrase 'in the highpriesthood of Philip the Trallian,' occurring before the Proconsul, in the place where the mention of the Emperor might be anticipated, may have originated the error. 'Ἀρχιερέως would be read *αὐτοκρατόρος*, or interpreted of the Emperor as Pontifex Maximus; and ΤΡΑΛΙΑΝΟΤ appears in some MSS, as ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΤ, the *ductus litterarum* of which is sufficiently near to ΓΟΠΑΙΑΝΟΤ. Philip and Gordian were apparently for a time colleagues in the empire; but as Philip was believed to have been a Christian, Socrates would repeat only Gordian's name as the persecutor. Or, an alternative explanation might be, that since a Philip is commemorated on coins as Recorder of Tralles in the age of the Gordians (Lightfoot, p. 960) the Asiarch Philip had in some way got confused with his later homonym, and been assigned his date.

only followed the fashion set by Eusebius, who in his *History* (iv. 15) inserts the Martyrium, or the greater part of it, immediately after the notice of Antoninus' death, and in his *Chronicle* was believed to have found a more precise date in A.D. 166 or 167. But in the latter passage, as Dr. Lightfoot, never more felicitous than when dealing with Eusebius, has conclusively shown, the historian is merely grouping together at some convenient point in this reign, as he has done in other reigns, all notices of persecutions belonging to it, but not otherwise dated. There is nothing really to suggest that for his *Chronicle* he possessed more detailed knowledge than is given in the *History*, where he even includes in the comparatively small omissions from the Martyrium the concluding section, teeming though it does with notices of time, each of which has contributed something to the modern enquiry, while none of them could have enlightened a writer destitute of our modern collections of provincial *Fasti*, lists of local *Kalendars*, and *Corpora* of inscriptions. Eusebius can in fact only be quoted as a witness to the *reign*, not to the *year*, of the martyrdom; and if we ask why he selected the reign of Pius rather than that of Marcus, it is plain that where the Martyrium itself failed to help him, he must have been thrown back on other and more general indications.

Such would be, primarily, the visit of Polycarp to Anicetus of Rome, our only piece of independent external evidence, twice quoted by Eusebius from Irenaeus (*H. E.* iv. 14, v. 24). Since the Episcopate of Anicetus is reckoned in the *History* as lasting from A.D. 157 to 168¹, and since Marcus succeeded to the throne early in A.D. 161, it was clear that there were more chances than not that, if not the visit, at any rate the martyrdom would fall under him. This conclusion would be

¹ Similarly Jerome's version of the *Chronicle*. The Armenian version does not essentially differ at this point; in any case see Lightfoot, ii. pp. 461-465, where Dr. Hort supplies good reasons for rejecting the common view that the Armenian correctly represents the original *Chronicle*—a view which necessitates the improbable hypothesis that Eusebius in his two works had two different chronologies of the Roman Bishops.

in accord with Eusebius' *parti pris* concerning the relation of the two Emperors to Christianity. According to him Pius was no persecutor, while Marcus confessedly was. On the one hand, the (spurious) toleration edict of *H. E.* iv. 13 is beyond question understood by Eusebius (whether rightly or wrongly) as belonging to Antoninus: and Melito's *Apology*, quoted in iv. 26, distinctly speaks of letters of the same Emperor to different cities in the Christian interest. On the other, he saw that the context in Melito postulates an existing persecution under Marcus, and the story of the Martyrs of Lyons (*H. E.* v. 1) belongs to the same reign¹.

Beyond doubt, then, Eusebius, if he had no other means of distinguishing, would have selected the reign of Marcus for the martyrdom of Polycarp on these *a priori* grounds, and the value of his evidence is neither more nor less than the probabilities of their correctness. But the presumptions on which, in the absence of other data, it was necessary for him to argue are nothing in face of the more definite evidence obtained from Aristides and the inscriptions; and the soundness of the conclusion of Waddington and Lightfoot is therefore established negatively as well as positively.

But if it is thus certain that the true date falls in or near A.D. 155, it is natural to ask further whether there is no means which will enable us to fix more exactly the year and even the day of the martyrdom; and the answer to the question lies in the Chronological Postscript to the Martyrium which is printed at the head of this paper. 'The Blessed

¹ One indeed of Eusebius' authorities, the *Apologeticus* of Tertullian, which he knew in a Greek translation (*H. E.* ii. 3, iii. 33), claimed all the good Emperors, and among them of course both Antoninus and Aurelius—but the latter, on the strength of the story of the Thundering Legion, with special emphasis—as protectors of the Christians. But Eusebius (erroneously) referred the Legion legend, and the consequent epistle of 'Marcus, the understanding Emperor,' to Aurelius' brother L. Verus, quoting Tertullian as an authority (*H. E.* v. 5); and either Tertullian's Greek translator (who certainly took the liberty to re-arrange Tertullian's haphazard mention of Emperors into chronological order: cf. *Apol.* 5 with *H. E.* v. 5), or more probably Eusebius himself significantly omitted the mention of 'Verus' (i. e. M. Aurelius) in the catalogue of non-persecuting Emperors.

Polycarp is martyred on the second of the month Xanthicus, the seventh before the Kalends of March, on a high Sabbath, at the eighth hour; he was arrested by Herod, Philip of Tralles being high priest, and Statius Quadratus proconsul.' Of these indications the last two, the Proconsulship and the Asiarchate have been already spoken of. There remain four, the day and month in the Asiatic reckoning; the same in the Roman reckoning; the day of the week; and the 'high' or festal character of the day. It is in this second part of the discussion that the treatment by Bishop Lightfoot is so unique in its thoroughness as necessarily to supply the material and the model for every subsequent writer. Only those who should compare the rest of this paper, paragraph by paragraph, and line by line, with the corresponding sections of the great work on which it is built, would understand how extensive and far-reaching the obligation is; and one is almost ashamed to feel that one has employed the matter so copiously supplied only in the construction of an alternative hypothesis.

(1) *The Roman day and month*: πρὸ ἐπὶ καλανδῶν Μαρτίων, i. e. a. d. vii Kal. Mart., or February 23rd.

(2) *The Asiatic day and month*: μηνὸς Ξανθικοῦ δευτέρῳ ἱσταμένον, the 2nd of Xanthicus. To help us in an enquiry into the Asiatic Kalendar of Imperial times we have (a) a 'Hemerologium of the months of different cities,' arranged to show the relation of each to the official Julian Kalendar of Rome, and preserved in two MSS., respectively at Florence and at Leyden; among the kalendars given being more than one of the Asiatic group¹: (b) three inscriptions of Proconsular Asia, which give side by side the Roman and the native dating, one of them as early as B. C. 1, the second of A. D. 104, and the third as late as 'the age of the Antonines'; this last from Smyrna itself². The evidence of these two sources, MS,

¹ See *Histoire de l'Academie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, tom. 47, pp. 66-84 (1809).

² But see also the appendices to this paper, where important additional material is adduced.

and inscriptions, is completely harmonious; and its general results may be summed up as follows.

The object of the introduction of such a kalendar—it dates from very shortly before the Christian era—would be, with as little change as possible in familiar names, such as those of the months, to arrive at some intelligible fixed relation with the universal and official kalendar of Rome. It must therefore of course be solar, while the older kalendar had been lunar; and further, though no change was introduced into the *names* of the months, which still differ in different cities, their relation to the Roman (that is practically to our own) Kalendar was the same throughout Proconsular Asia. Everywhere the year begins, not in midwinter, but at the autumnal equinox; everywhere the months begin eight days before the corresponding Roman months, and each has thus as many days as the Roman month with which it for the most part coincides. These peculiarities of the Kalendar are a sign and an outcome of the extraordinary pitch to which Caesar-worship was carried from the very first in Asia. September 23rd (a. d. ix Kal. Oct.) was the birthday of Augustus; not only was the year made to begin on this day, but every month began likewise on the ninth before the Kalends, so as to give, besides the yearly, a monthly commemoration of the birthday on the first of every month. A further point to be remembered in this Asian Kalendar is, that the 31st was never used; in months of thirty-one days the 1st was repeated, so that the really second day was also called the 1st, the real third the 2nd, and so on till the month ended with a real thirty-first called the 30th: or to put it otherwise, a day was intercalated at the commencement of every such month.

Xanthicus was one of the Macedonian names for the months; but these were at this time used by two kalendars, and in the Syro-Macedonian Kalendar of Josephus, Eusebius, and the Apostolic Constitutions the months are one ahead of the Asio-Macedonian. So in Syria Xanthicus is the seventh month or April, in Asia the sixth, and roughly equivalent to

March¹. Commencing then with a. d. ix Kal. Mart. (Feb. 21), and since March is a month of thirty-one days repeating its first, the second Xanthicus is Feb. 23, or a. d. vii Kal. Mart., as given in the Martyrium.

(3) *The day of the week*: σαββάτω, Sabbath or Saturday.

The two results first obtained, though confirming one another and independently witnessing to Feb. 23 as the day and month of the martyrdom, fail to help us to the year. But when we add to these a third in the day of the week, we can proceed to ask in which of the possible years 154, 155, 156 A.D. did Feb. 23 fall on a Saturday, and it is found by calculation that it was in A.D. 155. Feb. 23, 155 A.D., is therefore the year and day for which Dr. Lightfoot concludes.

(4) *The feast*: σαββάτω μεγάλῳ, 'a high sabbath.'

Beyond doubt this feast was a Jewish one: the only possible Christian high sabbath would be the Saturday before the Pascha, which, at least among Quartodecimans, would itself coincide with the great Jewish feast. But about the time we require, the end of February, there is one and only one important feast, the Jewish Purim, exactly the occasion, with its memories of Esther and Mordecai, to rouse Jewish popular excitement as we hear it was roused against Polycarp. Now Purim was held at the full moon of Adar (the month before Nisan), that is, since the Jewish months began with the new moon, on Adar 14, 15; and according to Jewish use a 'high sabbath' connected with it will be the sabbath *previous* to the 14th². The 'high sabbath' of the modern Jews is the sabbath

¹ The origin of this curious variation lay, it is natural to suppose, in the difficulty of the transformation of lunar into solar months. To take a familiar instance, the Jewish month Nisan (for which Josephus uses Xanthicus as the secular equivalent) being that whose full moon fell first after the spring equinox, might in some years be nearly equivalent to the Roman solar month March, in others to April, and thus if Nisan had to be Romanized, it might have been turned into either of the two.

² This sort of use, the reverse of our own system of keeping an Octave on the Sunday after a great festival, has its survival or counterpart in the Kalendar of the Eastern Church, where Quinquagesima week, for instance, is the week before, not the week after Quinquagesima; see Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark*, p. 194.

before the Passover, and the Roman Jews of the present day keep the sabbath before Pentecost as a 'high sabbath.' On the high authority of Dr. Neubauer it may be added that the Jews of the second century may not improbably have similarly kept the sabbath before Purim.

But what relation did the Jewish feast of Purim bear in A.D. 155 to Feb. 23?

In that year the first full moon after Feb. 23 fell about March 7, so that even if that were (as no doubt it was) the full moon of Adar, yet since Purim would be about March 6 and 7, the 'high sabbath' before it must have been not Saturday, Feb. 23, but Saturday, March 2¹. What is to be said to this?

Dr. Lightfoot's answer would simply be, that the Jewish Kalendar of the second century was in a state of such confusion, that it would be hopeless to fix Purim, or the 'high sabbath' before the feast, by its means. Any feast might fall anywhere at all near its true time; and as the rest of the evidence seemed to point conclusively to Feb. 23, 155 A.D., he assumes that Purim must have occurred simultaneously, and has not investigated this branch of the question. But has not the Bishop exaggerated the extent to which confusion was possible in a lunar kalendar like the Jewish?

There are two natural divisions of time, the lunar month or the time from new to new moon, averaging $29\frac{1}{2}$ days, and the solar year, or succession of the seasons regulated by the sun, nearly equal to 365 days; and these two are the base respectively of the genuine lunar and solar kalendars. Both the month and year, however, are convenient divisions of time,

¹ If the discrepancy had been only one of a day or two, it might have been feasible to conceive hypotheses in explanation of it. But the one main qualification possible for the statement in the text tells the other way, for so far as the Jewish Kalendar was still based on observation, the first of the month must fall a day or so after the astronomical new moon, and the fifteenth similarly later than the true full moon. That is to say, in A.D. 155, Purim may have been still later than March 6 and 7, and February 23 falls still more decisively out of the question.

and therefore each of the two kalendars borrowed the distinctive time-division of its rival. In particular the Jewish Kalendar was from the first that we know of it in the Pentateuch a combination of this sort. Lunar, because its months were lunar, each beginning with the new moon, it was yet in practice solar as well, for the feasts of unleavened bread, of harvest, and of ingathering (Exod. xxiii. 15, 16) are connected with the cycle of the seasons. Obviously the attempt would soon be made to reduce the year and the months to a common denomination; in other words, from the moment that these solar feasts were fixed to definite months (Exod. xii. 2, 6, xiii. 4, Deut. xvi. 1, 9, etc.) it followed that the months themselves, which were lunar, must be brought into some relation with the solar year. Now it is easy enough for ourselves to correlate our months and year, because our months are only artificial divisions of the solar year, approximating to, but not identical with, the true month. The difference indeed between the lunar month and the twelfth of the solar year is comparatively minute (about a day), but twelve lunar months, instead of making 365, make only 354 days; and this divergence would of course very soon increase so far as to destroy all relation with the solar year, and therewith all connection of definite months with the feasts of definite seasons of the year. The device which the Jews employed, no doubt at an early time, as we know they did later, was simply the intercalation of a thirteenth month whenever the twelfth ended too soon for the offerings of the firstfruits of the barley harvest, which marked the feast of unleavened bread (Deut. xvi. 9, Lev. xxiii. 10), to be made in the middle of the next month at the full moon of Nisan¹. As the twelve lunar months fall short of the solar year by eleven days, this would happen on an average rather oftener than once in three years.

It is, however, to be remembered that in both directions the original Jewish Kalendar was formed on the principles, not of

¹ Cf. *Dictionary of the Bible*, iii. p. 1804, article 'Year,' by Mr. R. S. Poole.

calculation, but of observation ; the month began when the moon was seen to be new, the year when the barley harvest was approaching ripeness, and no serious mistakes were possible. The system was free from complexity, but suitable only to a people living in an area so small (the Holy Land is not more than about the size of Wales) that the beginning of the coming month could be fixed at Jerusalem for all Palestine the day before. The difficulty indeed in the case of the months cannot have been great, even after the Dispersion, for the new moon would be usually visible on the same evening throughout the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, and any one could perform the operation of observing it for himself. But the commencement of the year, involving the question of the intercalation of a thirteenth month, stood on different ground. It was impossible for a Jew of Mesopotamia or of Egypt to tell by observation when the barley harvest would be ripe in Palestine, and therefore in what month he was wanted at Jerusalem for the Passover. That could be fixed only on the spot, and the knowledge would have to be communicated to foreign Jews in time to allow of their arrival before the middle of the first month Nisan—an obviously impracticable feat. Therefore as soon as (if not before) the Jews of the Dispersion had to be taken into account as well as those of Palestine, the old empiric methods must have given place to some system of universal application. Instead then of the first ripe ears of barley harvest, the spring equinox seems to have become at some unknown period the *terminus a quo* of the Paschal full moon—the limit before which the middle of the first month Nisan might not fall—and in this way the ultimate starting-point of the Jewish Kalendar. Some such reform, even if never made before, would have become a literal necessity when the destruction of the Temple put an end to the central worship, and each community had to keep the Passover for itself. With the disappearance of the single celebration, and of the authority which regulated it, unity had for the future to be sought in the adoption of a single

self-perpetuating kalendar. But the commencement of the new year according to the equinox was not a simple matter of astronomical observation like the new moon of the month ; for (not to speak of the different dates assigned to the equinox) it was not the new moon but the full moon only of Nisan which had to fall after it, while the intercalation of a month, when necessary, would have to be determined upon some weeks earlier still. Therefore, just as the Christians found with their Easter, so the Jews with their Passover doubtless felt that the only means to secure uniformity was the universal adoption of some cycle based on astronomical calculations for a long sequence of years which should show the day of the Passover for each year, and, like a recurring series of decimals, should begin again as soon as it was finished, with the same dates. Ultimately the Jews resorted unanimously to the nineteen years' cycle. But that was long after the era of St. Polycarp. In the second century, what with the various equinoxes and rival cycles and independent observations, the Jewish Kalendar was apparently in a state of hopeless confusion.

Only, while all this is perfectly true, it will be noticed at once that the whole perplexity was concerned with the year, and with the months only in their relation to the year, not in themselves. Least of all does it cover Dr. Lightfoot's hypothesis that the Jews ever celebrated a full moon feast such as that of Purim in Adar—and if Purim in Adar, why not Passover in Nisan?—at any other time than that of full moon when the veriest tyro's observation of the heavens would prove them in the wrong¹. And there is the further presumption against it, that had so gross a mistake in the

¹ If anything could make disagreement with Dr. Lightfoot on such a point less burdensome, it would be agreement with Dr. Salmon, and it is therefore encouraging to find that the latter writer, in the article *Polycarp* in the last volume of the Dictionary of Christian Biography (vol. iv. p. 430, cols. 1, 2, note), while admitting that his own hypothesis had been disproved by the Bishop, makes the same criticism on the Bishop's theory as has been made here.

Paschal calculations ever occurred, we should surely have heard of it, if not from Jewish, at any rate from Christian sources. The Asiatic Church of St. Polycarp's day kept its Pascha with the Jews and hotly contested the view that the Christian celebration was to be connected with the day of the week rather than with the day of the month; yet they were never accused of mistaking the true fourteenth, and indeed even their adversaries started from the same fourteenth and reckoned the Sunday after it as their festival. Again, when at the beginning of the third century the Christians found out with their greater astronomical knowledge that the Jewish methods were deficient (so that their superior science combined with their growing hatred of Judaism in inducing them to strike out a new line for themselves) they have their definite gravamen against the Jews, but it is connected with the calculation, not of the month, but of the year. 'They often celebrate the Passover,' it was said¹, 'twice in the same year,' counting, that is, from equinox to equinox. In other words, the Jewish 15th Nisan did not always fall, as it should have done, after the equinox, and when it wrongly fell before, it was the second Passover held since the March equinox of the preceding year. There was no question either then or earlier of a mistake of anything less than a month. The Passover and similarly Purim (as another full moon feast) might be a month wrong, as being held at the wrong full moon; but they could only be a month wrong. An error of a fortnight, the celebration of the full moon at the new moon, is

¹ Cf. the Letter of Constantine to the Churches from the Council of Nicaea (in Socrates, *H. E.* i. 9, p. 24, Bright): μηδὲν τοίνυν ἔστω ὑμῖν κοινὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἐχθίστου τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὄχλου . . . κὰν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὐχ ὁρῶσιν, ὥς ἀεὶ κατὰ τὸ πλείστον αὐτοὺς πλανωμένους, ἀντὶ τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπανορθώσεως, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει δεύτερον τὸ Πάσχα ἐπιτελεῖν. So again the Apostolic Constitutions (v. 17, p. 149 Lagarde) δεῖ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί . . . τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ Πάσχα ἀκριβῶς ποιεῖσθαι μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας μετὰ τροπῇ ἰσημερινῇ, ὥπως μὴ δις τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐνὸς παθήματος μνείαν ποιῆσθε . . . μηκέτι παρατηρούμενοι μετὰ Ἰουδαίων ἑορτάζειν . . . πεπλάνηται γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ψηφόν, κ.τ.λ. The same seems to be the drift of an earlier writer, Anatolius of Laodicea, a passage of whose *Κανόνες περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα* is preserved in Eusebius, *H. E.* vii. 32.

inconceivable; an error of a week little less so. Dr. Lightfoot's hypothesis requires an error of at least four or five days¹.

It seems therefore to have been proved satisfactorily that Saturday, Feb. 23, A.D. 155, is the only possible day, and yet that it fails to satisfy an important condition. Is there no way out of the difficulty?

The thought suggested itself that in the next year, A.D. 156, Nisan 15 would fall about March 24, and Adar 15 or Purim about February 24², as the year was leap-year. But then of course as Feb. 23 was Saturday in A.D. 155, not Feb. 23 but Feb. 22 should be Saturday in A.D. 156, and the 'high sabbath' before Purim. We seem therefore equally at fault here, for the condition 'the seventh before the Kalends of March' is not satisfied.

But it is not inopportune to draw attention now to the fact that the primary datum is the 2nd Xanthicus, which is only explained as being the seventh before the Kalends, or Feb. 23. Was there then no possible means by which at least in A.D. 156, Xanthicus 2 might really fall on the *eighth* before the Kalends, Saturday, February 22?

It is here that the most curious phenomenon of the investigation meets us. Lightfoot gives four inscriptions as the only instances with double Asiatic and Roman dating; one of these, an Ephesian inscription of A.D. 104, is dated on the '2nd of Anthesterion,' the very same day as that of Polycarp's martyrdom (for Anthesterion is the Athenian and Ephesian name for Xanthicus) and the equivalent given is, *not the seventh, but the eighth* before the March Kalends, Feb. 22: $\pi\rho\delta$

¹ Dr. Neubauer, whose kindness I gratefully acknowledge, answers me that a day's error is as much as need be taken into account.

² In years where a month is intercalated, Adar is of course not the month next before, but next but one before Nisan. Happily this special source of confusion may be left out of account, as in neither of the years A.D. 155 or 156 was an intercalation necessary.

The astronomical dates are given in the text; it has been already mentioned that, if the new moon was fixed by observation, dates at least a day later must be given for the full moon feasts: but the argument is not affected.

ἡ' καλανδῶν Μαρτίων . . . Ἀνθεστηριῶνος β' σεβαστῇ¹. The coincidence is singularly striking; and if we may provisionally assume Feb. 22 for St. Polycarp's day, the two support one another, though the anomaly, even if a double one, still requires explanation, for certainly the Asiatic Kalendar was older than A.D. 104, and lived on as late as A.D. 156, and in the Asiatic Kalendar Xanthicus 2 was Feb. 23. In the case of the inscription Dr. Lightfoot supposes that the Asiatic 'double 1st' was not employed; but if not necessary at Ephesus in A.D. 104, why should it be necessary at Smyrna in A.D. 156? Here would be one defence of the date now offered, Feb. 22, A.D. 156².

But a hint worth working out is supplied by Dr. Lightfoot in calling attention to the use, in the inscription mentioned, of the word σεβαστῇ, which is used of a day of the month only in three inscriptions from Egypt—two of them simply Θωὸς σεβαστῇ and Φαρμῶθ σεβαστῇ, but the third Φαωφι α' Ἰουλίᾳ σεβαστῇ—and in the Leyden MS. of the Hemerology already referred to, where it stands opposite the first day of several months in the Lycian Kalendar. Clearly there is some connection between σεβαστή, Augustus' day, and the first of the month. May it not be then a sort of monthly commemoration of the Emperor on the prerogative day of each month, so that the Asiatics will have outdone their neighbours, not by a monthly commemoration of Augustus on the first, which was more widely observed, but by the unique compliment of making this commemoration coincide with his actual birthday, the ninth before the Kalends? But then the σεβαστῇ is added only to some of the Lycian months. True; to those only of thirty-one days. As Usener says—the point of whose reasoning on this subsidiary question Dr. Lightfoot seems not to have quite reproduced—there is no ground why these particular firsts should be distinguished

¹ This will be made clearer, *inf.* p. 123.

² See further on this point Dr. Lightfoot's new edition, and the note at the end of this paper.

from others in the Lycian Kalendar, an ordinary one much on the Roman model; but the distinction is full of meaning if conjectured to have been borrowed or transposed from the Asian Kalendar where it is just in these months of thirty-one days, with their double firsts, that a distinctive mark for the true first is of use. Σεβαστή, it may thus be supposed, was in Asia a title of the first or Emperor's birthday¹, specially employed in those months where his birthday needed to be distinguished from its successor, another nominal first.

Still, although February 21st, the former of the two firsts of Xanthicus, might in this way be correctly denominated α' σεβαστή, this does not prove that February 22nd can be β' σεβαστή as required. Can a clue to this further perplexity reside in the coincidence that both A. D. 104 of the Ephesian inscription and A. D. 156, the hypothetical martyrdom, were leap-years?

The leap-year system is of course the characteristic of the Julian Kalendar, which like our own intercalated a day to every fourth February, not however by adding one after the 28th, but by repeating the 24th or 6th before the Kalends, whence the name bissextile. As the Asiatic Kalendar bore a fixed relation to the Julian, it too must have incorporated the intercalated day. But how?

(a) Not in the Asiatic February or Dystrus at all. For that ended with its 28th on Feb. 20, and an intercalated or additional day would prevent Xanthicus from beginning on the ninth before the Kalends (Feb. 21) and destroy the whole schematism.

Therefore in Xanthicus², which is already of thirty-one days, and must be produced to thirty-two; but

(b) Not at the end of Xanthicus, for to end with the

¹ Dr. Lightfoot now accepts this view of Usener's, which is supported by a new Pergamene inscription. See *inf.* p. 152.

² For the discussion of a contrary theory of Archbishop Ussher that the leap-year day was intercalated in September, which has only come under my notice since the body of this paper was in type, see the Appendix, pp. 131 sqq.

30th is a principle of the kalendar. Therefore just as the 31st day was incorporated at the beginning of the month, so on some similar method must the 32nd have been. Would not the repetition of the 2nd be the natural method?

For there are two conditions which the intercalation of the extra day must satisfy.

- (1) It must be done on the existing principles of the Kalendar; and these clearly suggest the double 2nd.
- (2) It must interfere as little as possible with the normal relation of the Asiatic to the Roman Kalendar. But the Julian extra day comes in on the 24th, our hypothetical Asiatic day on the 22nd. Only then on three days of leap-year, Feb. 22, 23, 24, if we are right, will the Julian equivalent of the Asiatic day differ from that of an ordinary year.

These results will be made clearer by a table.

<i>Normal Asiatic Kalendar.</i>				<i>Conjectural Kalendar for Leap Year.</i>			
Feb. 20	[Dystrus]	a. d. x	Kal. Mart.	a. d. x	Kal. Mart.	[Dystrus]	Feb. 20
21	Xanthicus A ΣΕΒ	ix		ix		Xanthicus A ΣΕΒ	21
22	A	viii		viii		B ΣΕΒ?	22
23	B	vii		vii		A	23
				vi		B	24
24	Γ	vi		vi		Γ	25
25	Δ	v		v		Δ	26
26	E	iv		iv		E	27
27	ς	iii		iii		ς	28
28	Z	prid. Kal. Mart.		prid. Kal. Mart.		Z	29
Mar. 1	H	Kal. Mart.		Kal. Mart.		H	Mar. 1

If the conjecture hazarded as to the meaning of α' σεβαστή as distinct from α' be correct, it would follow that β' σεβαστή of the Ephesian inscription as distinct from β' meant the earlier as opposed to the latter 2nd. Certainly this 2nd had not the same connection with the Emperor as α' σεβαστή; but the transference in any case is easy and natural, and the festival which the martyrdom shows to have been proceeding, was apparently (since the Asiarch was president of the games) connected with the κοινὸν Ἀσίας, or Commune Asiae, and

therefore with the worship of the Emperors. But the *κοινὸν Ἀσίας* was arranged on a pentaeteric principle¹, that is, in periods of four years, and it becomes not impossible that one of its celebrations recurred at each leap-year.

The proposed day, Saturday, Feb. 22, the 'high sabbath' of Purim of the year A.D. 156, satisfies thus:—(i) the Proconsul, (ii) the Asiarch, (iii) the Asiatic day and month, (iv) the day of the week, (v) the festival.

It remains only to consider certain subsidiary points on which evidence might be produced in objection to, or in confirmation of, the result attained.

I. The first objection which suggests itself is the equation of the Asiatic date in the Martyrium by the Roman *πρὸ ἑπτά καλανδῶν Μαρτίων*, the 23rd, not the 22nd February. But three alternatives are possible in answer, each of which will rob it of its force. If this equation is due to the original writers, we shall find, if we put ourselves in their position, that some Christian probably possessed a table which equated Asiatic and Julian days like the Hemerology of the MSS., but which, like that, omitted to treat separately of leap-years, and consequently gave the 'seventh before the Kalends of March' as the only equivalent of the 2nd Xanthicus. Or again the original writers may not have written *ἑπτά* at all, but *ὀκτώ*, which some copyist, who found that in his Hemerology the seventh and not the eighth before the Kalends was the true equivalent, altered into *ἑπτά*, under the idea that he was benefiting historical accuracy. Or yet, thirdly, the Roman equivalent may not have been given in the original at all, but have been added when the document was being circulated outside Asia, in countries where the Asiatic Kalendar would be unfamiliar and a Roman date would be requisite; the leap-year would of course under these circumstances be forgotten, and the equivalent of the Hemerologies inserted.

II. But in the Acts of Pionius, belonging to A.D. 250 in

¹ Cf. on points connected with the Asiarchate the appendix in Lightfoot, ii. pp. 987-998.

the Decian persecution, we are told that the martyr was apprehended 'on the birthday of the blessed martyr Polycarp' on the second day of the sixth month, for which again the Latin gives February 23. Since, however, in Smyrna, reckoning would primarily be kept by the Asiatic Kalendar rather than by the Roman, St. Polycarp's festival would be observed on the 2nd Xanthicus, on whatever Roman day that fell. And as in every year, except leap-year, Xanthicus 2 is really Feb. 23, and A.D. 250 was not leap-year, Feb. 23 was the correct date for the festival in that year.

III. The same explanation is valid if in the old martyrologies, especially in that of the great Syriac MS. of the British Museum (written A.D. 411), Shebat 23—i. e. February 23—is given as St. Polycarp's day; for the ordinary equivalent, and as soon as it was forgotten that the saint suffered in leap-year, the certain equivalent, of Xanthicus 2 was February 23.

IV. More serious is the next, and last, objection which occurs to the writer. In the already mentioned Acts of Pionius the day of that martyr's apprehension is not only the 2nd of Xanthicus, and birthday of St. Polycarp, but also a 'high sabbath.' Now, if this is to have the same meaning for Pionius as for Polycarp, it ought similarly to be tested in relation to Purim and the month of Adar. But in A.D. 250, which is all but certainly the year of those Acts, Nisan 15 fell somewhere about April 4, and Adar 15 consequently about March 6. Here again, just as in the case of Dr. Lightfoot's view in A.D. 155, it would seem that Saturday, Feb. 23, cannot be the preceding or 'high sabbath.'

But is it really probable that in the middle of the third century any Christian writer would intentionally calculate his dates by a Jewish feast? What was natural enough a century earlier, when the Church kept perhaps only two great festivals, and these at least in Asia Minor exactly synchronous with the Passover and Pentecost of the Jews—so that when the Jews calculated their Pascha wrongly, the

Christians did the same—was at this date no longer likely. The Jewish Kalendar would cease to be familiar after the second phase of the great Easter question had begun to agitate the Church, and it was realized that the Jews could not be trusted to fix the true astronomical date for the full moon of Nisan. This conviction was the *raison d'être* of the attempts of Christian scientists to calculate Easter cycles for themselves; and it seems to have been universally acted on by A.D. 250. The 'Paschal Chronicle' of Hippolytus was drawn up as early as A.D. 222, and for half a century this computation or modifications of it apparently held the field, and very probably extended to Asia¹. But whether this one or another, some Christian system, and no longer the Jewish, must surely by this time have prevailed in Smyrna.

If then it is thus improbable that the Pionian Acts should have reckoned time by the Jewish Kalendar, what explanation is to be given of the 'high sabbath'? Can it have been a Christian festival? Certainly the Eastern Churches kept the Sabbath as a feast, and possibly a sabbath coinciding with the 'birthday' of Polycarp, the patron saint so to speak of the Church of Smyrna, might be treated as a 'high

¹ It is true that the Asiatics were originally Quartodecimans, though they were so no longer at the time of the Council of Nicaea, and perhaps considerably earlier. But in any case they were not Ebionite or Judaizingly inclined Quartodecimans, and there was no reason why they should be less averse to abandoning Jewish errors than other people. Any non-Quartodeciman cycle is serviceable even to Quartodecimans; for as the day of the month (the full moon) had to be fixed before the day of the week (the Sunday after the full moon), all that a Quartodeciman had to do was to utilize the first and neglect the second part of the calculation. Thus Hippolytus formed a 112-years' cycle, after which Easter was to begin to fall again on the same series of days; but astronomically this was only a sixteen years' cycle, after which the full moon was to fall again on the same series of days of the (solar) month, and it was only because the same day of the month would, after an interval of sixteen years, fall on a different day of the week—and so on through the seven days of the week—that the sixteen-years' cycle required to be multiplied by seven before a cycle was attained in which not only the full moon but the Sunday after it fell recurringly on the same series of days of the month.

The wide circulation and adoption in the East of the cycle of Hippolytus (who wrote in Greek) would partly explain the extraordinary vitality of his fame there as compared with the West.

sabbath,' like a red letter Saint's Day coinciding with a Sunday. But a much simpler explanation is permissible. It has apparently escaped even Dr. Lightfoot's notice (at least he lays no stress on it) that the chronological data of the beginning and end of the Pionian Acts, the apprehension and the martyrdom of Pionius, are both modelled on the notice in our Martyrium, as is on comparison abundantly clear¹.

<i>Acta Pionii</i> , § 2.	<i>Martyrium Polycarpi</i> , § 21.	<i>Acta Pionii</i> , § 23.
μηνὸς ἔκτου δευτέρᾳ ἱστα- μένου [vel ἐνισταμέ- νου]	μηνὸς Ξανθικοῦ δευτέρᾳ ἱσταμένου πρὸ [ἐπτά] καλανδῶν Μαρτίων	πρὸ τεσσάρων ἰδῶν Μαρ- τίων κατὰ Ῥωμαίους, κατὰ δὲ Ἀσιανοὺς μη- νὸς ἔκτου ἐννεακαίδε- κάτῃ
σαββάτῳ μεγάλῳ [MS. σαββάτου μεγάλου] ² ... συνελήφθησαν ...	σαββάτῳ μεγάλῳ ὥρα ὀγδόῃ· συνελήφθη ...	ἡμέρᾳ σαββάτῳ ὥρα δε- κάτῃ
	βασιλεύοντος δὲ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ϥ ἡ δόξα	κατὰ δὲ ἡμᾶς βασιλεύ- οντος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ϥ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

ἀμήν.

ἀμήν.

Martyrium Polycarpi,
§ 18.

ἐν τῇ γενεθλίῳ ἡμέρᾳ τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ
τοῦ μακαρίου μάρτυ- ἡμέραν γενέθλιον.
ρος Πολυκάρπου.

Now it becomes explicable that in all the recensions of the Pionian Acts, the final date, that of St. Pionius' martyrdom, is

¹ It may be mentioned in confirmation of this view that the Acts of Pionius are the only instance among some twenty parallels in the *Acta Martyrum* referred to by Dr. Lightfoot for the 'regnante Jesu Christo,' in which the hour of martyrdom is given.

² Either the original writer or a later scribe was ignorant of the meaning of *ἱσταμένου* in connection with the day of the month, and therefore altered the text so as to construct it with *σαββάτου*.

said to be a sabbath, whereas in fact it was obviously a Tuesday. But if the 'sabbath' at the end of the Acts was thus an erroneous and parrot-like repetition from the Martyrium of Polycarp, it is not difficult to believe that the 'high sabbath' of the beginning of the Acts may have had the same origin, and the same absence of justification. The apprehension of Pionius coincided alike in the day of the week and of the month with the martyrdom of Polycarp, and if the writers were ignorant, as it is natural to suspect, what the 'high sabbath' really meant in Polycarp's case, they might thoughtlessly assume it to be equally valid with the rest of the data for their own purpose.

Finally there are two arguments to be stated in confirmation of the date proposed in this paper, which seem to make A.D. 156 more probable for the martyrdom than A.D. 155.

I. L. Statius Quadratus was Consul Ordinarius in A.D. 142, and proconsul, on Dr. Lightfoot's view, from A.D. 154 to 155, on that here put forward from A.D. 155 to 156. But (though the data are too few to generalize from with confidence) there is no other instance quoted in the second century where it can be said with certainty that a less interval than thirteen years intervened between consulship and proconsulship¹; and the extra year allowed here in Quadratus' case is so far a gain.

II. Of more importance is Irenaeus' express statement, made more than once, that Polycarp visited Bishop Anicetus at Rome. But Eusebius, as has been seen, places the accession of Anicetus as late as A.D. 157, and this has to be thrust back two years to allow of a visit from Polycarp in A.D. 155 (probably in summer), even if the martyrdom is placed in A.D. 156; while if the martyrdom is put a year earlier, a three years' transposition of Eusebius' date becomes necessary. It is the serious matter of this extra year which has induced the author of the 'Chronology of the Roman Bishops,' Prof.

¹ See the list in Lightfoot, i. 640; I am assuming that it is exhaustive.

Lipsius, to adopt A.D. 156 in preference to A.D. 155¹. But then, in order to do so, since Feb. 23 was no sabbath in A.D. 156, he has arbitrarily condemned as spurious the mention of the 'high sabbath,' both in the chronological postscript and in the body of the Martyrium. If the present enquiry has achieved nothing else (and it does not pretend to have done more than to have brought forward another claimant for the true date of the martyrdom), it can at least claim to have based Lipsius' conclusion on intelligible and consistent premisses. Should any other explanation of the 'high sabbath' be put forward, the main objection to A.D. 155 will of course disappear. But so long as the identification with Purim is maintained, so long will it seem that A.D. 156 is a more probable date, and that a hypothesis which makes it a possible year from the point of view of the rest of the evidence is not destitute of support. Such as it is, it is left to the consideration and criticism of students of ecclesiastical history.

¹ But see *inf.* p. 154.

APPENDIX I.

ON A PASCHAL HOMILY PRINTED IN ST. CHRYSOSTOM'S WORKS ASCRIBED BY USSHER TO A. D. 672. BUT REALLY BELONGING TO A. D. 387.

[C. H. T.]

It was an integral feature of the theory put forward above that the intercalation of the additional day in leap-year took place in Asia almost, though not quite, at the same date as in Rome. But since the preceding Essay was in type the writer has come across an alternative view of the Asiatic intercalation, to which it would be only fair in any case that he should direct attention; but he hopes to be able to show that the fresh evidence thus adduced is really in complete harmony with what was said on pp. 122 sqq.

To Archbishop Ussher, the critic whose sagacity foretold the recovery of the genuine Ignatius, we owe also the first attempt to treat systematically of the Asiatic chronological system, and in particular to take into consideration the leap-year variations¹. It was indeed a task which without the aid of the Hemerology (and the Hemerology was not known before A. D. 1715) would probably have never met with complete success, for the intercalation of the repeated first was an expedient not likely to have suggested itself even to the acutest scholar. But unfortunately Ussher had also not perceived that the Macedonian kalendars of Syria and of Asia, though they used the same twelve names for the months, did not use them of the same months, each month in Syria having the name of the month next preceding in Asia. Thus while in Asia Xanthicus (as the Hemerology tells us) was equivalent to late February and March, in Syria it was practically equivalent to April. Of these two reckonings the Syrian was by far the commoner, and Ussher assumed it to be the only one; so that when St. Polycarp suffered on the 2nd Xanthicus, this ought to fall (not in February but) at the end of March or beginning of April. Now the Paschal Chronicle actually does place the martyrdom, not with the text of the Martyrium on a. d. vii Kal. Mart.,

¹ *De Macedonum et Asianorum Anno Solari*, reprinted in vol. ix. of Gronovius, *Thesaurus Graecarum Antiquitatum*, pp. 1205-1268.

but a month later, on a. d. vii Kal. Apr. (March 26)¹; and Ussher following its authority, concluded that Xanthicus, the seventh month of the kalendar, commenced on March 25.

Now in a Paschal Homily attributed by Balsamon to St. Chrysostom, and printed in Savile's edition of that father (vol. v. pp. 940-949) from a MS. belonging to Gabriel, Archbishop of Philadelphia, the author is apparently addressing his congregation just before Lent began, on the subject of the date of Easter, which was falling that year later (so it was said) than had ever been known before—later certainly than the heretics or the Jews were keeping it on that occasion²—‘on the second day of the eighth month.’ April 25 is the latest day on which Easter according to any reckoning was ever made to fall; hence the eighth month cannot begin later than April 24. But the Homilist also speaks of the ‘26th day of the seventh month’ as falling exactly a week earlier (than the 2nd of the eighth month), that is, not later than April 18; from which Ussher saw that it followed that the seventh month itself cannot begin, as from the day of St. Polycarp he had deduced that it ought to begin, on March 25, but at latest March 24. Consequently he supposed that this difference of a day must be due to leap-year, the intercalation being made at Rome in February, in Asia as he conjectured at the end of the Asiatic year in September, so that all Asiatic dates between February and September will, if transposed into Roman reckoning, appear a day earlier than usual. If the Paschal Homily falls in leap-year, its seventh month would then begin correctly on March 24, and not, as in other years, on March 25. Since then in only one instance between A.D. 140 and A.D. 919—in A.D. 672—did Easter fall simultaneously on April 25 and in leap-year, Ussher concludes that this is the only admissible date for the Homily in question.

That Ussher was building on a radically unsound foundation when he supposed that St. Polycarp's death and the 2nd of Xanthicus had anything to do with March 26 we now know; and we also know from the Hemerology that in fact the seventh Asiatic month

¹ No doubt because like Ussher the chronicler writing after 600 A.D., was ignorant of any but the Syrian nomenclature for the months. In Asia the names had dropped out, and had been succeeded by numbers (‘first month,’ etc.), comparatively early; cf. Lightfoot, i. 677, 678. Numbers are used in the Acts of Pionius and by the Paschal Homily discussed below; but the (Asiatic) month Apellaeus occurs in Epiphanius, *Haer.* 51. § 24; see inf., p. 149.

² P. 940. 18: αἱρετικοὶ ἀποσκιρτήσαντες φαίνονται καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐπαγγέλλονται πᾶσχα τελεῖν.

(Artemisius) began on March 24, exactly in accordance with the Paschal Homily. Cardinal Noris, writing on the same subject as Ussher, but like him before the publication of the Hemerology, was unable to make the latter correction, but (following Valesius) he rightly pointed out the distinction between the Syriac and the Asiatic Xanthicus, and restored St. Polycarp to February. At the same time, curiously enough, he accepts unreservedly Ussher's conclusions on the Paschal Homily, apparently oblivious that they too rested in the end entirely on the false Polycarpian basis.

The Paschal Homily ceases therefore to bear witness against us. But why may not it be put into the box in our own favour? It is so interesting in itself, and because its date can be fixed with such precision, that we propose to enter at some length into this byway of history, and to preface the enquiry by summarizing the contents of the Homily, which aims at supporting the scientific accuracy of the late Easter by a thoroughgoing exposition of the principles on which the Church calculations were based.

In the first place some were accustomed to ask why when Christmas and Epiphany¹ as well as the commemorations of the martyrs were fixed feasts, Easter alone should be moveable? The answer is, that in the case of Easter three conditions have to be combined; the month must be the first month—that is, the first after the spring equinox; the moon must be not less than at the full—that is the fourteenth; and three days of the week, Friday, Saturday, Sunday, have to be taken into account. Even the Jews combined what they believed to be the first month with the fourteenth day of the moon for their Passover; and they are followed by the Quartodeciman² heresy and—so far—by the

¹ Christmas on the 8th before the Kalends of January according to the Romans, i. e. Dec. 25; Epiphany on the 13th of the fourth month according to the Asians, i. e. according to the Asiatic Kalendar, as explained above, Jan. 6. See further below.

² For the Quartodecimans and Novatians cf. Sozomen, vii. 18 (p. 739, Hussey): *πλὴν τούτων* [certain Novatians] *καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας καλουμένων τεσσαρεσκαυδεκατῶν ὁμοίως Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων αἰρέσεων ταύτην τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀγούσιν· ἄλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τεσσαρεσκαυδεκαταίᾳ σὺν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἑορτάζουσιν, ὅθεν ὠδε ὀνομάζονται· οἱ δὲ Ναυατιανοὶ τὴν ἀναστάσιμον ἡμέραν ἐπιτελοῦσιν· Ἰουδαίους δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔπονται καὶ εἰς ταῦτ' οἱ τεσσαρεσκαυδεκαταῖς καταστρέφουσι· πλὴν εἰ μὴ τύχοι τῇ ἰδ' τῆς σελήνης ἡ πρώτη τοῦ σαββάτου ἡμέρα συμπεσοῦσα, κατόπιν γίνονται τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὅσαις ἂν ἡμέραις συμβαίῃ τὴν ἐρχομένην κυριακὴν ὑστερίξειν τῆς τεσσαρεσκαυδεκαταίας τῆς σελήνης.*

Novatians. The Montanists indeed reckon the fourteenth not by the lunar but by the solar month, and always take the fourteenth of the seventh (solar) Asiatic month¹; but this obviously contra-

That is, Quartodecimans kept exactly to the Jewish fourteenth, on whatever day of the week it fell. The Novatians in question, on the other hand, always observed Friday and Sunday—as the Paschal Homilist puts it, ἐν τῇν τριήμερον ἔρχονται—but (1) accepted the Jewish reckoning for the 14th; (2) even assuming that to be correct, they made another fault, for if it fell on Sunday, they kept that as Easter Day. This does not apply to all Novatians, but to those of Galatia and Phrygia, who decided to 'Judaize' with regard to Easter at the Council of Pazus (Παζονάμω in Phrygia) under Valens, i. e. circa 370 A.D. Those of Rome celebrated with the Catholic Church; and Socrates says the same of those of Constantinople and Nicomedia; cf. his parallel account, *H. E.* iv. 28, v. 21. A Bithynian synod of Novatians allowed either method (*Soc.* v. 21; *Soz.* vii. 18).

¹ That is, according to the Kalendar (p. 113, sup.), April 6.

Sozomen (vii. 18, quoted by Ussher) gives us similar but fuller information about the Montanist Easter. According to him, they commenced their year with the spring equinox, the beginning of creation, because the two lights, sun and moon, by which times and years are regulated, came then into being. At the end of every eight years the cycles of sun and moon will fall together at this time, eight years of the sun being equivalent to 99 lunations. Their first date they fixed on March 24, and interpreting the scriptural fourteenth of the month then begun, it would fall on a. d. viii. Id. Apr. i. e. April 6, Easter being kept on the Sunday after this day, i. e. from the 7th to the 13th of April: for Scripture says 'from the 14th to the 21st.'

(1) Ussher, by interpolating conjecturally the words εἰ δὲ μὴ, interprets the last words to mean that if the 14th (April 6) coincided with the Sunday, that and not the next Sunday was the Montanist Easter.

(2) Ussher also asserts Sozomen to be in error in fixing the 'fourteenth of the first month' on April 6 instead of April 7. It was part of his whole theory that March 25 was the first of the month, and he supposes the mention of March 24 in this passage to be a copyist's alteration, to suit the (erroneous) April 6 as the 14th; especially as the Latin Tripartite History reads a. d. viii, not a. d. ix, Kal. Apr. But we know now from the Hemerology (which was unknown to Ussher) that the Asiatic, Ephesian, and Bithynian month did begin on March 24, and that in consequence Sozomen's April 6 and the Homilist's 14th of the Asiatic seventh month are in perfect harmony. It is not the Greek of Sozomen, but the Latin of the Tripartite History which has suffered corruption, doubtless owing to the importance of the date March 25 in the West.

It would be unprofitable to attempt to explain the origin of the error of the Montanist computation. The sect was not a cultured one, and in despair it cut, instead of attempting to untie, the Gordian knot. One thing however is tolerably clear, that March 24 was taken as the starting-point of their first month because it began a month in the 'Asiatic' Kalendar.

It has been pointed out to me that Duchesne (*Origines du Culte Chrétien*, p. 251) comparing Hippolytus' date for the Passion, March 25, with the Western Christmas, Dec. 25, and this Montanist date for the Passion, April 6,

dicts the record of the Passion of Christ on the fourteenth of the moon at the Jewish Passover. However, they too observed the *τρίημερος*, the Friday, Saturday, and Sunday.

The error of the Jews was that they were not really careful to fix their first month by the equinox. The wise men of the Jews—Philo, Josephus, and others¹—had stated the true method, and some of them lived even after the time of Christ, so that doubtless Christ suffered at a Passover correctly reckoned; and, as a matter of fact, the Acts of Pilate relate that the crucifixion took place on the eighth before the Kalends of April (March 25)². But after the Jews had rejected Christ, they took to rejecting also all their own ancient guides. The two and seventy³ approved translators of the Scriptures were thrown over in favour of a single proselyte⁴.

with the Eastern Christmas, Jan. 6, supposes that the two dates for the Passion suggested the two dates for Christmas. I should have thought the converse more likely in the Eastern case.

¹ On this anti-Jewish equinoctial controversy see Anatolius, Socrates, and the Apostolic Constitutions quoted above, p. 119. Anatolius (ap. Eus. *H. E.* vii. 32) names Philo, Josephus, Musaeus, and those 'even more ancient,' the two Agathobuli and Aristobulus. Sozomen (vii. 18), referring to Anatolius as 'Eusebius,' names Philo, Josephus, and Aristobulus.

² Similarly Epiphanius (*Haer.* 50. 1), who tells us that certain Quartodecimans did always observe March 25, *τῇ πρὸ ὀκτῶν καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων*, as the day of Christ's death, on the strength of the same *Acta Pilati*. He adds that he had himself found copies of the *Acta* which contained the 18th of March, *πρὸ δεκάπεντε καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων*. The year of the Passion was originally given in the *Acta* as the 15th of Tiberius (A.D. 28-29) in accordance with the earliest Christian tradition (for I feel no doubt, in spite of the arguments of Lipsius' *Pilatus-Acten*, that the alternative dates, 18th or 19th Tiberius, are alterations due to the influence of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, who set the fashion for subsequent writers), and it is an extraordinarily striking coincidence that if the Crucifixion did take place in the year A. D. 29, the day must beyond question have been March 18, as pointed out in Browne's *Ordo Saeclorum*. Meanwhile the 18th of March was altered to that day week, March 25, probably under the influence of the *Chronicle* of Hippolytus, in which this was the day given for the Passion, and also because March 18 would soon be looked on as an inadmissible day, through its falling before the equinox.

³ 72 is given by the Letter of Aristeas, by Tertullian (*Apol.* 18), and by Epiphanius (*de Pond. et Mens.* iii-vi); 70 by Irenaeus (iii. 21), by Anatolius (*Eus. H. E.* vii. 32), by Jerome, and by Augustine.

⁴ That is, Aquila. Irenaeus indeed (iii. 21) calls both Theodotion and Aquila proselytes, but there can be no doubt which is meant here, for it was Aquila's translation which because of its superior literalness came into favour with the Jews, while Christian writers believed that Aquila and the Jews who followed him were animated by anti-Christian bias in their attempt to supersede a translation which favoured, and was favoured by, the Christian Church.

The equinoctial rule, though a tradition of Moses himself, was neglected, and now the Jewish Passover fell indifferently before or after, but on the present occasion (*εἰς τὸ ἑνεστὸς*) before, the equinox.

Now what was the mystical fitness of the date at which Christ suffered ?

That the equinox should mark the commencement of the first month is clear, if we think of the original creation of the world, for the first day and night would naturally have been equal : and it must have been the spring equinox, for the creation of flowers and trees and plants, symbols of spring, immediately followed. And so Scripture says that God divided equally the light and the darkness ; *ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτός καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους*. Then after the equinox on the fourth day, God created the sun and the moon—at the full ; on the sixth day, man ; on the seventh He rested ; and on the eighth, which is the first again, He suffered the now perfect universe to start on its course. So when man, created though he was in the image of God, had fallen from his high estate, and the Only-begotten Son had come to earth to restore him, He employs for redemption the same portion and period of time He had before chosen and used for creation, that the end might be harmonious with the beginning. Consequently the week of the Passion—the fulness of the times, the recapitulation of all things—must combine, just as the week of creation had done, the equinox, the full moon, and the sixth day or Friday specially devoted to man. But a week whose commencement on Sunday coincides with the equinox and contains the full moon, is an infrequent occurrence ; we read therefore in the Gospels that though the Jews had long sought Him, He had evaded them, until ‘His hour was come,’ and then He willingly suffered. After the equinox, when the light began to gain ground on and to master the darkness, but not later than the first Friday after, on which too He had created man, He suffered ; and on the Sabbath again, after the completion of His work, He rested.

But all these different data obviously cannot converge every year. They were necessarily observed in the one great Pascha, but just as that one sacrifice needs no repetition but only an imitation (*μίμημα*) in the Eucharist, so in our Pascha we need only imitate the season as far as lies in our power, combining the equinox, the fourteenth of the moon, and the three days’ celebration. Avoiding the ignorance of Jews and heretics, we find the equinox, we look

for the next full moon, and so for the Preparation, Sabbath and Lord's Day¹.

Further, the Lord fulfilled exactly the law of Moses, that on the fourteenth day between the evenings the lamb should be slaughtered: for 'between the evenings' will be at the ninth hour, as learned Jews fix it, and at the ninth hour Jesus, the Lamb of God, gave up the ghost². Again, the darkness at the crucifixion was not without its special meaning. To the Jews it recalled the prophecies of Zechariah and Amos, that it should be neither day nor night, and at eventide it should be light; that the sun should go down at midday; if the prophet added that their feasts should be turned to grief, this was actually the case, we learn from history, at the siege of Jerusalem³. By the Gentiles, the miracle of the darkness could not be explained away with Greek artifice as an eclipse, for the moon at the Passover is at the full: and by celebrating the Pascha yearly at full moon, we have a yearly reminder of the miracle for all ages and all men⁴.

¹ Cf. Epiphanius, *Haer.* 50. 3: διδ' παρατηρούμεθα μὲν τὴν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτην, ὑπερβαίνοντες δὲ τὴν ἰσημερίαν, φέρομεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγίαν κυριακὴν τὸ τέλος τῆς συμπληρώσεως.

² Therefore the Homilist follows the 'Johannine' view that our Lord ate only an anticipatory Passover and suffered on the 14th Nisan. This is in accordance with the almost unanimous view of early writers (Apollinaris, Clement of Alexandria, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hippolytus; see Westcott, *Introduction to Gospels*, p. 347), but in disagreement with an equally strong consensus later the other way. Even at the earliest possible date for our Homily, St. Chrysostom (a fact quite sufficient to disprove his authorship) and St. Ambrose (see his epistle, inf. p. 147), hold to the fifteenth; similarly Proterius of Alexandria, in his letter to Leo of Rome about the Easter of A. D. 455; and though the Paschal Chronicle, built up seemingly out of earlier materials, witnesses to a survival of the older opinion, yet in the ninth century Photius, impressed as he is with the evidence of two early writers, still speaks of them as varying from 'the Church' (Cod. 115, 116, fin., καὶ σκοπεῖν χρῆ. ὁ γὰρ Χρυσόστομος καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία τότε φησὶν αὐτὸν ἐπιτελέσαι τὸ νομικὸν πρὸ τοῦ μυστικοῦ δείπνου).

³ The Homilist adds, διετῇ χρόνον ὁ πόλεμος κατὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐπὶ πένθῃ ἀνάλωσε, p. 947. 24.

⁴ This was the argument of Julius Africanus, early in the 3rd century, (*Chronicon* fragm. ap. Routh, *R. S.* ii. 297), τοῦτο τὸ σκότος ἐκλείψαν τοῦ ἡλίου θάλλος ἀποκαλεῖ ἐν τρίτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ ἀλόγως (he explains about the full moon) . . . ἦν σκότος θεοποίητον διότι τὸν Κύριον συνέβη παθεῖν. Origen, who had himself explained the darkness as an eclipse (*c. Celsum*, ii. 33), in his Commentary on St. Matthew, adopted Africanus' view; cf. Routh, l. c. p. 479, ἵνα γὰρ μὴ εἰπωσιν ἐκλείψαν εἶναι τὸ γεγεννημένον, διὰ τοῦτο τῇ ἰδ' γίνεται, ὅτε ἐκλείψαν συμβῇσαν ἀμήχανον. But Eusebius (followed by Jerome, and as usual by the later chronologers) still called the darkness an eclipse, identifying

Now to apply these investigations to the fixing of the current feast. Twelve full moons after the last Easter we naturally expect the next to fall. But if the twelfth falls before the equinox, we must intercalate a thirteenth lunar month in order to get to a full moon after the equinox¹. Thus, in the present year, the twelfth full moon or fourteenth of the twelfth month falls two days before the equinox, and we must look for the next full moon for our Pascha. We have thus settled two of the conditions, the equinox and the full moon; we have still to find the Sunday. Now the postponed fourteenth will itself fall on a Sunday, and therefore to get our three days, Friday, Saturday, Sunday, we must again defer Easter for a week, or the festival of the resurrection would fall on the 14th, which is the date of the Passion.

Of the two full moons under discussion, the first falls, as we said, two days before the equinox²; the second on the 26th day of the seventh month, and Easter exactly a week later on the second day of the eighth month³.

it with one mentioned by the historian Phlegon under A. D. 32, which thenceforward became the usual year to which the crucifixion was assigned (see Lipsius, *Pilatus-Acten*, p. 23 ff.).

¹ Since twelve lunations (at $29\frac{1}{2}$ days each) amount to only about 354 days, there is a defect of rather more than 11 days on the total as compared with the solar year. This defect goes on increasing, and when it would bring a thirteenth full moon before the spring equinox, a thirteenth or intercalary month is added to the old year.

² *πρὸ δύο ἡμερῶν τῆς ἰσημερίας*—‘the day before,’ I suppose; on the analogy of phrases like *τῇ πρίν* for ‘the day before yesterday’ (Field on Matt. xvi. 12 *Optum Norvicense, Pars Tertia*, p. 7) and Latin ‘ante diem tertium.’

The cycle of Hippolytus (A. D. 222) had placed the equinox on March 18, and this reckoning prevailed in Rome till the fifth century; but the cycle of Anatolius (A. D. 277) advanced it to March 19, and the Alexandrian modification of the latter cycle, prevalent in the fourth century throughout the East, placed it later still, on March 21 (Hefele, *Councils, E. T.* i. p. 320). Our Homilist argued above that the crucifixion on March 25 corresponded to the Friday or sixth day of Creation week; the division of light and darkness, that is the equinox, would then have taken place on the first day of the same week, March 20. But I doubt whether he really intended to differ from the Alexandrine computation in practice: he would, I believe, have agreed that the 21st March was the first legal day for the *δ'*, and the 22nd for Easter Day. In any case the full moon meant must have fallen on March 19 or 20, for the next fell on the 26th day of the seventh month, which on the principles of the Asiatic Kalendar (the month beginning a. d. ix Kal. Apr., i. e. March 24, and being like April a month of 30 days not repeating its first) would be the 18th of April.

³ The eighth Asiatic month begins a. d. ix Kal. Mai., April 23, and being, like May, of 31 days, it repeats its first; the second will therefore fall on April 25.

If it was argued that Easter never had fallen so late as it was now proposed to hold it, proof against this statement could be brought by witnesses of good memory (*μνήμονες μάρτυρες*). How often in the past do you suppose it has been said, 'It has never been the case' (*οὐδέποτε γέγονε*) and yet science prevails? Moreover the objectors admit that Easter has often fallen as late as the 29th day of the seventh month¹, and the difference between us is therefore narrowed down to three or four days, which they shrink from yielding to the claims of science. And if it was simply a matter of prejudice against variations in the date of Easter, why there was variation between every two successive celebrations. In the current and three following years Easter would fall (i) on the 2nd of the eighth month, (ii) then on the 17th of the seventh month, (iii) then on the 9th of the seventh month, (iv) lastly on the 29th of the seventh month².

And such variations are all direct consequences of the two rules of the full moon after the equinox and the Sunday after the full moon. As to the latter point, if the full moon or 14th falls in the middle (*πλάτος*) of the week, the matter is simple, the next Sunday is Easter; but if it falls about the Sunday, then great caution is necessary. For instance, in the present case, careless calculators tried to make out that the fourteenth of the moon fell on the Saturday [i.e. April 17] and that therefore the next day was Easter Sunday³. But they were quite mistaken; even impartial and in-

¹ That is, April 21. Cp. the preface to the Festal Letters of St. Athanasius (quoted in Hefele, ii. 159), 'the Romans stated that they possessed a tradition, as ancient as the time of St. Peter, that they were not to go beyond the 21st of April:' and cf. the Epistle of St. Ambrose, inf. p. 148. Our Homilist cannot mean that any living witnesses could testify to an Easter on April 25: for according to Usaher (l. c. p. 1228) between A. D. 140 and 919, Easter fell on that day only four times, A. D. 387, 482, 577, 672; and a period of 95 years is more than any memory could embrace. What he undoubtedly does mean is that while the objectors opposed April 25 on the ground that April 21 was the last possible day for Easter, fairly modern instances could be quoted where this limit had been overpassed, i.e. where Easter had been held on April 22, 23, or 24.

² That is, by the Asiatic Kalendar, April 25, April 9, April 1, April 21.

³ Consequently, if the 14th had fallen on Saturday, the next day would have been admitted to be Easter Sunday, even though this made the commemoration of the Passion fall on the 13th. All that was contended for was that the feast of the Sunday should fall clear of the fast of the 14th. This was the principle of the Alexandrine cycle; but Hippolytus and Anatolius (and the Roman Church still in the fourth century) would have put off Easter for a week, even if the Saturday had fallen on the 18th.

telligent pagans (σοφοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων) could tell them that as a matter of fact the fourteenth coincided with the Sunday and the night after it, almost into the following Monday, and not near the Saturday at all; so that quite obviously Easter must be postponed for another week.

Facts must be faced; disputes must be put aside; the mind must be clear for the right observation of the seven weeks of Lent, the first of which, according to the true calculation of Easter, was now just about to begin¹.

Such is a tolerably ample analysis of the Homily on which Archbishop Ussher's leap-year theory rests, and it is obvious at once that it contains sufficient marks of time—in particular the dates of four successive Easters—to aid us in a secure reconstruction of its kalendar even for leap-year. It is now proposed to treat in order (1) of the locality of the Homily, (2) of the rough date of the Homily, (3) of the kalendar employed and the year which it suggests, (4) of other special evidence pointing to the same date.

(1) The presumption raised by two mentions of Asiatic months only comes in to reinforce a conclusion which could be safely drawn even without it. The seven weeks' Lenten fast excludes—at least on the fifth-century evidence of the historians Socrates and Sozomen—Ilyria, Greece, Egypt and Palestine; while it would fall in with any part of the country from Constantinople round to Phoenicia. The mention of certain heretics in connection with erroneous Paschal observances (notes on pp. 132, 133) narrows the field still further. The Quartodecimans are called by Socrates

¹ No doubt the Paschal quarrel with which our Homilist is concerned was excited in his Church by a dispute whether Lent should not have begun before.

For these seven weeks of Lent cf. Sozomen, vii. 19 (p. 743, Hussey), οἱ μὲν εἰς ἑβδομάδας ἡμερῶν λογίζονται, ὡς Ἰλλύριοι καὶ οἱ πρὸς δύσιν, Λιβύη τε πᾶσα καὶ Αἴγυπτος σὺν τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις· οἱ δὲ ἑπτὰ ὡς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει καὶ τοῖς περὶ ἔθνεσι μεχρὶ Φοινίκων· ἄλλοι δὲ τρεῖς σποραδῆν ἐν ταῖς ἑξ ἡ ἑπτὰ νηστεύουσιν· οἱ δὲ ἅμα τρεῖς πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς συνάπτουσιν· οἱ δὲ δύο ὡς οἱ τὰ Μοντάνου φρονούντες. In the parallel passage of Socrates (*H. E.* v. 22, p. 240, Bright), I believe the historian's meaning to be that those whom he does not specify fasted for seven weeks, his point being that many people who fasted less than 40 days yet called Lent *τεσσαρακοστή*, which, strictly speaking, only those who fasted seven weeks continuously had a right to do. He has only therefore to mention the exceptions to this latter rule.

(v. 22), and by Sozomen (vii. 18) *οἱ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας*. The Novatians were powerful in Constantinople, the Hellespont, Phrygia, Paphlagonia and Galatia; but the erroneous Pascha blamed by the Homilist was adopted not by the Novatians of Rome or even those of Constantinople and Nicomedia, but by those of Phrygia and Galatia only. And lastly the Montanists, as we know and as their alternative titles of *Πεπουζῖται* and *Φρύγες* (Soz. vii. 18) clearly show, were always a distinctively Phrygian sect. Our Homilist then certainly wrote in Asia Minor, and probably somewhere not far removed from Phrygia.

(2) From evidence of place we pass to evidence of similar sort for time; and here again the various sects and religions with which the Church, according to the Homily, has to deal, will first come under review¹. Of Montanism as still flourishing in Phrygia we hear in the laws of Constantine, in the council of Laodicea, and in St. Basil in the fourth century, and in the Theodosian code and the historian Sozomen during the first half of the fifth; but in the middle of the sixth century it appears to have been finally exterminated by the persecution of Justinian. Similarly the Novatians of Asia Minor were in the fourth and fifth centuries numerous and influential, as we learn from Epiphanius, Basil, and Socrates; but after the fifth century not much is heard of them. In particular the judaizing Novatians, with whom alone our Homily deals, seem after A.D. 450 to have finally coalesced with Montanism. Judaism is introduced in the Homily mainly in connection with the relation of the equinox to the Passover, a form of dispute especially characteristic of the third and fourth centuries, for it appears in Anatolius of Laodicea, at the Council of Nicaea, in the Apostolic Constitutions and in St. Ambrose. One would not imagine that references to it would be frequent later; and with every century the intercourse even of heretical Christianity with Judaism must have been growing appreciably smaller. Lastly Pagans (*Ἕλληνες*) are even in Asia Minor still a force which must be taken into account. Our Homilist had just been preaching against both Jews and Pagans. The annual memory of the miraculous darkness of the crucifixion is an annual rebuke to Pagan unbelief. And scientific Pagans are quoted as admitting the accuracy of the astronomical calculations of the Church for Easter. All this

¹ For the summaries on this and the following pages I am largely indebted to various articles in the Dictionaries of Christian Biography and Antiquities.

is not surprising in the fourth century; it becomes stranger for the fifth, and it would be almost incredible later.

The Gospel chronology again shows an independence of Eusebius, which suggests a date not later than 400 A. D., after which time there were few writers who, like Epiphanius and our Homilist, were uninfluenced by the *Chronicle*. For instance, the crucifixion is placed on Nisan 14 in common with a catena of primitive fathers, but against the view of Ambrose, Chrysostom, Proterius, and the later centuries. The 25th of March is given (after the Acts of Pilate) for the crucifixion with Hippolytus, Tertullian, and Augustine. The darkness of the crucifixion is explained with Africanus and Origen as a miracle, and not with Eusebius, Malala, and the Paschal Chronicle as Phlegon's eclipse.

Finally an argument may be drawn from the fact that Christmas, Epiphany, and the commemorations of martyrs are mentioned as the feasts kept at that time in the Church on fixed days. For the saints' days parallels may be found at least as early as a Gothic fragment of the fourth century, the Syriac Kalendar in the great MS. dated A. D. 411, or the Roman lists traceable to the fourth and fifth centuries¹. Of the fixed feasts commemorative of the Gospel history, Christmas and Epiphany are also the two mentioned in the Apostolic Constitutions (v. 13), while the Paschal Chronicle, for instance, in the seventh century has the Purification, the Annunciation and the Nativity of St. John Baptist; and of these three the first at least was instituted by the Emperor not later than about A. D. 540.

On the other hand it might perhaps be urged that the commemoration of the Nativity on Dec. 25 rather than on Jan. 6, is for the East an innovation which points to a date later than Chrysostom, who in an Antiochene Homily thought to have been delivered in A. D. 386 speaks of the transference of the festival as introduced from the West less than ten years before. But (i) our Homily is not earlier, as will be seen, than A. D. 387: (ii) the change at Antioch may have taken place later than in other parts of the East; the Apostolic Constitutions give Dec. 25, and they are apparently earlier than Chrysostom: (iii) it is not unreasonable to conjecture that when our Homilist in the same context defines Christmas by a Roman, and Epiphany by an Asiatic date (*κατὰ Ῥωμαίους, κατὰ Ἀσιανοὺς*) that the former feast somehow connected itself in his

¹ Duchesne, p. 278,

mind with the West, in which case he must have lived before the origin of the December celebration was forgotten. Not even here then have we any evidence tending to suggest a date later than the fourth century for our Homily.

(3) Now if an Asiatic writer use once a Roman method of dating (and this, as we have just seen, perhaps from a special reason) for Christmas-day, but an Asiatic method (*κατ' Ἀσιανοῦς*) twice, for Epiphany and for the Montanist Easter, we shall conclude that his normal Kalendar was the Asiatic, and shall turn to it for help when we find him giving dates for several successive Easters on what is at any rate not a Roman reckoning; and we shall not be surprised that the characteristic features of the 'Asiatic' Kalendars of the Hemerology are faithfully reproduced in the Homily. The Montanist fourteenth for the Pascha was reckoned on the fourteenth of the seventh Asiatic month; the Hemerology commences the seventh month on a. d. ix Kal. Apr. (March 24), and as a month of 30 days does not repeat its first, and thus its 14th will fall on April 6th, a. d. viii Id. Apr., exactly the Roman date as given by Sozomen in the same connexion. The Epiphany festival of the Church was on the 13th of the fourth Asiatic month, which beginning on a. d. ix Kal. Jan. (Dec. 24), and as a month of 31 days repeating its first, brings us to January 6, the well-known festival of the Eastern Church¹, as

¹ Jan. 6 for the Epiphany, e. g. in Apost. Const. v. 13, ἡ ἐπιφάνιος . . . γινέσθω . . . ἔκτῃ τοῦ δεκάτου μηνός; in the Kalendarium Karthaginense (Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*, p. 634), viii Idus Jan. sanctum Epefania. It is true that we do find allusions to Jan. 5, instead of Jan. 6, and it might therefore be argued that this is possibly the day intended here, the Asiatics having by this time dropped the repetition of the first day in months of 31 days. But such allusions all belong to times or places where in accordance with the earliest custom the Epiphany was celebrated in conjunction with the feast of the Nativity; and the latter was commemorated at night; cf. the 'Constitutions of the Alexandrian Church' (Dict. Chr. Ant. i. p. 359), 'in die autem Nativitatis et Epiphaniae . . . ut noctu missa celebretur'; and so Cosmas Indicopleustes (c. A. D. 550) can even say that all Christians concur in celebrating the Nativity on (Choeac 28 =) Dec. 24. Similarly Stephen Gobar (Photius, cod. 232) in his list of disputed questions names the two dates for the Nativity, one of which is Ἰανουαρίῳ ἐκτὰ τὸ μέσον τῆς νυκτὸς ἡμερῆς ἐστὶ πρὸ δεκάτῃ εἰδῶν Ἰανουαρίαν, i. e. Jan. 5 and 6. Thus so far as Epiphanius (Haer. 51. 24) speaks of the 5th of January, it is to be noticed (i) that he is speaking of the Nativity only; the Baptism he placed on Nov. 8; (ii) that he explains the date πέμπτῃ Ἰανουαρίου ἑσπέρα εἰς ἑκτὴν ἐπιφώσκουσα, and as πρὸ δεκάτῃ εἰδῶν = Jan. 6; (iii) that the Egyptian, Greek, Paphian, and Arabic equivalents given in the same passage are shown by the Hemerology to apply only to Jan. 6. And similarly the Armenian Church, combining in one the

its 14th. Thirdly, the Paschal full moon of the year in which the Homily was delivered fell on the 26th day of the seventh month, while the second day of the eighth month was exactly a week later. But the seventh Asiatic month commenced on a. d. ix Kal. Apr. (March 24), and the eighth on a. d. ix Kal. Mai. (April 23); the 26th day of the seventh month (one of 30 days only) falls on April 18, and therefore that day week is April 25. But if the eighth month began on April 23, and the 2nd of it fell on the 25th, the repetition of the first in months of 31 days must still have formed an integral part of the Asiatic system.

Now however the possibility must be taken into account that the year of the Homily was a leap-year, and the intercalation of the extra day was not made in Asia till at any rate after April. If this were so, as each Asiatic day would be equivalent to one (Roman) day earlier than usual, the two dates of the Homily would become April 17 and April 24. We should then have to find a year in which, on the Alexandrine cycle, the following conditions were satisfied:—(a) full moon on April 17; (b) Easter a week later on April 24; (c) the year *ex hypothesi* a leap-year.

Taking as our guide the Paschal table of Dionysius Exiguus (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 67, p. 493), who first introduced Alexandrian calculations in a scientific form to the West, we have there given full moons and Easters from A. D. 513 to 626, those from A. D. 532 to 626 forming a complete set of 95 years¹. Now the selection of 95 years as the cycle was prompted by the desire to find a term of years after which (1) 95 being a multiple of 19, and

commemoration of the Annunciation, Nativity, and Epiphany, commenced with the Annunciation on the evening of Jan. 5, and so apparently proceeded to the Nativity and Epiphany (D. Chr. Ant. *ut sup.*). But our Homilist, unlike this, distinguished between the Nativity on Dec. 25, and the Epiphany on Jan. 6.

It is true that St. Jerome explains the date of the prophecy of Ezekiel i. 'in the thirteenth year, in the fourth month, on the fifth day of the month,' as foreshadowing Christ's Baptism in His thirtieth year, on the fifth day of the fourth (Eastern) month. But this is a forced application of a prophecy; and moreover St. Jerome was writing in Palestine, where the joint celebration of the two feasts had not yet been superseded (Duchesne, p. 248), so that the 5th would still form part of the feast. In fact his strong disclaimer, at this very point, of the union of the two, almost suggests that he is borrowing his interpretation from some previous writer who had interpreted the prophetic date of both Nativity and Epiphany. (See his Commentary *in loc.* quoted by Ussher, p. 1216.)

¹ No doubt there exists a list of all occasions on which Easter has been held; and if I had known where to find it, I might have spared myself the calculations from this point for a page onwards.

the Alexandrine lunar cycle being of 19 years, the full moons would recur on the same days of the month; (2) those days of the month too would fall usually on the same days of the week, and in any case not more than one day apart; for in 95 years we have (after the 52 weeks in each year) 95 extra days, and 23 or 24 leap-years each with a further day; in all 118 or 119 days; and as the chances are three to one that in 95 years there will be 24 leap-years, they are also three to one in favour of the larger number 119 days, or exactly seventeen weeks. Thus after 95 years, three times out of four, the full moon falling not only on the same day of the month but on the same day of the week, Easter, too, will fall the same number of days after it, that is, also on the same day of the month. Now if we want to find all possible Easters, say between A.D. 325 and 700, which fell on April 24, we turn to a cycle of 95 years and look for all Easters on that day or on one day each way—April 23, 24, 25—secure that further variation is impossible. In Dionysius' cycle there are only four such Easters. In A.D. 539 Easter fell on April 24; therefore on the same or next day in A.D. 349, 444, 634. In A.D. 550 again on April 24; so A.D. 360, 455, 645. In A.D. 577 on April 25: compare A.D. 387, 482, 672. In A.D. 607 on April 23; compare A.D. 417, 512. But of all these occasions only the four italicized years were leap-years; and all others are *ex hypothesi* excluded. Hence only A.D. 360, 444, 512, 672 can come into account. Now in A.D. 360 Easter fell on April 23, according to the Festal Letter of St. Athanasius for that year (see tables in Larsow's edition). In A.D. 444 it fell again on the same day, as stated by Proterius of Alexandria in his letter to Leo of Rome eleven years later (Migne, vol. 67, p. 510). In A.D. 512 it must have fallen on April 22; for the cycle of Dionysius commences in the next year with an Easter Sunday on April 7. And in A.D. 672 it certainly fell on April 25; see Ussher inf. There is therefore no single year which fulfils the conditions of Easter Sunday on April 24 in leap-year; and we may confidently conclude that even if the leap-year day was intercalated after April, at least the year of our Homilist was not leap-year, and in that case the normal equivalents between the Asiatic and Julian Kalendars must hold. *The full moon of the Homilist can only have fallen on April 18, and his Easter Day on April 25.*

But Ussher gives only four occasions between A.D. 140 and 919 on which Easter Sunday fell on the 25th of April, namely, the years

A. D. 387, 482, 577, 672. We will now put side by side our Homilist's four Easter dates in his own Asiatic months; then the ordinary equivalents of these in Roman months; and lastly the four sets of Easters (taken from Ussher, l. c. p. 1229) to one of which the Homily must certainly apply—

2nd day of 8th month	April 25	{ A. D. 387. April 25 482. April 25 577. April 25 672. April 25
17th day of 7th month	April 9	{ 388. April 9 483. April 10 578. April 10 673. April 10
9th day of 7th month	April 1	{ 389. April 1 484. April 1 579. April 2 674. April 2
29th day of 7th month	April 21	{ 390. April 21 485. April 21 580. April 21 675. April 22

Now of the four dates given in the Homily three must of course be reckoned by the ordinary Roman equivalents, for leap-year can only affect one in four. But no less than three of the four refuse to tally with the quartet A. D. 672-675, and two with the quartet A. D. 577-580. In the third set A. D. 482-485, only one year, it is true, differs; but this one, A. D. 483, is not leap-year. We conclude that the four years of the Homily must be the remaining quartet, A. D. 387-390, and here the correspondence is exact. Even in A. D. 388, the leap-year of the four, the Asiatic and Julian equivalents are for April 9 the same as in ordinary years; and consequently the Asiatic leap-year intercalation must have been made before the month in which this day occurs.

(4) It is strictly speaking superfluous, but at the same time it will add interest to the discussion and cogency to the conclusion if finally, as the coping-stone of the present argument, we can show that our Homily, now dated independently at A. D. 387, does in fact fit admirably into the historical conditions of that year and of the Paschal disputes which marked it. Till that year, Easter had not fallen as late as April 25 since the sub-Apostolic age, and it would preeminently be such a first occasion which would excite the opposition and alarm depicted in our Homily; while

before Easter fell again so late (A. D. 482) Alexandrine calculations were accepted as a matter of course in the East, and even at Rome they were largely introduced by Victorius about the middle of the fifth century, and fully by Dionysius Exiguus in the first half of the sixth. Again, appeal is made, as we said, to 'witnesses of good memory' for Easter falling after the 21st, while objectors admit Easter on the 21st but nothing more. Now Easter as a matter of fact had fallen on April 21 only eight years before, in A. D. 379; but before April 21, it had only fallen twice within sixty years—in A. D. 349 on April 23, and in A. D. 360 on the same day—and on the first of these occasions the Alexandrines, Athanasius being then on intimate terms with the Westerns and especially with the Roman See, yielded to the Roman earlier computation¹. One instance within living memory, and that twenty-seven years before, would satisfy the contradictory assertions hazarded on the two sides.

Further we do know that in A. D. 387 the unusual lateness of the Alexandrine Easter aroused keen discussion, in which the Emperor Theodosius, with the view of reconciling the West to the Eastern practice, intervened. There is still extant the preface of a document addressed to him by Theophilus of Alexandria, whom he had consulted, as well as a circular letter which St. Ambrose from the same point of view directed to the bishops of Emilia.

Theophilus² writes that according to the Old Testament the month of the Passover was to be the first month or month of new year's produce (*μὴν τῶν νέων*) when the crops were full-grown; and the day to be the 14th, that is full moon, for the Jewish month, unlike the ancient Egyptian but like the Greek, was lunar. This month itself should be fixed after the equinox, which falls on the 25th Phamenoth, 21st of March, or according to the 'Syrians, Antiochenes, and Macedonians' 21st of Dystrus; if the previous (twelfth) month were to be taken, it would be found that the crops were not ready to cut. But when, the month being rightly fixed, its 14th falls on Sunday, Easter must be put off a week; for we may neither end our fast on the 13th nor yet fast on the Sunday—a thing no one would do but a Manichee³—while

¹ Cf. Hefele, *Councils*, E. T. ii. 159. The Easters during the Episcopate of Athanasius (A. D. 328-373) are given in Larsow's edition of the *Festal Letters*, p. 47.

² Ap. Gallandi, vii. 614.

³ *Μανιχαῖον γὰρ ἴδιον πρᾶγμα τὸ τοιοῦτον.*

on the contrary, as the Lord was crucified on the 14th¹, and therefore the Resurrection fell after it then, so may its Paschal commemoration now. As to objections on the score of lateness (of April 25), why the Law itself says, if you cannot keep the Passover in the first month, do so in the second; in any case therefore it is better to have Easter too late than too early.

St. Ambrose is addressing the bishops of Emilia, after the bishops of Rome and Alexandria had expressed their opinion, and apparently with Theophilus' epistle in his hands². The Nicene fathers, he says, had instituted a nineteen years' cycle (after which the same dates for full moons were to recur) in order to secure unanimity about the night on which the 'sacrifice for the Lord's Resurrection' was to be offered³. We are to note the first month or month of new crops, and the 14th of the month; for Christ, coming to fulfil the Law of Moses, kept the Passover on the 14th (Thursday), being crucified on the 15th, and rising from the dead on the 17th. Thus the 14th as preceding the Passion, and therefore a fast, cannot be Easter day, which if the 14th is a Sunday — 'sicut futurum est proxime' — will fall a week later, and in this case will be kept on the 25th, not on the 18th, of April. So, to quote recent practice, in A. D. 373⁴ the 14th of the moon fell on March 24, and Easter a week later; in A. D. 377 the 14th was on April 9, and again Easter on the 16th.

But then, continues Ambrose, the objection is made that if

¹ Τῇ δεκάπεντακαιάρῃ in the Greek: but the Latin 'decimaquinta,' cf. Ambrose *inf.* and note 2 on p. 136.

² *Ambrosii Opera* (Venice, 1751), iii. pp. 935-943. 'Post Aegyptiorum supputationes et Alexandrinae Ecclesiae definitores, Episcopi quoque Romanae ecclesiae, per litteras plerique meam adhuc expectant sententiam'; elsewhere again, 'Alexandrini quoque et Aegyptii, ut ipsi scripserunt.' Further, he not only employs the Egyptian names of months, but presents actual coincidences with Theophilus' preface just mentioned, in the 'mensis novorum' and the reference to the Manichees.

On the important position held by the see of Milan at the end of the fourth century, see Duchesne, pp. 32-39.

³ If the Gentiles observe days — 'quintam esse fugiendam,' 'posteror dies vel Aegyptiacos declinare' — they do it for superstitious motives; we in order that 'consona sacrae noctis fundatur oratio.'

⁴ St. Ambrose dates the years here by the era of Diocletian, the 89th and the 93rd. This era, specially made for Egypt, and continuously in use in the Coptic Church as the 'era of martyrs,' is reckoned from A. D. 284, the year of Diocletian's accession, and as the Egyptian year commenced on August 29, the 89th and 93rd year of the era will refer to the Easters not of A. D. 372 and 376, but of A. D. 373 and 377. Even the months Phamenoth and Pharmuthi are given as well as the Roman reckoning.

Easter is kept as late as April 25, the rule of the 'first month' is not observed. We answer—

(1) Since the full moon can obviously fall anywhere within the first solar month, if it falls quite at the end, then Easter, unless kept on the actual 14th, must fall in the next month.

(2) In the present case it is the Jews who will not observe the first month; for their Passover is to be on March 20, which belongs to the 12th month and not to the 1st¹, whether you reckon the latter as the post-equinoctial month of 31 days, from March 22 to April 21, or the Egyptian month Pharmuthi, of 30 days, from March 27 to April 25.

(3) But in reality, as scholars of the Jewish law know well, this first month is lunar; and if the first full moon after the equinox falls (as in A. D. 387) on April 18 the first new moon will fall on April 5, the nones of April², and the second therefore about the nones of May, so that April 25 falls well before it.

Moreover only two years ago Easter was celebrated as late as the 11th before the Kalends of May, the 30th of the (post-equinoctial) month³, and the few extra days between that day and the 25th of April now proposed, ought not to be a real stumbling-block.

It is sufficiently obvious that the arguments of St. Ambrose and of Theophilus are in the main identical with those employed by our Homilist, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the three

¹ In Milan, the eighth month, 'octavus secundum consuetudinem nostram, indictio enim Septembri mense incipit, octavo igitur mense Kalendae Apriles sunt.'

² Such seems to be the meaning of the words 'cum a pluribus nonis lunae cursus incipiat, hoc est, dies primus, vides nonas Maii adhuc ad mensem primum novorum computari posse'; where for 'a pluribus nonis' I suspect we should read 'Aprilibus Nonis.'

³ 'Ante biennium celebraverimus paschae Dominicam undecimo Kalendas Maii, hoc est, trigesimo die mensis secundum nostram scilicet calculationem.' These figures do not seem to tally; a. d. xi Kal. Mai. is April 21, but the 30th of a month commencing on March 22 would be April 20: so for 'trigesimo' we ought perhaps to restore 'triges[imo pr]imo.' If April 21 is thus correct, the nearest year given in the tables in which Easter fell on that day is A. D. 379; and as on the other hand it seems probable (e. g. from the repeated use of '*proxime*') that the letter was not written very long before the Easter of A. D. 387, it has been proposed to read 'ante vi ennium' (i. e. sexennium) for 'ante biennium.' [I do not know whether it is possible that in A. D. 384 the full moon which fell about March 21 may have been reckoned in Milan as before the equinox, so that the Paschal moon would fall about April 19, and Easter day, instead of on March 24, on April 21.]

writers refer to the same occasion. By concurrent but independent lines of argument it has therefore been established that the four Easters of the Homily are those from A. D. 387 to 390 ; and if so, then (as we have seen) the date given for the leap-year Easter of A. D. 388 shows that the intercalation was made before Easter and before the month beginning on March 24. It was already argued in the main body of this Essay (p. 122, sup.), that the intercalation probably did take place in the sixth Asiatic month (Feb. 21 to March 23) in Asia as in Rome. So far therefore from demonstrating an alternative theory to be correct, the Paschal Homily is absolutely consistent, so far as it goes, with the theory of intercalation on which this Essay is based¹.

APPENDIX II.

PASSAGES FROM ANCIENT WRITERS WHO EMPLOY KALENDARS OF THE ASIATIC TYPE, GIVING SIDE BY SIDE A ROMAN AND A NATIVE DATING.

[C. H. T.]

DR. LIGHTFOOT has quoted (Ignatius i. 665) four inscriptions which give side by side the two methods of dating. For completeness' sake I have put together here the few instances which are quoted by Archbishop Ussher from ancient writers.

1. Epiphanius, *Haeres.* 51. § 24. The Baptism of Christ, *κατ' Αἰγυπτίους* 'Αθὺρ δωδεκάτῃ πρὸ ἐξ εἰδῶν Νοεμβρίων, *κατὰ Ἕλληνας* Δίου ὀγδόῃ . . . *κατὰ Παφίους* 'Απογονικοῦ ἑκκαίδεκάτῃ . . . *κατὰ Μακεδόνας* 'Απελλαίου ἑκκαίδεκάτῃ.

¹ Of course (I repeat what I have said before) the correctness of this theory of intercalation does not prove that St. Polycarp suffered in A. D. 156 and not in A. D. 155. That he did suffer in the later year is made possible by it, and the possible becomes probable, if once the identification of the 'high sabbath' with the Purim feast is admitted.

Here the date intended is of course Nov. 8, and the Asiatic or, as Epiphanius here calls it, the 'Macedonian' date, Apellaeus 16, is correctly given according to the Hemerology; for Apellaeus commences a. d. ix Kal. Nov. (Oct. 24) and does not repeat its first. But a second kalendar on the Asiatic model was the Cyprian, as the Hemerology calls it, or as Epiphanius calls it (to distinguish it from the Kalendar of Salamis) the Paphian; and the Paphian date is again correctly given as Apogonicus 16.

2. Epiphanius, *ib.* The Birth of Christ, *πρὸ ὀκτῶ εἰδῶν Ἰανουαρίων . . . κατ' Αἰγυπτίους Τυβὶ ἐνδεκάτῃ, κατὰ Σύρους εἴτ' οὖν Ἑλλήνας Ἀύδυναίου ἕκτῃ . . . κατὰ Παφίους Ἰουλίου τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτῃ.* The date meant is January 6, and the 'Asiatic' date is not among the parallels here given (but cf. the Paschal Homily, p. 142, sup.): however the Paphian date recurs, and we learn (as indeed the Hemerology would tell us) that the Paphian months, though all beginning like the Asiatic months on a. d. ix Kal., did not repeat the first in months of 31 days. For 'Julius' begins a. d. ix Kal. Jan. (Dec. 24) and if it repeated its first the 14th would have been Jan. 7, not Jan. 6.

3. The panegyric entitled *Laudatio S. Barnabae Apostoli* written by a certain Alexander, a monk of Cyprus, and printed in the *Acta Sanctorum* for June 11 (June, tom. ii. pp. 431-447) gives St. Barnabas' day as *κατὰ μὲν Ῥωμαίους τῇ πρὸ τριῶν εἰδῶν Ἰουνίων, κατὰ δὲ Κυπρίους Κωνσταντίεϊς μηνὸς Μεσωρεί, τοῦ καὶ δεκάτου, ια', κατὰ δὲ Ἀσιανοῦς ἡτοὶ κατὰ Παφίους Πληθυπάτου τοῦ καὶ ἐνάτου ιθ'.* The ninth 'Asiatic or Paphian' month, commencing a. d. ix Kal. Jun. (May 24) and not repeating its first, will make its 19th on June 11; but Plethypatus is, strictly speaking, only a Paphian and not an Asiatic name (Lightfoot, i. p. 682).

The rough date of this little panegyric is easily fixed; for it discusses the history of Peter the Fuller bishop of Antioch and his claim over Cyprus, so opportunely met by the discovery of the relics of St. Barnabas, and must therefore be later than A. D. 480, while it obviously precedes the Saracen invasions of Cyprus, and must therefore be earlier than A. D. 650. But since Alexander speaks of the Theopaschite addition to the Trisagion made by Peter, *ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς*, as still largely in use in his own day among the more simple-minded orthodox, I should conclude that this writing must belong to the earlier half of the sixth century. (See Dict. Christ. Ant. s.v. Trisagion: Bingham, book xiv. ch. 2,

§ 3). Photius (cod. 228) preserves an account of a letter written by Ephraimius, Patriarch of Antioch from about A. D. 527 to 547, in which he maintains the orthodoxy both of the Easterns who used the addition (addressing the hymn to Christ) and the Westerns or Byzantines who rejected it on the ground that the hymn was really addressed to the Holy Trinity. But after this there does not seem to be any mention of the enlarged Trisagion at least in orthodox circles.

4. In the Acts of Timothy (printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*, January, ii. p. 566) the saint is said to have been martyred 'in nefanda festivitate eorum, quam vocabant Catagogiorum, quae est secundum Asianos quidem mensis quarti die tricesima, secundum autem Romanos mensis Januarii vicesima secunda.' The fourth month commenced a. d. ix Kal. Dec. (Dec. 24) and being a month of 31 days, should repeat the first, so that the Asiatic 30th ought to be Jan. 23 not Jan. 22. It is possible therefore that at some unknown date the system of the double first was dropped, and the days in all months counted straight through, so that the Asiatic Kalendar was in fact assimilated to the Paphian Kalendar described above, in which Jan. 22 would be the 30th of the 4th month. This may be the reason why Alexander the monk, as we saw, can quote a date as κατὰ δὲ Ἀσιανοῦς ἦτοι κατὰ Παφίους. Unfortunately there is nothing on the face of these Acts of Timothy to fix their date; but they were read by Photius (cod. 254), while, on the other hand, the application of the title Patriarch to the Bishop of Ephesus seems to show that they are not earlier than A. D. 450. [Prof. Sanday now kindly informs me that Usener, in his edition of these Acts (which I was unable to find in the Bodleian) and Schürer, in reviewing Usener, both fix on a date some time in the fourth century; I should scarcely have thought they were so early.]

NOTE.—ON THE NEW MATTER CONTAINED IN THE SECOND EDITION (1889), OF BISHOP LIGHTFOOT'S APOSTOLIC FATHERS, (PART II. ST. IGNATIUS, ST. POLYCARP, VOL. I. pp. 626-722).

[This edition appeared when the proof of the preceding paper had all but finally left my hands, and I am therefore unable to do more than add the present note, calling attention to the chief additions to the discussion on St. Polycarp's martyrdom. These, so

far as a rapid glance enables one to judge, seem to be mainly the following:—

(a) On p. 683 (ed. i. p. 666), a sentence is added on the inscription from Ephesus, for which cf. p. 120 sup.

(b) On p. 687 an unpublished Pergamene inscription, communicated by Mommsen, is printed so far as it bears on the Asiatic Kalendar.

(c) On p. 714 *n.* (ed. i. p. 696), the judgment on Usener's theory of the term Σεβαστή is reworded.

(d) On p. 727, Dr. Lightfoot is good enough to discuss the theory offered in the preceding pages. The Bishop of Salisbury (through Prof. Sanday) had kindly asked the present writer to send him a note on the date of the martyrdom, and this was printed in the new edition of the late Bishop of Lincoln's *Church History*. In this shape it has come under the notice of Dr. Lightfoot, who criticises its theory of leap-year intercalation, on the ground that the intercalated day must have been the same in Asia as in Rome. This may be so, though Archbishop Ussher, as we have seen, placed it at nearly six months' distance instead of only two days. The last few lines of the Bishop's criticism (where '3rd Xanthicus' occurs three times in mistake, I think, for 2nd Xanthicus) show that I did not succeed in making myself intelligible in the limits of a short abstract. I hope I may have been more fortunate in the preceding paper. C. H. T.]

The inscription from Pergamon (p. 687) is of considerable interest. It is a dedication to Hadrian by a religious college, and names the days annually to be celebrated by the three officials of the corporation. The kalendar employed is obviously Asiatic, for the names Lous, Panemus, Peritius, Hyperberetaeus, occur for various months, and the birthday of Hadrian (a. d. ix Kal. Feb. = Jan. 24) falls on the Σεβαστή or first¹ of the month Καῖρας, the latter name being apparently substituted for Dystrus (Jan. 24—Feb. 20) in honour of the reigning Emperor². The curious

¹ Usener's theory on this point, accepted above (p. 121), is now admitted by Dr. Lightfoot to be probable (p. 714 *n.*).

² It is true that the Cypriot (Paphian) Kalendar, dating from the time of Augustus, already used Caesarius for this same month; but the Ephesian Caesarius was a different month, September–October, so called obviously from the birthday of Augustus.

coincidence that the second of the two Emperors whose worship was most extravagantly practised in Asia had his birthday, like the first, on a. d. ix Kal., must have given considerable impetus to a kalendar whose ruling principle was the celebration of this Emperor's day on the first of each month. Further, we find in this inscription that in both the months Panemus and Lous, the three officials observe respectively the days $\Sigma\epsilon\beta$, β' , γ' , that is most naturally the 1st, 2nd, 3rd. Now Lous, as a month of 31 days, ought to have repeated its first, so that the three days would be $\Sigma\epsilon\beta$, α' , β' ; and there is therefore a possibility that at Pergamon in Hadrian's time, the double first was not in use, the days being numbered from 1 to 31, which would bring the Pergamene Kalendar into exact agreement with those of Bithynia, Crete and Cyprus (see Lightfoot, p. 681, and for Cyprus, or more properly Paphos, sup. p. 150), all of them different from the Asiatic on this point. A similar kalendar was in use at Attalia in Pamphylia in the third century¹, whither it no doubt travelled direct from Paphos. In Proconsular Asia itself the compiler of the (late) Acts of Timothy, presumably an Ephesian, omitted the doubled first (sup. p. 151). This alteration Dr. Lightfoot now supposes to have been made at an early date, explaining his second inscription—that from Ephesus of A. D. 104, where, as we saw (p. 120 sup.), Anthesterion or Xanthicus 2 is Feb. 22, not Feb. 23—on these lines; 'the inconvenience of reckoning two first days must have been seriously felt and would eventually lead to the substitution of another nomenclature at this point without destroying the general framework of the kalendar' (p. 683). Only in the first place, if all this is so, there is no antecedent reason why the 2nd Xanthicus of St. Polycarp's martyrdom fifty years later may not also be an instance where the double first has been dropped, so that the equivalent date would again be Feb. 22, not Feb. 23. It is true that this suggestion implies that the equation in the extant text (a. d. vii Kal. Mart. Feb. 23) is incorrect; but there is certainly no positive objection to treating the Roman date as a later insertion for the benefit of non-Asiatic readers, and since *ex hypothesi* both the use and the omission of the double first were current in Asia, there is nothing strange if of the two interpretations of Xanthicus 2 (Feb. 22 and 23), a later writer adopted

¹ Lightfoot, p. 684, $\mu\eta\eta\iota\ \eta'$, $\kappa\beta'$ $\xi\omega\varsigma\ \lambda\alpha'$, $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu\ \iota'\ \eta\mu\epsilon\rho\hat{\omega}\nu$, equated to May 14-23.



one as most familiar to himself, while it was the other which really corresponded to the original date.

As a matter of fact the reckoning of the double first did in fact survive long after the second century, as has been shown in the appendix from the use of the Asiatic Kalendar in Pseudo-Chrysostom. The martyrdom of Pionius (Lightfoot, i. 720), obviously depends on it also, for the 12th March is there the 19th of the Asiatic month. On the other hand, of the authorities quoted against the double first, the Pamphylian inscription is too far removed in place, and the Acts of Timothy in time. Then the Pergamene inscription on closer examination shows signs of Asiatic structure; the last but one of the month is still denoted $\pi\rho\delta$, and this means that the last ten days of the month were reckoned backwards, as in the Asiatic Kalendar, and in it only. If an assimilation to the Bithynian and Cyprian type had taken place, the double first would indeed have disappeared, but the backward counting of ten days (which would now have become eleven days) would probably have been dropped for simple enumeration from 1 to 31. Moreover, it is not easy to believe that within the limits of so small an area as Proconsular Asia two kalendars so like, and yet so unlike (for the change would alter by one day at least 140 days in the year), prevailed side by side. That the system of the double first existed, we know; that the contrary system also existed is not *proved* by the Pergamene inscription; and the Ephesian inscription, though compatible with it, is equally compatible with the hypothesis here suggested.

It was on the assumption that only one kalendar was in use, and in order to meet the two objections as to the pontificate of Anicetus and the high sabbath of Purim in connection with the earlier year, that Feb. 22, A. D. 156 was offered in this paper as a possible alternative to Feb. 23, A. D. 155. Dr. Lightfoot now says (p. 727), that he does not 'lay any stress on this particular solution' of the high sabbath, although he still seems to prefer it¹; and he is arguing, he tells us, in his forthcoming edition of St. Clement, that 'it is impossible with our existing data to fix the accessions of the Roman bishops in the middle of the second

¹ Dr. Lightfoot adds that 'whether in this age the Jews intercalated by whole months or by fractions of months, we cannot say': I should have thought it impossible for a lunar kalendar to intercalate less than a complete moon.

century within three or four years, though a strict reckoning would suggest A. D. 153-155 for that of Anicetus': if the first of these alternative years A. D. 153 is the true one, then the visit of Polycarp can be placed in A. D. 154, and the martyrdom early in the following year. Undoubtedly if another identification than Purim can be found for the high sabbath which will suit Feb. 23, A. D. 155; and if the accession of Anicetus can be placed as early as Dr. Lightfoot believes; and if two kalendars were simultaneously in use in Proconsular Asia; the ground is cut away from any theory such as that here presented which based itself on the explanation of the 'high sabbath' selected by Dr. Lightfoot himself, and on the chronological difficulty raised by Prof. Lipsius, the writer who had up to that time devoted most study to the episcopal successions at Rome. But until these points are satisfactorily settled there may be something to be said for the date suggested in this paper.

IV.

THE CLEMENTINE HOMILIES.

[C. BIGG.]

A CONSIDERABLE number of documents emanating from the early ages of the Church are attributed, we know not why, to the authorship of Clement of Rome. Such are the Second Epistle, the Epistles on Virginitv, a Liturgy, the Canons and the Constitutions of the Apostles. But in addition to these, and widely different from any of them, there is a most singular group of books that claims the same origin. Three are well known, the *Homilies*, the *Recognitions*, and the *Epitome*. But these three are survivors of a much more numerous family. We possess branches of the same stock in Syriac and in Arabic, and others now lost can be proved to have existed in ancient times. Rufinus was acquainted with two distinct editions of the *Recognitions*, and by the side of our unorthodox there was an orthodox *Clementina*, which in the Eastern Church seems to have ousted the other from circulation.

It is not proposed in this paper to touch upon the *Epitome*, which has no independent interest of its own. Nor will it be necessary to deal immediately with the *Recognitions*. Whatever may be the precise relation of this book to the *Homilies*, and this is a question that will be treated in its place, it seems to be nothing else than a recast in an orthodox direction of the *Homilies*. The interest that attaches to the *Recognitions* is mainly literary. A close examination of its structure may throw light on difficulties that surround the other far more interesting book; whereas the interest of the *Homilies* is mainly doctrinal and historical. Where and by whom were these strange doctrines preached? What is their origin and lineage? what their relation to the Gnostic heresies, and

to the Catholic Church? All students of the history of doctrine are acquainted with one remarkable answer that has been given to this question. The *Homilies* were the key of the position of the Tübingen School. This, said Baur, was primitive Christianity, this was 'Petrinism,' the genuine doctrine of the first followers of Jesus. The overthrow of the Tübingen School by the critical and historical methods, of which Dr. Harnack is one of the most illustrious living representatives, has relegated the *Homilies* to a place of inferior interest. Yet it is, and must remain, a book of very great importance, and any fresh light that we can get upon its date, meaning, and authorship will be of value.

The *Homilies*, or rather *Clement's Epitome of the Itinerant Preachings of Peter*, in its present shape (and even after Dressel's discovery it may be doubted whether we have the full text) consists of twenty books or chapters. Prefixed to the main work are two prefatory letters to St. James of Jerusalem. The first is from St. Peter, who begs St. James to guard with the most scrupulous care for secrecy 'the books of my preachings which I sent you.' To this is appended the Protestation to be made by all those into whose hands the books are delivered. They are to be entrusted to none but circumcised teachers, and each recipient is to make a solemn oath or protestation of a peculiar heathenish form, by the four elements, not to betray the confidence reposed in him. After this he is to partake of a remarkable sacrament of bread and salt. In the second letter Clement announces to St. James the death of St. Peter, and his own appointment by that apostle to succeed him in the Bishopric of Rome. This second epistle however is rightly regarded as belonging not to the *Homilies* but to the *Recognitions*.

The main body of the work is dictated by two different motives. The first is the debate between Christianity and Gnosticism, conducted by St. Peter and Simon Magus: the second is the debate between Christianity and Heathenism, in which the parties are Clement and his brothers on the one

side, and Appion and Faustus on the other. To the latter belongs the framework of romance in which the whole book is set. Clement, a high-born Roman youth, a relative of the Emperor Tiberius, has been left alone in the world by a series of mysterious accidents. His mother and two brothers travelled to the East, and then disappeared; afterwards his father went in quest of his lost wife and children, and disappeared also. Like many of the finer spirits of the time Clement is beset by religious doubts, and long seeks in vain for light and comfort to his soul. Relief comes to him from an unexpected quarter. In the reign of Tiberius Caesar, in the opening of the year, a rumour spreads, men knew not whence or how, that in Judaea there is One preaching glad tidings of the Kingdom of the Eternal. And in the autumn of the same year an unknown man was to be seen in the streets of Rome, preaching that the Son of God is in the Holy Land.

At once the young enquirer resolves upon his course. He will go and ascertain for himself what this strange news may mean. Business delays him for some time, apparently till towards the summer of the next year; then, baffling winds drive him off the coast of Palestine into the sheltering harbour of Alexandria. Here he finds Barnabas preaching the Gospel in the streets, beset by a crowd of mocking Greek philosophers. Clement rescues the apostle from his tormentors, and takes him home to his lodging. Next day Barnabas sets sail for Palestine, inviting Clement to follow. Clement is detained in Alexandria some little time longer, to collect debts due to him in that town, but finally, in his impatience, leaves his money affairs unsettled, and takes ship. A voyage of fifteen days brings him to Caesarea, where he finds Barnabas, who introduces him to Peter. Clement attaches himself to Peter, attends him in his pursuit of Simon Magus from town to town, from Caesarea to Tripolis, the Syrian Laodicea and Antioch, and in the course of these journeyings recovers by a series of happy providences his mother Mattidia, his father Faustus, and his two brothers Faustinus and Faustinianus.

The last two had joined Peter some time before himself, under the names of Nicetes and Aquila.

The plot of the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* is the same, with certain variations in detail, which have a high interest in their bearing on the question of authorship. Let us content ourselves here with a few observations. The romance assumes that St. Peter was Bishop first of Antioch, and afterwards of Rome. It accepts the tradition, not found elsewhere before Tertullian¹, that Clement was the immediate, and not the second or third, successor of St. Peter in the Bishopric of Rome. It presupposes the confusion of Simon Magus with Semo Sancus, which had already been made in the time of Justin. The belief that Clement was second Bishop of Rome implies an identification of Clemens Romanus with the Clement of the Epistle to the Philippians. But he was also identified with the Flavius Clemens put to death by his relative Domitian on a charge of atheism. This, perhaps, is why the author of the romance makes his hero belong to the imperial house, though to avoid a palpable anachronism he is obliged to connect him with the Julian, instead of the Flavian, family. The name of Mattidia is borrowed from the family of Trajan, that of Faustus from the family of Marcus Aurelius. All these traits in the narrative are indications of a certain lateness of date, though they do not afford means for any very accurate definition of time. But a story exhibiting these peculiar features can hardly have been composed before the latter part of the second century, and may be of even more recent origin. As regards composition, let us observe that the work, though cast in dramatic form, exhibits not the least vestige of dramatic ability. The characters are merely wooden puppets, left lying in a corner until they are wanted, and then shuffled awkwardly on to the stage. Personality they have none. The style is in general simple and clear, with a certain thin elegance about it, rising at times, for instance in the eulogy on the Chaste Wife, into positive beauty. It is

¹ *De Praescr. Haer.* 32.

entirely free from the affected Homerisms of the Rhetoricians. But it is certainly not the work of a born Greek. The cast of phrase is not idiomatic; the sentences are short, connected by sense not by particles; the grasp of grammar is undecided, and countless passages are obscured or disfigured by mistakes such as a schoolboy might make. Upon the whole the faults do not seem to be those that might be expected to occur in Roman Greek, and I suspect that an expert would feel little hesitation in attributing the composition to an Oriental¹. The higher qualities of style are conspicuously absent. There are occasional flashes of insight, and the author has a considerable aptitude for selecting good ideas and telling points. But his system, if system it can be called, is a dull and barbarous farrago of inconsistencies.

I propose to direct the reader's attention (I) to the Theology of the Homilies, (II) to its Hierarchical tendency, (III) to its relation to Gnosticism, (IV) to its Apologetics, (V) and lastly to its date, object, and meaning, so far as we shall be able to ascertain them.

(I) The most remarkable fact about the book, in view of the use that Baur made of it, is that, though the author has properly speaking no Trinity at all, he yet insists upon the administration of Baptism in 'the thrice blessed Invocation,' and uses the doxology. We shall see that his copy of St. Matthew contained the first chapter; it must also have contained the last. The three names have no three things,

¹ The author does not understand the use of the Greek article: *τὰς προφάσεις τῆς λουδοίας* is an instance of a fault that occurs in almost every page; *συγγινώσκω* is used with genitive, and *ἐπιθυμῶ* with accusative, iii. 5; we find strange words, like *πρότως* and *διαφανεῖν* (= to be choked, drowned, or speechless) xiii. 5, xiv. 9: and strange phrases, such as *προαιρέσεως ἐγενόμην* (= I was minded), xv. 10; or *θεότητός ἐστιν* (= is divine), xvii. 13. Some features have a Latin look; for instance, *ἔχει κριθῆναι, σωθῆναι et simm.*; *βλῶν περιγραφαί* (= *circumscriptiones*), iv. 20; *συνεστάναι* (= *constare*), xiv. 11; *ἐκδικεῖν* (= *vindicare*, to maintain), xviii. 9. For short disconnected sentences, see iii. 26. But these facts are not sufficient to prove a Western origin. The syntax constantly goes to wreck in a way that cannot be accounted for by corruption of the text.

certainly no three equal things corresponding to them, and he arranges them in his system in an order which is not that of the New Testament. Yet he durst not renounce the Catholic formula. Surely this is a most remarkable phenomenon. The sect which is represented in the *Homilies* can never have been in the humour to borrow its central confession of doctrine, its watchword—and this phrase is no less—from the Catholic Church. Whatever Christianity it possesses is of the most primitive kind, long anterior to any Gentile developments. Yet it possesses the Trinitarian baptismal formula. This fact seems to determine at once the place of the Ebionite sect in the history of the Church. It could not, by the light of its inherited traditions, find any explanation of the new faith, and it therefore gave up the attempt and fell out of the race, retaining, however, this mysterious formula as a magical charm or amulet, by which in some way the gates of heaven were opened to the baptized.

The leading phrase of the *Homilies* is the Monarchy of God¹ which is held in the strictly Jewish sense. The unpardonable sin is to teach or believe anything that derogates from the sole and incommunicable majesty of the Creator. He who made the world, and all that is therein must be One, and One only. If there were a second God, He would have created a second world. His own people would owe Him allegiance, but we could be in no way concerned with Him. The first conception of this Deity is that familiar to us in the Platonising writers². He is the Unknown and Unknowable. But here we come at once to the most extraordinary of the many absurdities of the *Homilies*. The author abominates anthropopathism³ with such vehemence that he will not hear of explaining those passages of scripture where human emotions are ascribed to the Divine by the familiar principle of condescension, but absolutely rejects them all as forgeries of the devil. And yet he is a no less vehement anthropomorphist⁴. But for this book it

¹ iii. 9. 38, 59. 61.² xix. 10.³ ii. 40 sqq.⁴ xvii. 7 sqq.

would have seemed incredible that these two opinions could exist side by side. And this is not all. The author of the *Homilies* is not content until he has attained the farthest point in the realm of nonsense ever reached by any human being. For this Deity who has the shape of man is yet infinite. Certain Stoics held that God has shape, not indeed that of man, but the perfect figure, that of the globe. But they also taught that he was therefore finite¹. But our author will have it that the Deity, though he has figure, is yet infinite, and this in order to reconcile his Stoicism with Scripture which, whenever he chooses, he treats as a forgery. He defends his anthropomorphism partly by the familiar arguments, how can God be beautiful? how can he be the object of faith or love without definite shape? partly with a dull pretence of philosophy. The only remarks we need make on his reasonings is that they give us a glimpse of the author's personality. The people among whom he lived held their peculiar creed in unquestioning faith, and did not trouble their heads about logical possibilities. All the chatter of the Homilist about primary and secondary space, and about the figured God being infinite because He is limited only by space, that is by Nothing, is a misapplication of lessons picked up at some Greek university.

Anthropomorphism was held by many Jews², though surely not by those who had come much under the influence of Greek philosophy, even though they inclined to the opinions of Zeno. Another idea prevalent in the Jewish schools, which has a mystical tinge and is quite irreconcilable with anthropomorphism, is that in the essence of the Deity are combined two elements, the masculine and the feminine³. The author of the *Homilies*, or his people, seized upon this to explain the

¹ Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vii. 7. 37) charges the Stoics with Anthropomorphism, but it is expressly denied by Diogenes Laertius, vii. 147. Cp. Seneca, *Ep.* 113. 22, 'Si rotundam (figuram) illis qualem deo derint.'

² Gfrörer, *Jahr des Heils*, ii. 107.

³ *Ib.* i. 299.

doctrine of the Holy Ghost. God created the world, yet not strictly speaking by Himself. The words 'Let us make man' are explained not of God and the Logos, but of God and Wisdom, that is, the Holy Ghost¹. 'With this Wisdom He ever rejoiced as with His own Spirit. Wisdom, indeed, is united with God as his Soul; it is thrust forth from Him as a hand creating all that is. Therefore also one man was created, and from him proceeded the female, and being one in kind they form a dyad. For by extension and contraction the one becomes a two. Therefore I do right in ascribing all honour to God as my parents.' The idea that Wisdom is feminine, and that creation is the offspring of the mysterious wedlock between the two sides of the Divine, belongs to the author's sect, and may be found in the book of Elxai. But in that book Wisdom is an angel, an inferior and separate being. Yet doubtless our author was not alone in regarding it as an immanent portion of a dualistic whole, as the soul of God, reaching forth 'like a hand' when it deals with the material world, yet in truth always at home.

This idea, the product of Hebrew speculations upon the Hebrew Bible, was capable of being brought into easy connection with the Stoic theory of the world. There are indeed passages in the *Homilies* that remind us of Plato. We read of the visible and invisible heavens², that is of the ideal and phenomenal world. God is the 'Seal' or Form of all things³, which exist only by 'participation' in Him, and the eternity of matter is not denied⁴. But these things are not distinctive of any school in the Alexandrine age. In a remarkable place in the seventeenth Homily God is the heart of the universe, from whence stream forth six extensions (ἐκτάσεις) up and down, right and left, forwards and backwards. These are the six divine motions of the *Timaeus* which our author has seized upon to explain the six days of creation. By adding to them as a seventh term the central rest of the Deity, he gets the 'mystery of the Hebdomad,' and finds a philosophical *raison*

¹ xvi. 12.² xi. 22.³ xvi. 19.⁴ iii. 33.

d'être for the Sabbath. In the sixth Homily God is the *τεχνίτης νοῦς*, who forms the World Animal by mixing the four elements in a bowl. This again is from the *Timaeus*. But in the twentieth Homily the mode of thought is entirely Stoic. God combines in His unity two antithetic elements, the material and the spiritual. Each of these is capable of self-originated change. As air thickens into water, water into earth and stones, and stones when struck produce fire, so is it with the Divine Essence. This too, when it pleases, can change itself, and, when it pleases, return into its original state. So far have we departed from Plato here that the author considers the superiority of the Father to the Son to consist precisely in the power of self-ordained mutation into lower forms of existence. God is the Beginning; He is also the End. All proceeds from Him, all is penetrated by Him, and will eventually return into Him. It is the *dernier mot* of Heraclitus and the Stoics. 'Jupiter est quodcunque vides.' The world is God, whose essence is thickened and materialised as He 'projects' it farther from His 'heart,' and refined and spiritualised as it pulsates slowly back to the centre of All. We ask in amazement, where is the place of anthropomorphism in this thoroughgoing pantheism?

And here we come to the central difference between the *Homilies* and Catholicism. Readers of Philo will recollect his doctrine of the Powers of God. Goodness, the older and better Power, stands over against Righteousness, the younger and inferior, and between the two, so as to harmonise their discrepancy, is placed the Word. The root of this doctrine is to be found in mystic rabbinical speculations on the Chariot Throne of Ezekiel's vision¹. It has been doubted whether the Powers of Philo are personalities in the strict sense of the word, whether the Logos doctrine was the creation of Philo or of some earlier Alexandrine, whether it was not even current in Palestinian schools, and if so, in what precise sense. Now in the *Homilies* we find the two Powers but no Logos.

¹ Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandria*, p. 212.

They are both persons. And at the same time the speculations out of which they sprang are absolutely rejected, for the writer will have none but the literal sense of Scripture, and attaches very little value to the prophets. Another curious point is, that though our author rejects the Logos doctrine, he uses St. John's Gospel. Does not this go to prove that no effective Logos doctrine ever was current in the native Jewish schools?

By the changes of God there are 'projected'¹ two creatures of especial dignity and importance, the Son and the Evil One. Both are 'begotten,' if you please, but our author objects to the phrase as savouring of anthropopathism, and prefers 'created' or 'projected.' They are not 'brothers,' inasmuch as they do not owe their origin to the same change, and the one stands on a much lower plane than the other. The Son is the offspring of the noblest change of God, the first modification, that is, of the spiritual side of the divine Dyad. The Evil One, on the other hand, springs from a 'mixture' of the four elements 'outside' of the Deity. This last idea is borrowed from the *Timaeus*.

These two Powers then are in a way antitheses, yet not so much opposed as complementary. The Son represents the Goodness, the Evil One the Justice of God. The latter is King of this world, the former of that which is to come. Satan, by his mixed material nature, has received a will that delights in evil, yet he does no wrong for fear of God. He is the instrument of the divine wrath against sin, the Saviour, we may say, of those who are kept from wickedness only by dread of the consequences. He will, with his fellow servants, the wicked angels, be sent down finally to Tartarus. But in the end he will be changed in nature and saved². His final

¹ xx. 8.

² *Hom.* xx. 3: δ οὖν πονηρὸς πρὸς τῷ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος κόσμου τέλει ὑπουργήσας ἀμέμπτως τῷ θεῷ, ἅτε δὴ οὐ μᾶς οὐσίας ὦν τῆς πρὸς κακίαν μόνῃς μετασυνκριθεὶς ἀγαθὸς γενέσθαι δύναται. The proportions in which he is mixed will be altered.

salvation is figured by the rod of Moses, which first turned into a serpent then into a rod again.

The Son, on the contrary, is the agent of the divine Goodness¹. He is emphatically 'not God,' except in that sense in which the title may be given to all mankind as sharing in the image of God, and this 'is no great thing.' He is not God, because he is not the Creator, being himself created. Nevertheless, his position is exalted far above all else in heaven or in earth. He is *ὁμοούσιος*, not with God *per se*, but with that particular modification of the divine essence by which he is engendered, and therefore *ισοδύναμος*, not with God *per se*, but with this same modification². He is pre-existent, and therefore eternal, because that which is before the world is before time. To him are applied expressly the promise of Jacob and the prophecy of Emmanuel³. He is the True Prophet, who knows all things past, present, and future, and teaches them not *μανικῶς*, by ecstasy, trance, or vision—this point is emphasised again and again—but by revelation⁴. He alone of all the prophets is called Son of God. He is *Θειότητος γέμων*⁵. 'To us,' it is said, 'there is but One God, who created all things and ordered all things, whose Son is Christ.' The story of the Incarnation is accepted as it is given in St. Matthew⁶. But the most remarkable feature of the doctrine of the Homilies is that Jesus, though the highest, was not the only avatar of the True Prophet. He had been

¹ xvi. 15 sqq.

² *Hom. xx. 7*: *ὁμοούσιον μὴ παρούση τροπῇ προβάλλει, ἰσοδύναμον δὲ οὐ*. Read *τῇ μετὰ periculo* for *μή*, and the passage becomes at once intelligible.

³ xvi. 14.

⁴ ii. 6 sqq.; iii. 13.

⁵ i. 6; xvi. 14.

⁶ The miraculous conception is expressly stated, *Hom. iii. 17*: *θεοῦ τοῦ τὰ πάντα πεποιηκότος τὸ μέγα καὶ ἅγιον τῆς προγνώσεως αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα εἰ μὴ τῷ ὑπὸ χειρῶν αὐτοῦ κνοφορηθέντι ἀνθρώπῳ δόξῃ τις ἐσχηκέναι, πῶς ἔτι ἑτέρῳ τῷ ἐκ μυσσῶν σταγόνης γεννηθέντι δ' ἀπονέμαν οὐ τὰ μέγιστα ἀμαρτάνει;* With this agrees the fact that the Homilist in *Matt. iii. 17* read *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγάπητος εἰς δὲν εὐδόκησα· τοῦτου ἀκούετε* and not *ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε*, *Hom. iii. 53*. And the Jews were mistaken in thinking Christ Son of David and not Son of God, *Hom. xviii. 13*.

incarnate before in Adam and in Moses, perhaps also in Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. How deeply this peculiar view affects the relation of the Law and the Gospel we shall see as we proceed. His death is spoken of two or three times¹, but no particular value is attached to it in respect of the salvation of man. As regards the Lord Himself His patience in suffering² is the reason why He has been 'anointed with the mercy of God,' 'exalted to be king of all things in air and earth and sea³.' Here, apparently, some sort of a *προκοπή* is intended, but it is hard to see in what precisely it consists. Of the text 'No man knoweth the Father but the Son' it is contemptuously said that it has ten thousand explanations⁴.

In the doctrine of the Fall and Restitution of man there is the same singular mixture—a few philosophic phrases overlying a mass of rabbinical crotchets, beneath which the reader catches sight of a still lower depth of abject superstition. The question, what is the origin of evil, is one of the leading motives of the book, and the answer which our author had picked up from the Apologists is that evil proceeds from the freedom of the will.

But this is only the outside. God created man in His own Image, like Him that is to say in bodily shape; and in His own Likeness, like Him, that is, in intellect and virtue⁵. Adam was a true prophet⁶, and it is blasphemy to assert that he sinned. But Eve, the woman, was of lower, emotional type⁷, and those of her descendants who resembled her were subject to lustful appetites. In their impatience they forgot the great natural law, that children born at certain seasons of the year are necessarily evil⁸. Hence there arose a wicked generation who lost the Likeness of God. This is how our author explains the Hellenic doctrine that sin is ignorance.

Of the same strain with this peculiarly degraded materialism is the demonology of the *Homilies*, by which the explanation

¹ iii. 19, 20; xi. 20.² iii. 20.³ Phil. ii. 10?⁴ xviii. 13.⁵ iii. 20; xi. 4; xvii. 7.⁶ ii. 52.⁷ iii. 24.⁸ xix. 22.

of evil, as it exists in the world, is really completed. Grieved by this revolt of man the angels of the lower sphere¹ went down to earth in the hope of winning the rebels back to their allegiance. But the world was too strong for them. They fell themselves, married the daughters of man, and betrayed to their wives for bridal gifts the secrets of heaven, magic and science. Here we have the explanation of that hatred of intellectual cultivation as a Pandora gift of Satan which Clement of Alexandria resisted with such earnestness. From these ill-assorted nuptials sprang the Giants, who, though not at first evil, fell in their turn through greediness. They tasted blood, and taught men to lust for the same accursed food. Their sin polluted air and earth, caused deadly reptiles and poisonous plants to exist, and brought the deluge upon the world. Nothing strikes the reader of the *Homilies* more than the horror of blood which pervades the whole book. To the author and his people the Bible, and the whole world, seem to reek like a charnel-house. Sin is murder; the earth is full of cruel habitations. The spirits of the dead Giants became demons², who have power over all that 'eat of the demons' table,' taking actual corporal possession of the wretched sinner, 'creeping from the brain down the marrow of the backbone.' So complete is this terrible union that death does not dissolve it. Together the wicked man and his demon are cast into the flames. And there, while the human soul, whose nature is akin to light, writhes in anguish, the demon, whose essence is fiery, bathes with delight in its congenial element. The means of deliverance from this dreadful fate are faith, fasting, mortification, prayer, and incantations, and the knowledge of these salutary remedies we owe to Revelation.

The true faith is revealed through all True Prophets, and the revelation is recorded partly in Scripture, partly in the oral tradition of the Church. But there are also false prophets and delusive revelations. A great part of the Old Testament

¹ viii. 10 sqq.

² viii. 18; ix. 9 sqq.

is peremptorily rejected. The *Homilist* lays down the Platonic axiom¹ that 'nothing unworthy is to be believed of God.' Hence, as he does not, in theory at least, allow the expedient of allegorism, he is driven to conclude that any passage of Scripture that seems to derogate from the majesty of the Supreme is false, and not to be accepted without sin. This conclusion he supports by critical reasons. The Pentateuch was written after the death of Moses², which indeed it records. It was found in the temple five hundred years after that date, and lost again in Nebuchadnezzar's siege. Nor are the canonical prophets to be received without large deductions. It is not denied that they prophesied of Christ³, but they are spoken of with contempt as 'born of woman,' deluded, that is, by trances and visions which, as we have seen, are regarded as hallucinations sent by the Evil One. John the Baptist is treated with absolute aversion⁴ as the founder of Gnosticism. All men's opinions⁵ are to be found in Scripture. Hence one of the most pressing duties of the believer⁶ is to be 'an approved money-changer,' able to distinguish the false coin from the true. This he can accomplish if he gives heed to the authorized interpreters of Holy Writ, such as were the scribes and doctors. But above all others it is the function of Christ, the True Prophet *par excellence*, to winnow genuine from false Scriptures. When he tells us that 'not one jot or tittle shall pass from the law,' it is plain that all that has been abolished—sacrifice, the rule of kings, prophecies delivered by those 'born of woman' (of a temporal bloodshedding Messiah), were vain devices, 'plants which the Heavenly Father hath not planted.' 'Hence it is impossible without his instruction to stand upon saving truth, even if one seeks for ever where the object of his search is not, as it was, and is, in the word of our Jesus.'

If we ask how we know that Jesus is the True Prophet, we are referred to the example of St. Peter, to whom it was revealed,

¹ ii. 38.² iii. 47.³ iii. 49.⁴ ii. 23.⁵ iii. 9.⁶ ii. 51.

not by trance but 'welling up in his mind he knew not how.' But to the earnest seeker a further aid is provided in the doctrine of Syzygies or Antitheses¹. God has created all things double, one against another. First we have the celestial antitheses, in which the better always precedes the worse, heaven and earth, day and night, sun and moon, life and death, light and fire, Adam and Eve. Next come the terrestrial antitheses, in which 'owing to free will,' that is to sin, the order is inverted, so that the worse precedes the better; Cain and Abel, the two spirits of Noah the Raven and the Dove, Ishmael and Isaac, Esau and Jacob, the High Priest and the Legislator, Simon and Peter, Antichrist and Christ. Like much else in this curious system the theory of the antitheses is only half developed. The greatest importance is attached to it, yet we nowhere see clearly in what its importance consists. It seems to be related to the paired aeons of the Valentinians, the Sephiroth of the Sohar. But its place in the system is wholly different. In the *Homilies* the antitheses are merely a mode of the divine working. The idea seems to be that the changes of the Divine Nature are inverted as they stream outwards from the centre to the periphery, and as they flow back from the periphery to the centre of all. In creation the better change precedes the worse, in this world God ever follows up and remedies the confusion caused by man. Hence, while the baser and higher types of religion are ever found in conflict, the mere order of succession is a guide to the truth. But the idea of development is not clearly seized. There is no connection between the different pairs of antitheses, each of which simply repeats the same eternal antagonism of shadow and substance. And in the highest case of all the antagonism is not sufficiently marked. For the teaching of the True Prophet is always the same. The message of Adam and Moses is substantially identical with that of Christ. Hence God accepts both Jew and Christian, provided that the Jew does not hate Christ, the Christian does not dishonour Moses². Yet it is

¹ ii. 15; iii. 16.² viii. 6, 7.

recognised that in some sense Christianity stands higher than the older dispensation. He who admits that both Moses and Christ taught the same truth 'is accounted a man rich in God.' The Gospel has the glory of calling Gentiles to a share in the promises. Again, Baptism is indispensable to salvation. For this a curious reason is given, that the water of regeneration quenches the fiery demon within us, a notion that we shall be justified in connecting with the ancient reading about the fire that burned in Jordan at the Baptism of our Lord¹.

The True Prophet² brings to man all saving truth from the cardinal doctrine of the unity of God down to the names of angels, the knowledge of astrology, of lucky and unlucky seasons, and of incantations for the cure of snake bites. But belief, though the main condition, is not of itself sufficient for salvation. Man must recover the lost likeness of God by virtuous habits, by keeping the Law.

We have already seen that these words are by no means to be taken in their vulgar sense. What we know as the Law is a forgery. The true Law was handed down from Moses orally through the Seventy. Its precepts are³ to pray; to abstain from the table of devils—that is, not to touch blood; to observe the rule of marital control referred to by Ezekiel; to keep the Gospel rule 'whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.' Abstinence from all flesh is recommended by the example of St. Peter, but not enjoined. Circumcision is not mentioned in the book itself, nor the keeping of the Sabbath, but it may with some reason be suspected that both were regarded as obligatory⁴.

¹ *Hom.* xi. 26. Cp. Justin, *Trypho* 88; *Or. Sib.* vi. 6; and Alexandre's *Exc.* vol. ii. p. 469; Clem. Alex. *Excerpta ex Theod.* 76. 81. Curious points of resemblance between the Valentinians and the *Homilies* occur frequently.

² iii. 36.

³ vii. 4.

⁴ Peter's Preachings (=the *Homilies*) are not to be entrusted to any but a circumcised believer, *Contestatio*. And Clement had become a Jew at Rome before he joined Peter, *Hom.* iv. 22. For the mystery of the Hebdomad, see *Hom.* xvii. 10. The phrase was familiar to Clement of Alexandria, who endeavours to substitute for it 'the Mystery of the Ogdoad,' that is, to put Sunday in the place of the Sabbath.

Other rules of conduct are incidentally introduced. The believer (he is never called a Christian) must bathe himself daily, and not eat with unbelievers. Absolute poverty is commanded¹. Τὰ κήματα ἀμαρτήματα is the pithy formula in which the rule is embodied. Truth is not a cardinal virtue. In matters of faith it is lawful to dissemble², and even to employ treachery. Except in regard to meat, and probably wine, the standard is not ascetic³. Chastity is highly commended, but it is the chastity of a faithful wife. One chief duty of the priest is to encourage early marriages. It is laid down, as in the Ethics of Aristotle, that all the passions are good⁴ up to a certain point. But the greatest of all moral perfections is φιλανθρωπία⁵, the love of man based on his corporal likeness to God. 'Thou hast seen thy brother, thou hast seen God,' says an apocryphal Gospel of the same tinge, reminding us of the phrase of Novalis, 'I touch heaven when I lay my hand on a human body.' This and all the other virtues ought to flow from the love of God, but it is maintained⁶ against the Gnostics by the *Homilies* as by Clement of Alexandria, that the fear of God also is a high and worthy motive.

A few words may be devoted to the doctrine of the *Homilies* on the final destiny of man. The *Homilist* is no Universalist, though he believed in the ultimate salvation of the Evil One, but, as we have seen, Satan is not one of the demons. The just find eternal rest in the bosom of God. They become all light, so that they may be able to see Him who is Light. The language used does not necessarily imply absorption, though it perhaps tends that way. The wicked and unbelieving (for piety will not avail those who have rejected the truth) are punished in the fire. There are passages in which the eternity of punishment is most strongly expressed⁷, but there are others of a very different tenor. The believer will be saved eventually,

¹ xv. 7 sqq.

² xiii. 13.

³ Peter's diet is bread, olives, and herbs, *Hom.* xii. 6; but no command is laid down.

⁴ xx. 4.

⁵ xii.

⁶ xvii. 12.

⁷ E. g. xi. 11.

He may have fallen into apostasy or committed any other crime, yet repentance will save him. He must indeed be punished in strict proportion to his sins, and, if this atonement has not been completed in this life, it must be suffered to the full in the life to come¹. Those who do not repent will be tormented for the 'fifth part of a measured aeon,' and then annihilated. This is quite Stoic. Apparently the Resurrection of the Body is confined to the just alone². The view of Forgiveness explained here has, as we shall see, some, though a vague, bearing on the question of date.

II. The Church of the *Homilies* possesses a well-developed Hierarchy³ of Bishops, Priests⁴, and Deacons, to which may be added Catechists and Widows. Of the Bishop it is said that he sits in the seat of Christ. Special stress is laid on the duty of providing for the payment of the clergy. But it is unnecessary to be more particular; the clerical order is that which we find in the time of Origen. Of the Sacraments which the clergy administer, one, Baptism, is spoken of in a way that (except in one particular to be noticed hereafter) does not differ from that usual in Catholic theology; but side by side with this there is a daily bath or baptism, which evidently has a high religious value. Yet the author is not a Hemerobaptist, for he speaks of that sect⁵ with contempt. But the Eucharist is daily, is the ordinary evening meal, and consists of bread, salt, and certainly water⁶. In addition to these there is

¹ iii. 6.

² The idea seems to be that the *voûs* is the Seal or Form of the Body, *Hom.* xx. 6; cp. xvii. 7, so that man's retention of the divine Image depends on his not losing the divine Likeness beyond possibility of recovery. See also xvi. 10, 19.

³ iii. 59 sqq.

⁴ The number of Presbyters under each Bishop is twelve, *Hom.* xi. 36. The number of Deacons is not stated in *Homilies*, but *Recog.* iii. 66, it is four. For the twelve Presbyters cp. the usage at Alexandria, and *Duae Viae* in Hilgenfeld, *N. T. extra Can. Rec.* ii. p. 116.

⁵ ii. 23.

⁶ For the Sacrament of Bread and Salt (neither water nor wine is mentioned, but, if any cup was used, there can be no doubt that it contained water) see *Contest* 4; *Clem. ad Jac.* 9; *Hom.* i. 22; iv. 26; xi. 34, 36; xiii. 11. At iv. 6, Clement eats this sacramental meal before he is baptized; but this is

another sacrament, an initiatory oath by the four elements, earth, air, fire, and water, to be taken by every one admitted to the sect. James is Head of the Church, but apparently this primacy is to pass to Peter and Clement as his successor. Yet by the side of the ordinary hierarchy we read of a Council of Seventy¹ who keep watch and ward over the orthodoxy of the Church, after the model of the Seventy Jewish Elders.

This is the most difficult and perplexing portion of this singular work, and it is just here that we get a glimpse into its real origin. The *Homilies* are deeply tinged by the influence of Elxai's Book of Mormon. Any one who reads the fragments of that book will feel it to be impossible that the high Catholic hierarchy² can belong to the same block as the daily bath, the communion of bread and salt, the masonic oath, and the Seventy Elders. Even in Eastern Syria we cannot believe without the clearest historical evidence that so incongruous a combination actually existed. The *Homilies* are surely the work of a Catholic convert to Ebionitism, who thought he saw in the doctrine of the Two Powers the only tenable answer to Gnosticism. We can separate his Catholicism from his Ebionitism just as surely as his Stoicism.

III. It is unnecessary for my present purpose to state in detail the argument against Gnosticism as it is delivered in the *Homilies*³. But this is the proper connection in which to perhaps an oversight. The phrase *εὐχαριστίαν κλάσαι* occurs xi. 36, xiv. 1; but it refers to the same thing.

¹ *Ep. Petri ad Jac.*

² *Πρεσβυτέρους γὰρ οὗτοι ἔχουσι*, says Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxx. 18), *καὶ ἀρχισυναγώγους. Συνάγωγὴν δὲ οὗτοι καλοῦσι τὴν αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ οὐχὶ ἐκκλησίαν*. Let the reader compare this with *Hom.* iii. 67.

³ There are however some points in the treatment of Gnosticism in the *Homilies* which call for notice. Those who read attentively the discussion on the Evil One in Homily xix. will, I think, perceive that what Simon Magus really maintains there is that it is impossible to speak evil of Gnosticism and yet believe in a Devil; that orthodox Christians do in fact admit the existence of a bad God, and therefore *ought* to be Gnostics. I do not remember to have seen this argument advanced elsewhere. Next, the *Homilist* attributes to Simon a peculiar veneration for the moon. He is surrounded by a band of 29½ followers (29 men and one woman, Helen, of whom it is said that she is equal to half a man) corresponding to the days

speak of the author's relation to St. Paul. The view here taken of his position will help us better to understand his famous attack upon the great apostle of the Gentiles.

The attack is made from a peculiar and unexpected quarter. It is directed not primarily against St. Paul's treatment of the Law, for the *Homilist* himself is a heretic on this point, but against his Revelation. St. Peter is represented¹ as arguing the question of Ecstasy with Simon. The Ineffable God of the Gnostic is not revealed in scripture, and can therefore be known only by direct vision. But visions, the apostle maintains, far from being sent by God, are delusions of the evil spirit. 'Therefore, if to thee also Jesus was made known in a vision, He appeared to thee in a vision and in dreams because He was angry with thee as an adversary.' 'If thou wast seen of Him and made His disciple in one brief hour, preach

of the lunar month. In the *Recognitions* Helen is called Luna, and this identification so clearly underlies the *Homilies* that it was no doubt found in the *Grundschrift*. Hence also Simon keeps a curious Sabbath every eleventh day (ii. 35), on the 10th, 20th, and 30th of the month. One speaking sign of the comparative lateness of the *Recognitions* is the fact that the author of that book was perplexed by this singular usage, and mistranslates the passage where it is mentioned—i. 20, 'Differt Simon certaminis diem in undecimum mense presentis quae est post septem dies (in the *Homilies* we read 'Ανατίθεται Σίμων τὴν ζήτησιν εἰς τὴν αὐρίον ἡμέραν ἢ γὰρ σήμερον τὸ δι' ἑνδεκα ἡμερῶν αὐτοῦ τυγχάνει σάββατον). Thirdly, Simon differs from Marcion, Basilides, and Valentinus, in that he does not believe in our Lord. Jesus was the Son of the Demiurge, xviii. 4, and sometimes 'did not know what he was saying,' xviii. 11. This is a cardinal point, and must baffle all attempts to represent Simon as teaching the doctrines, or maintaining the position of any one of the three great heresiarchs. Simon actually alleges that he is himself the true or eternal Christ (as opposed to Jesus), *χριστὸν αὐτὸν αἰνισσόμενος ἐστὼτα προσάγορεύει*. Here we have both agreement and disagreement with Hippolytus. According to that writer (*Philos.* vi. 13, 14) Simon claimed to be the *ἐσθός, σθός, στηρόμενος*, not God Himself, but the Seventh Power of God, which from eternity existed in God, and was His *εἰκὼν*. But then again, according to Hippolytus (*ibid.* 19), Simon said that he had been in Jesus. This is in direct contradiction to the *Homilies*. Add to all this that the *Homilies* represent John the Baptist as the antagonist of our Lord, the founder of Gnosticism and the teacher of Simon, and it will be seen that we have here an account of Simon quite independent of that given by Irenaeus, Hippolytus, or Epiphanius. Possibly some of my readers may be able to throw more light on these obscure and curious points.

¹ xvii. 13 sqq.

His words, explain His doctrine, love His apostles, fight not against one who lived with Him.' 'If thou callest me condemned' (the very word applied by St. Paul to St. Peter in *Galatians*), 'thou accusest God who revealed unto me the Christ.' The meaning of all this is hardly doubtful when we reflect that Simon Magus does not believe in Jesus at all, and further observe that the passage has been so remodelled in the *Recognitions* that all taint of its original virus has been neutralised. 'Lawlessness' is indeed attributed to St. Paul, again under the person of Simon. In the prefatory letter to St. James, St. Peter complains that 'certain of the Gentiles have rejected my legal preaching, and embraced a lawless and absurd doctrine of the enemy.' But 'lawlessness' is to be understood not in the sense of the orthodox Pharisaic opponents of the apostle, but in one something like that of those wholly different antagonists who are denounced in *Colossians*, and the charge rests quite as much on the way in which Adam is spoken of by St. Paul as the author of sin and death as on anything else. It is needless at this date to enter upon the Paul-Magus theory of the Tübingen school. All I need do is to place these covert thrusts at the apostle side by side with the frequent and respectful allusions to the Pauline Epistles that occur scattered up and down the *Homilies*¹. It is evident that the author had read St. Paul, and that he regarded him as a teacher of the Church, though he resented with some

¹ Many of the passages referred to by Lagarde show only a similarity of vocabulary and turns of expression. But the general result is to prove abundantly that the Epistles of St. Paul were familiar to the Homilist. Let the reader compare in particular the following passages:—*Hom.* iii. 32 = *Rom.* iv. 17; *Hom.* iv. 24 = 1 *Cor.* xv. 33 (φθείρουσιν ἡθὴ χρηστὰ ὁμιλίας κακάι); *Hom.* v. 26 = 1 *Cor.* xiii. 12 (ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτρῳ); *Hom.* vii. 3 = 1 *Cor.* x. 21 (table of devils); *Hom.* xiii. 18 = 1 *Cor.* vii. 3 (τὴν ὀφειλομένην εὐνοίαν, the text of KL and the Syriac versions: this is not noticed by Lagarde); *Hom.* xvi. 19 = *Rom.* viii. 22 (this also is not in Lagarde's list). It will be remembered that a direct quotation from St. Paul would be an anachronism. Origen tells us, *Contra Celsum*, v. 65, that neither of the two Ebionite sects which he distinguishes admitted the Epistles of St. Paul: again, *Hom.* in *Psalms* lxxxii apud Eus. *H. E.* vi. 38, that ΕΙΧΑΙ τὸν ἀπόστολον τέλεον ἀθετεῖ.

fierceness any attempt to set his authority on a level with that of St. Peter. Here again we trace the hand of the convert, who in passing over to his new sect has not been able to divest himself wholly of the reverence, which he had been accustomed to feel for his old master.

IV. We need not dwell at any length either upon the argument against Heathenism, though it has attracted less attention than it deserves. The author has skimmed the cream of the Apologists, and brings out all their best points with considerable skill. What strikes the reader is that the debate has already reached an advanced stage. There is scarcely an allusion to persecution¹, and no allusion at all to the old slanders of disloyalty, child-murder, indecent orgies, and so forth. Many of the topics² are of a distinctly late type—that Christians are no better than other men, that a good citizen ought not to abandon the ways of his fathers, but that it is possible to worship the true God and yet pay due respect to inferior deities, just as it is possible to obey a proconsul without disloyalty to Caesar, that idolatry is no degradation because every sensible person distinguishes between the idol and the deity of whom it is merely a visible sign. Another argument in favour of Heathenism that is here attacked is drawn from the cheerfulness of idolatry. Generally speaking the mode in which the debate is conducted points to that time when Heathenism was standing upon its defence. And arguments like these cannot have emanated from the bosom of an obscure Eastern sect. Here again we seem to catch sight of the convert, of one not unfamiliar with the books and conversation of the educated Christian world.

V. It remains for us to gather as accurate an idea as we can of the origin, date, birthplace, and purpose of this singular book. But the reader will not expect me to discuss at ade-

¹ *Ep. Clem. ad Jac.* 9 τοῖς ἐν φυλακαῖς: *ibid.* 15, ἀθυμοῦντες, διακόμενοι, σκορπιζόμενοι, πεινῶντες, διψῶντες, γυμνητεύοντες. *Hom.* iii. 69, τοῖς ἐν ἐλκεταῖς ὡς δυνατὸν βοηθήσετε. *Hom.* x. 8 οὐκ ἐώσιν ἡμᾶς τοῦτο ποιῆσαι οἱ τῶν ἐφ' ἐστῶτων νόμοι. Such phrases afford no indication of date. They may be merely part of the setting of the story.

² x, xi.

quate length all the intricate questions that arise. At this point we quit the firm ground of fact for the vague and conjectural. It would be an endless task to examine the endless hypotheses that have been spun about the *Homilies*. Enough will have been done, if I indicate in a general way the conclusions that appear to me most probable.

As to the origin of the main doctrinal system of the Homilies there can indeed be little doubt. The leading ideas are those described by Epiphanius as held, with variations in detail, by a community or group of communities whose principal settlement was in Batanaea and the vicinity, but whose offshoots were to be found in a sporadic way as far west as Cyprus. The region east of Jordan was a hotbed of sects, which crossed and recrossed one another in a way defying accurate classification. Where there are fanaticism and ignorance enough the most minute differences will become a *casus belli*, and so we have seen that the Homilist, though he insists upon the daily bath, is at daggers drawn with the Hemerobaptists. Epiphanius knew more about these people than anybody else, having spent much time in the neighbourhood, but he is not a scientific observer, and they made it a point of conscience to baffle enquiries even by downright lying, as the Druses do still. He calls them Ebionites, and regards this title as derived from the name of Ebion their founder. But it may mean nothing more than 'Poor Men,' voluntary poverty being, as we have seen, an article in their creed ¹.

They were historically connected, no doubt, with the Essenes, but here again we are groping in darkness. For what precisely were the Essenes? According to Frankel ²

¹ See Epiph. *Haer.* xviii. xxx: and, for the difficulty of accurately distinguishing the names Ebionites, Nazoraei, Nasaraei, Lipsius, *Zur Quellenkritik des Epiph.*

² On the subject of the Essenes the reader should consult Lightfoot's *Colossians*, where all that is known or has been conjectured with respect to this interesting people will be found. Frankel supported his view that the Essenes were merely an offshoot of Pharisaism by a host of quotations from the rabbinical books. The late Bishop of Durham has subjected these passages to a searching examination, and arrives at the conclusion that the Talmud

they were merely Pharisee ascetics, differing from ordinary Pharisees much in the same way as monks from ordinary Christians. They may well have held all those parts of the doctrine of the *Homilies* that can be traced in the rabbinical schools, Anthropomorphism, the Two Powers, the union of the masculine and feminine in God. As ascetics they would add to this foundation the initiatory oath, the practice of poverty and of abstinence from flesh and wine, and doubtless great importance was attached to the knowledge of the names and attributes of the angels. But the Essenes did not forbid sacrifice, though, as they held that the water of purification was not rightly prepared, they would not set foot in the Temple Courts. They did not however object to send sacrifices to the Temple for others to offer on their behalf. They appear also to have employed allegorism in the interpretation of Scripture, that is to say, to have accepted the whole Jewish Bible, and to have hoped by rigid self-mortification to attain to miraculous gifts, and especially

makes no mention of Essenism at all. *Non nostrum tantas decernere lites*. Yet may we not venture to think that even if the Bishop is right, Frankel, though wrong in his premisses, must be right in his conclusion? Would it have been possible for the Talmud to pass over in absolute silence a numerous (Philo says there were more than 4000 of them) sect which attracted a good deal of admiration, yet regarded the greater part of Scripture as of diabolical origin, and treated sacrifice as a sin? Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 1. 5) is generally understood to mean that they did occasionally send the usual sacrifices to be offered on their behalf in the Temple, though they would not enter the Temple themselves, and Philo's statement (ii. 457, *Quod omnis probus liber* 12) that they did not sacrifice animals need not be understood as directly contradicting this. They may have done by others what they would not do with their own hands. Again, Philo tells us (*ibid.* 458) that they were diligent expounders of Scripture, which they treated allegorically (τὰ γὰρ πλείστα διὰ συμβόλων ἀρχαιοτρόπως ἡλώσκει παρ' αὐτοῖς φιλοσοφεῖται). This is expressly stated also of the Therapeutae (ii. 483 *de vita contemp.* 10). Now, if they allegorised, they did not reject the ceremonial law, nor can they have treated sacrifice *sans façon* as a sin. Yet their isolated life, built as it was on the exaggerated dread of pollution, and allegorism itself, would lead them in this direction, and any violent shock would precipitate this conclusion. Such a crisis might well be produced by the destruction of the Temple, from which accordingly Epiphanius dates the origin of Ebionitism proper.

to revelations in dreams. In these latter points there is a wide difference between their teaching and that of the *Homilies*.

For those Essenes who accepted Christianity a terrible crisis must have come with the destruction of the Temple. Accordingly it is to this date that Epiphanius ascribes the origin of the Ebionites¹. Jews at heart they had been and remained, but the downfall of the Temple broke the last link between them and the Catholic Church, and destroyed at the same time their old Pharisaic belief in the divine origin of the Law. Their previous isolation perhaps compelled, certainly induced them, to interpret this soul-shaking catastrophe not as a transfiguration of the past, but as the divine judgment of condemnation upon it. In the *Epistle of Barnabas*, the *Epistle to Diognetus*, the *Praedicatio Petri*, the *Constitutions of the Apostles*², we find the belief that sacrifice never had been commanded by God, and was in fact a national sin, and this belief must have been current among some Jewish Christians early in the second century. Epiphanius seems to have found it also in the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* and in the *Ascents of James*, two books which enjoyed a high authority among the Ebionites. By those who fully accepted this view the Old Testament was necessarily interpreted as it is in the *Homilies*, and even circumcision and the Sabbath could hardly be insisted upon with the old exclusiveness. Allegorism was cast away, with its evil, but also with its good. The key to the unity of Scripture was lost. Further sympathy with Catholicism was out of the question, and Ebionitism was henceforward a withered branch.

So matters went on until the end of the first or the beginning of the second century, when new convulsions shook the

¹ *Haer.* xxx. 2.

² *Barn.* ii. 9; *Ep. ad Diog.* iii. iv.: *Praed. Petri* in *Clem. Alex. Strom.* vi. 5. 41. Irenaeus, iv. 15, distinguishes between the Decalogue, which was of eternal observance, and the ceremonial law imposed after the worship of the calf, which 'in servitutis iugo dominabatur eis.' The *Const. App.* calls the first νόμος, the second δυνάμεις, i. 6; ii. 5. The other references are to Epiph. *Haer.* xix. 3; xxx. 16.

minds of men in these secluded districts. A crop of prophets arose about this time. For whether Elxai and Iexai, Marthus and Marthana, were real personages or not, the names are a proof of living agencies that were at work. Hence the book of Elxai, partly perhaps a mere record of existing facts, partly also a new development. Armed and animated by this revelation, the Ebionites awoke from sleep and aimed at nothing less than the conquest of the world. The book of Elxai was carried to Rome by Alexander of Apamea, somewhere about A.D. 220. It contained all that is needed to complete the original system of the *Homilies*, the Seven Witnesses, the sacrament of salt, the rejection of the Prophets, the Adam-Christ. Apamea, the starting-point of Alexander, was a place where philosophy joined hands gladly with mysticism, and is of importance in the history of Neo-Platonism.

Did Alexander write the *Homilies*? And if not, when, where, by whom, was this singular book composed? These are questions that naturally arise, and to which some kind of answer must be found. But a closer glance into the structure of the work, as it now exists, shows that there is yet another question that must, at any rate, be touched upon, before we can safely embark upon any of these. For the *Homilies* has not come down to us in its original form; and, before we can advance another step, it is necessary to form as accurate a conception as circumstances will allow, of that which preceded and underlies it.

What this was precisely it is most difficult to say, and a full investigation of all the points involved would carry us far beyond the limit of such a paper as this. It will be sufficient perhaps if those conclusions, which may be maintained with some confidence, are briefly stated.

An examination of the *Homilies* itself will demonstrate that there have been two large alterations in the plan of the book. The dispute which Peter holds with Simon Magus at Laodicea was originally represented as held at

Caesarea¹, and the dispute between Clement and Appion is a later addition².

A careful comparison of the *Homilies* with the *Recognitions* tells us something farther. There was an earlier book, which in some points is more closely followed by the *Homilies*³, in others by the *Recognitions*⁴.

Yet again there can be no reasonable doubt that the whole of the *Homilies*, as we now possess it, including the shifting of the Laodicean debate and the addition of the Appion debate, was well known to the author of the *Recognitions*⁵.

¹ There are many proofs of this. (1) The reappearance of Zacchaeus (xvii. 1), who had been left behind as Bishop at Caesarea; (2) Peter at Caesarea (iii. 10) says that the dispute with Simon *περὶ μοναρχίας* is to be held *αὐριον*. It is not however held till long afterwards at Laodicea. (3) The dispute at Caesarea is said (iii. 58) to last *three* days. It only lasts *one*. (4) Peter is said (xvii. 5) to have discoursed about Visions *ἐχθές*. We gather from *Recognitions* that this discourse was held at Caesarea, but in the present *Homilies* it comes later on, in *Homily* xvii. (5) Faustus, the father of Clement, is changed into the shape of Simon Magus (xx. 15) *one day* after he had recovered his wife and children. But in the present arrangement of the book several days of discussion intervene.

² In *Recognitions* twelve disciples are sent on from Caesarea to pursue Simon Magus, while Clement, Nicetes, and Aquila remain with Peter. In *Homilies* Clement, Nicetes, and Aquila are sent in pursuit. The object of this arrangement is obviously to provide a clear field for Clement's dispute with Appion, and avoid the awkwardness of making Peter stand by as a mere spectator. But in *Hom.* viii. 1-3 we read how Peter was rejoined at Tripolis by the *twelve brethren*, who had been sent on in advance. Dr. Salmon has noticed also that in the beginning of *Hom.* xii. it is implied that Clement had never been separated from Peter.

³ The *Recognitions* has departed from the original most distinctly by inserting the long debate on Genesis between Clement and his father (*Recogn.* ix. The sections 17-29 are from Bardesanes). For in both *Hom.* xx. 21 and *Recogn.* x. 63, this dispute is to be held at Antioch between Clement and Anubion.

⁴ The simplest proof of this is to be found in *Hom.* xii. 5 (cp. *Recogn.* vii. 5), where Clement refers to a previous saying of Peter, *εἰ τις βούλεται μοι συνοδεύειν εὐσεβῶς συνοδεύειτω*. This saying is found, in its proper place, in *Recogn.* iii. 72, but has disappeared from the *Homilies*, though there is something like it in *Hom.* i. 16.

⁵ The three most remarkable peculiarities of the *Homilies* are (1) the account of the forged *παρακαλ* of Scripture, given by Peter at Caesarea; (2) the debate with Appion; (3) the debate on the Evil One at Laodicea. All three are dropped in the *Recognitions*, yet all three were well known to

Can we form any reasonably tenable hypothesis which shall reconcile these complicated phenomena? Many answers have been given which the reader, if he is not already acquainted with them, may easily learn for himself. Many as they are, perhaps tolerance may be extended to a new one.

It is this:—that the *Homilies* as we have it, is a recast of an orthodox work by a highly unorthodox editor. The evidence for this conclusion is already before the reader's eye. Why should an Ebionite have pitched upon Clement for his hero? Why should Clement be made to succeed Peter as Bishop of Rome? How can we account for the widespread popularity of the Romance, if it was first launched upon the world under these sinister auspices? Where does the Hierarchy come from, and the Apologetics, and in particular the Appion debate

the author or editor of that book. (1) The account of the forged *ᾠδαί* he excised as destroying the authority of Scripture, and in its place inserted the long historical episode which some have regarded as drawn from the *Ascents of James*. In this passage the history is carried down to seven years after the Resurrection. But both in the *Homilies* and in the *Recognitions* the action of the book takes place in the year after the Resurrection. Again, *Recogn.* i. 74, Peter winds up the passage with the words 'tum etiam scriptae legis per singula quaeque capitula quorum ratio poscebat secretiorem tibi intelligentiam patefeci.' These words can only be regarded as referring to the forged *ᾠδαί*, which, as has been said, are not discussed at all in *Recognitions*. Observe further that Thomas is omitted (*Recogn.* ii. 1) from the list of Peter's companions. The reason for this is to be found in the extract from Bardesanes (*Recogn.* ix. 29), where we learn that Thomas is preaching the Gospel in Parthia. The two passages were altered at the same time. (2) The debate with Appion is omitted in *Recognitions*, but it is made large use of in a later passage. Compare *Hom.* vi. 14, 15 with *Recogn.* x. 41; *Hom.* v. 13 with *Recogn.* x. 22. It does not seem to me capable of any reasonable doubt that the *Homilies* is here the more original. (3) The discussion on the Evil One is omitted in *Recognitions* for obvious reasons, yet the most peculiar of the doctrines contained in that discussion are hinted at in scattered phrases. See especially *Recogn.* ix. 9, where the singular notion of unlucky seasons of generation is enunciated. The mere omission of this discussion brings the chronology of the *Recognitions* right, so that only 'one day' intervenes between the recognition of the father of Clement and his magical transformation. But Uhlhorn points out even here a remarkable and conclusive slip in *Recognitions* x. 52, 'ingressus quidam nunciat Appionem Plistonicensem cum Anubione nuper venisse ab Antiochia et hospitari cum Simone.' This accords with *Hom.* xx. 11; but as things are narrated in *Recognitions*, Simon is at this very time at Antioch.

which is written in better Greek by a much clearer brain, and with a more lively fancy than the rest of the *Homilies*? For though where it stands this particular passage is a later addition, there is no reason why it should not have been taken from the same source that had already been laid under contribution. It is highly probable that we have the same phenomenon, the same recurrence to the original, in the *Recognitions* also; and there too, when we get a glimpse of it, the original seems to be more orthodox in tone than the recast¹.

But it will be asked, Is there any positive evidence of the existence of such an orthodox work? Undoubtedly there is. At a later date we know that there existed a catholic *Clementina*, which appears to have driven the *Homilies* out of circulation. It is to this that the Scholiast on Eusebius refers, when he expresses his amazement that any one should find false doctrine in the dialogues of Clement². It was known to Nicephorus, Cedrenus, and Glycas, and the first of these writers tells us that it was 'well received' by the Church³. It is to this probably that Origen refers in the *Contra Celsum*, when he speaks of the dispute between Clement

¹ It is a somewhat complicated theory, and involves the following propositions:—(1) that the *Homilies* and the *Recognitions* presuppose a common *Grundschrift*; (2) that the author of *Homilies* (or possibly another writer), dissatisfied with the first form of his own work, went back to this *Grundschrift* for the debate with Appion; (3) that the author of *Recognitions* had before him both the *Homilies* as we possess it and the *Grundschrift*. This theory, which is Uhlhorn's, seems to be the only one that will reconcile all the phenomena. I differ from Uhlhorn only in thinking that the *Grundschrift* was in the main a Catholic production.

² On Eus. *H. E.* iii. 38. 5 (in Heinichen). Eusebius is referring to a book recently published under the name of Clement, and containing 'dialogues of Peter and Appion.' I understand him to mean the *Homilies*, though in that case his expression is inaccurate, for the dialogue is held between Clement and Appion. Other references to a 'disputatio Petri et Appionis,' I regard as simply based on this careless phrase of Eusebius.

³ Uhlhorn, pp. 51 sqq. The Athanasian *Synopsis*, written shortly after the death of Athanasius (Bleek), or even later (Uhlhorn), enumerates three books—Περίοδοι Πέτρου, Κλημέντια, ἐξ ἧν μετεφράσθησαν τὰ ἀληθέστερα καὶ θεόπνευστα—and regards the orthodox *Clementina* as a recast of the *Hom.* or *Recogn.* In my opinion it was the other way about.

and his father at Laodicea on the subject of astrology. For though this dispute is found in the *Recognitions*, it is demonstrably an addition there, and may be, probably is, one of those recurrences to the original already spoken of¹. In the *Comm. on Genesis*, again, Origen quotes as from book xiv. of Clement of Rome, a passage substantially agreeing with *Rec. x. 10-12*². We see here that the book to which he is referring differed from the *Recognitions* in arrangement. Again, in the *Comm. on Matthew*, he cites from the same source words to the effect that 'good works profit the infidel in this life, but not in the life to come'³. In the *Recognitions* and in the *Homilies* the same opinion is enunciated, but as regards works of chastity alone. Origen's authority therefore differed from both, and it is surely impossible that he should have made use of either of these most singular books without a word to put the reader on his guard. Again, Jerome tells us that the *Periodi* of Clement represented Peter as bald, and as having a daughter⁴. He too says nothing about the general character of this book, which can therefore hardly have been violently unorthodox. And neither statement about Peter is found in the *Homilies* or in the *Recognitions*. It is this same book, we may believe, that is referred to also in the *Constitutiones Apostolicæ*⁵. Surely the writer there cannot be making use of the *Homilies* in the very passage where he represents Peter as declaring so emphatically that Christians did not regard their Lord as 'a mere man,' as 'a holy man and prophet.'

¹ The reference is to *Philocalia* xxii. *ad fin.* But I now notice, on a closer inspection, that the concluding sentences of this chapter of *Philoc.* are not from the *Celsus*. Doubtless they were added by the editors Basil and Gregory Nazianzen.

² *In Gen. Comm.* iii. 14 (Lomm. viii. 41).

³ *In Matt. Comm. Series* 77 (Lomm. iv. 401). Uhlhorn thinks that Origen is quoting the other edition of *Recognitions* known to Rufinus.

⁴ Hieron. *adv. Jovinianum* 15 (ed. Martian. iv. 118); *Comm. ad Gal.* i. 18 (ed. Martian. ii. 235).

⁵ *Const. App.* vi. 8. Lagarde (Preface, p. 8) thinks that the Homilist made use of the *Constitutions*.

What this orthodox *Clementina* included it is difficult to say with precision. In the *Const. App.* St. Peter tells us how he held a three days' discussion with Simon Magus at Caesarea surrounded by the same followers who appear in the *Homilies*, Zacchaeus, Barnabas, 'and Nicetes and Aquila, brothers of Clement the Roman Bishop and citizen.' Nothing is said of the father and mother or the reunion of the family, but it is surely implied. Nothing is said either of any discussion except that at Caesarea, but this is an omission that may be accounted for. The story went on to tell how Peter pursued Simon Magus to Rome, how there Simon attempted to fly through the air in the theatre, how at Peter's prayer his magical powers deserted him, so that he fell to the ground and was killed. This contest in Rome was known to the editors of the *Homilies* and *Recognitions*, though they do no more than allude to it. But both books are, on their own showing, based on an original that gave more of the story than they do. For in both we are promised a debate on Genesis between Clement and Anubion at Antioch which never comes off. In the *Constitutiones Apostolicae* the debate at Caesarea lasts three days, as it does in the *Recognitions*, and ought to do but does not in the *Homilies*. But in the *Constitutions* the subjects are (ἐἰς τὸν περὶ προφήτου λόγον καὶ περὶ θεοῦ μοναρχίας) Christ as the Prophet or subject of Prophecy, and Gnosticism. Both are treated of in a very peculiar way in the *Homilies*, Gnosticism alone in the *Recognitions*. But just in this passage it so happens that we can show with tolerable certainty that the author of the *Recognitions* was acquainted with the *Homilies*, that he turned away from the *Homilies*, and that he reverted to an older authority. For he has dropped the Homilist's teaching about the forged Scriptures, and introduced in its place a long historical episode, ruining his own chronology by doing so. And he has taken from his other authority a fine argument against Gnostic Ecstasy, which we know that the author of the *Homilies* must have found in this place. It is probable then that the orthodox *Clementina*, in

its Caesarean section, contained the Christian argument from Prophecy, and a discussion on general and philosophic grounds of the leading topics of Gnosticism. Besides this, we are pretty certain that it contained the debate on Mythology between Clement and Appion, which has been thrust into the *Homilies* as an afterthought with some damage to the framework of that book¹. In addition, it possibly recorded a discussion between Clement and Anubion at Antioch. Beyond this it would be dangerous to venture, but any one who reads the curious farrago described in the foregoing pages, where the oil of civilised orthodoxy and the water of fantastic Ebionitism meet, but do not blend, will be able to form a pretty accurate opinion as to the source of each of these elements.

The date of the orthodox *Clementina* must not be fixed too early. It contained the Clement legend, which is not much older than Tertullian, and the argument against Heathenism is, as we have noticed, of a late type. On the other hand, it must be placed before the middle age of Origen. We shall not go far wrong if we assume it to have come into existence not much before and not much after 200 A.D. It was seized upon, altered and adapted by an Ebionite, probably a convert to Ebionitism, at a later time, we do not know when, but shortly before Eusebius wrote his History.

Can we fix the date of this recasting with more exactness? It is not easy to throw any clear light on this question. The author adhered with great strictness to his plan, and except the New Testament quotations and a reference to the worship of Antinous in Egypt², there is no distinct anachronism. There are, however, two points that may help us, one arising from the doctrine of Baptism, another from the Christology, both connected with the distinctively Ebionite portion of the *Homilies*.

It was by no accident that Alexander of Apamea set out for Rome at the time that he did. Every Oriental quack, as

¹ Uhlhorn, p. 57.

Hom. vi. 23.

Juvenal tells us, made his way to the banks of the Tiber sooner or later. But the time was peculiarly favourable for his new Gospel. Elagabalus had just built a grand temple to the god from whom he derived his name, and was anxious above all things to attract to that shrine the devotion of 'Jews and Samaritans¹.' In 222 Alexander Severus ascended the throne and placed the bust of Christ in his Lararium side by side with Apollonius, Abraham, Orpheus, and others. Clearly there was an opening for the Apamean here. He might reasonably look for his share of imperial patronage and imperial gold. And if we glance at the state of Catholicism in Rome at that time, we shall discern yet another reason that may have operated as a magnet. For at this very juncture the Church was agitated by those hot disputes on the subject of Penance which first emerged in *Hermas* and culminated in the Novatian schism. In the early days of Alexander Severus the contest was raging with intense heat. Callistus (possibly carrying on the policy of his predecessor Zephyrinus) had declared that absolution should not be refused to those who after baptism had been guilty of sins of impurity, on condition of course of repentance and submission to discipline. The consequence of this lenity appears to have been a temporary disruption of the Church, and the elevation of Hippolytus as the first Anti-pope. It would be in the midst of this storm that Alexander of Apamea arrived in Rome, bringing with him his new gospel, the volume which had been dictated to Elxai among the Seres of Parthia by an angel ninety-six miles high. The particular article of this revelation on which he relied for success was a Baptism which washed away all, even the most hideous sins, without any discipline or penance at all². Such an improvement on the terms of Callistus might be expected to win over many of the looser Christians, and was not unlikely to prove a tempting inducement to Pagans of the reformed school, who were familiar enough with the idea of expiatory lustrations, and would be rather attracted

¹ Lampridius, *Ant. Hel.* 3.² *Hom.* xi. 26, 27.

than repelled by those concomitants that seem to us, as they seemed to Hippolytus, so senseless and degrading, the astrology, the oath of secrecy, the incantations for use against the bite of a mad dog. What success befel Alexander we do not know, but it is likely enough that he made converts, and by one of them, or indeed by himself, we might suppose, without absurdity, that the *Homilies* had been manufactured as a popular exposition of the new creed.

Nevertheless this does not commend itself as the most plausible supposition. We have no reason to think that the book was ever known at Rome. Such indications as we can gather point rather to the Levant as its birthplace. A case might be made out for Egypt, when we consider that the name of Clement of Rome was highly respected in that country, that many of the ideas of the *Homilies* were familiar to Clement of Alexandria¹, and that the author displays considerable acquaintance with Egyptian lore. 'I could show,' he says in one place 'the absurdity of Egyptian allegorism if I were there².' Is not this exactly how a romancer would write if he actually *was* there? Notice again that the number of priests attached to a Bishop is always twelve, as at Alexandria,

¹ For instance, that the Demons *ξεῖνον τὰ ἀπόρρητα ταῖς γυναῖσιν*, *Strom.* v. i. 10: the distinction between *εἰκόν* and *ὁμοίωσις* of God is held by 'some of ours,' *Strom.* ii. 22. 13: certain heretics have raised the question, *πότερον τέλειος ἐπλάσθη ὁ Ἀδὰμ ἢ ἀτελής*; *Strom.* vi. 12. 96: *μὴ τοίνυν λεγόντων ὅς ἐστιν ὁ ἀδικῶν καὶ ἁμαρτάνων κατ' ἐνέργειαν δαιμόνων πλημμελεῖ*, *Strom.* vi. 12. 98: *αἱ κτήσεις γὰρ καὶ χρήσεις τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐ τὴν ποιότητα ἔχουσι βλαβερὰν ἀλλὰ τὴν παρὰ τὸ μέτρον ποσότητα*, *Strom.* vi. 12. 99: Anthropomorphism is an *ἄθεος ἔφορος*, *Strom.* vi. 12. 114; 16. 136. The juxtaposition of the last four points suggests that Clement had in view some system in which all were maintained. Again, *Strom.* vi. 9. 72, by virtue of *νοῦς* man is *θεοειδής*, God is *ἀνθρωποειδής*. *παρ' ὃ καὶ οἱ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ἁμαρτάνοντες ἀνδραῖοι τε καὶ ἀσθεῖς*. So the *Homilies* base the obligation of justice and charity on the existence of the Divine Image in man. Common to Clement and the *Homilies* are the phrase *ἐβδομάδος μυστήριον* *Hom.* xvii. 9; *Strom.* iv. 17. 109; vi. 14. 108, and certain Scriptural quotations of a peculiar cast, notably, *γίνεσθε δοκιμοὶ τραπεζίται* and *μυστήριον ἐμὸν ἐμοί*, *Hom.* xix. 20; *Strom.* v. 10. 63. The last is from Theodotion's translation of Isaiah xxiv. 16, but is taken by Clement from 'a certain Gospel.'

² *Hom.* x. 18.

and that the author rather goes out of his way to inform us that the gospel was first preached in the Egyptian capital not by Mark but by Barnabas. Yet I doubt if he would have spoken of want of rain as one of God's judgments upon sin in the rainless land of Egypt¹, or if he would have mentioned Alexandria only as the place where Simon Magus was indoctrinated in the black art if he had himself been a student in the Museum. Upon the whole it seems more likely that the author lived in some Greek-speaking part of Syria. He cannot have been an inhabitant of any properly Hellenic region, for he tell us that 'the rustics were unacquainted with Greek mythology².' But he surely lived within sight of the sea, or he would never have insisted with such earnestness on the efficacy of Baptism in salt water. And if he were not himself a Syrian it would be difficult to account for the curious Syriac words that occur, though but rarely, in his Greek³.

But there is still one point remaining which is more decisive than any other as to the date of his work. He considers, as we have seen above, with particular care the question whether and in what exact sense the Son may be called Homocousian with the Father, and ends by concluding that in one sense He is, and in another is not of the same substance. His substance is that of the first change of God, and in this attenuated sense the Son is Homocousian, though not equal in power or in dignity to the Father. Can it be believed that this passage, which there is no reason whatever to regard as a later addition, was written before the days of the Arian controversy? The most reasonable conclusion, in face of this remarkable passage,

¹ *Hom.* xi. 13.

² *Hom.* iv. 19.

³ μαφόριον, xiii. 16, xv. 5. See Lagarde's note, and Ducange or Dict. Christian Antiquities, s. v. Mafors; λαμπηνοί, ii. 1, the descriptive epithet added to the names of Ananias and Aggaeus among the companions of Peter: perhaps = אַמְנִיִּים which, according to Lévy, signifies 'Jemand der, obgleich nicht dem Gelehrtenbunde gehörend, dennoch beglaubigt ist dass er die Priester und Levitergaben entrichte.' This list of names contains other titles which may have an ecclesiastical signification: thus οἰκοδόμοι, applied to Rubilus and Zacharias, may mean 'learned men,' and the unmeaning ἑταῖροι, used of Nicetes and Aquila, may be 'doctors.'

appears to be that the *Homilies* was made up by recasting the orthodox *Clementina* at some early period in the fourth century. There is nothing in the work itself that can be alleged with confidence in favour of any earlier date, unless it be the peculiar character of the Gospel quotations, many of which diverge from the canonical text, while eight are not to be found in our canonical Gospels. But these facts do not necessarily point to an early origin in the case of a work in other ways so alien from Catholic tradition. If we suppose that we have in the present *Homilies* the production of an Arian Christian of Syriac nationality, who fancied that he found in Ebionitism a solution of the great problem—a historical and quasi-philosophical doctrine of the Arian Saviour—we should not perhaps go far wrong. And nowhere could such a man be looked for with more prospect of success than in Antioch¹.

But after all, what is most important in this singular book is neither its authorship, its exact date, nor its exact birthplace, but the light that it throws upon the origin of Gnosticism (an interesting point which space has compelled me to omit) and upon the fate of those Jewish communities which refused to cast in their lot with the Catholic Church. They maintained themselves in some sort of vitality down to Mahomedan times, and traces of their influence are to be discovered in Islam and among the Druses. The reason why they failed to exercise any wider or higher influence will be obvious enough to readers of these pages. When the Light of the World had arisen they turned aside after the marsh-fires of an idle antiquated mysticism and a gross and barbarous superstition and so fell deeper and deeper into the mire. A Mahomedan writer of the tenth century², to whom we owe a later glimpse of them, speaks of them as dwelling in the fens between the Arabian desert, the Euphrates, and the Tigris, passing farther

¹ The peculiar Judaic heresy of the Colossians, which was probably connected with Ebionitism, lingered on in that district as late as the Council of Laodicea.—Lightfoot, *Col.* p. 63.

² See Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 403; Hilgenfeld, *Novum Testamentum extra Canonem Receptum*, ii. p. 231.

and farther from the civilisation of the West, and shrouding themselves ever more impenetrably in swamps and fogs. Readers of Mr. Gordon's *Life*¹ will find an interesting but unsatisfactory notice of the Soobies of Baghdad, who appear (if the conjecture may be hazarded) to be the last wrecks of the followers of Elxai. But little can be gathered from the account of Mr. Gordon, except that the enquirer is still encountered, as he was in the days of Epiphanius, with studied and deceitful reserve.

¹ *George Maxwell Gordon*, by Rev. A. Lewis. Seeley and Co. 1889. pp. 183 sqq.

V.

THE EVIDENCE OF THE EARLY VERSIONS
AND PATRISTIC QUOTATIONS ON THE
TEXT OF THE BOOKS OF THE NEW
TESTAMENT¹.

[LL. J. M. BEBB.]

It is unnecessary, at the present time, to uphold the general proposition that Versions and patristic quotations have a value in determining the date and text of the books of the New Testament. Any one who denied it would be setting himself in opposition to the views of textual critics of every school. The first outcry which greeted the result of Mill's work in reference to the Versions, and Fell's in reference to the Fathers, has been changed into a chorus of approval, if not of the results, at any rate of the principles which guided them. But though the general proposition has been granted, there is still much divergence of opinion as to the amount of importance to be attached to the evidence of individual Fathers and Versions, and the conditions under which it is possible to draw sound inferences as to the Greek text which lay before them.

Two circumstances tend greatly to enhance the value of Versions and patristic quotations: the first is the comparative lateness of the manuscripts which are, of course, our chief authorities for the text of the Greek Testament; the second

¹ Part of the Ellerton Prize Essay for 1888, printed with the leave of the Examiners. The limits imposed by the conditions of this Prize prevented the writer from giving more than a few *illustrations* of the various possibilities of error which may occur in the use of Versions and patristic quotations. Since the essay was first written nothing has been added except some references.

is the abundantly demonstrable fact that simultaneously with the very origin of theological literature, we find such an amount of textual corruption that we can ill afford to dispense with any evidence which may help us to separate the accretions from the original text of the New Testament.

There are many points to be settled before we can be sure that we have this varied evidence in the form in which it can be safely used for purposes of textual criticism.

The first which demands consideration is how far that which passes current as the work of a Father or translator really corresponds to its original condition. We must, that is, know the critical value of our printed editions. This will be ascertained by comparing them with the manuscript authorities from which they are professedly derived. We must then examine those authorities, and see how far they have suffered: to what changes, intentional or unintentional, they have been subjected, in the course of time, by any of the many hands through which they have passed.

It is by no means unnecessary to subject our printed editions to some such scrutiny, because many of them date from a time when close adherence to the best manuscripts, or groups of manuscripts, was not regarded as the first duty of an editor, and when the materials for a critical edition were not so numerous, or so accessible as they have since become. The Peshitto will afford many instances of passages introduced by editors from general considerations, without any manuscript authority. While the first editor of the version, Widmanstadt (1555), adhered to manuscript authority, Tremellius¹, who followed him, inserted in the text the doubtful part of Matthew xxvii. 35, and in the margin a translation from Latin sources of 1 John v. 7, which Gutbir (1664) put into the text. These were kept in the well-known edition of Schaaf (1709) as well as Acts viii. 37, xv. 34, and xxviii. 29.

The largest insertion is that of the Perikope Adulterae in

¹ It is only fair to add that this was done from a belief that the MS. sent from the East and used by Widmanstadt was defective.

the London Polyglot edition of Walton from a manuscript which belonged to Ussher¹.

Attention should also be drawn to the fact that the Syriac Version of the four minor Catholic Epistles and Revelation bound up with the Peshitto, formed no part of the original version. That of the Catholic Epistles (2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude) is probably one of the few relics of the Philoxenian recension made by Polycarp at the beginning of the sixth century. It is 'distinct from the Harklensian rendering of the same Epistles, which however is unmistakably founded on it².' The translation of the Apocalypse Dr. Gwynn on internal evidence believes to be part of the later revision of Thomas of Harkel (A.D. 616). This internal evidence consists in (1) its graecizing character, (2) the use of asterisks, (3) the *marginalia*³. At any rate there is no doubt that, though printed with the Peshitto, the critical value is not the same as in other parts of the New Testament, and therefore it is rightly referred to with a different notation.

Again in the edition of the Armenian Version made by Uschan (1668), he confesses to having introduced several passages from the Latin without any manuscript authority, as for instance, John v. 4, John vii. 53-viii. 11, 1 John v. 7. From such errors the later critical edition of Zohrab (1805) is free.

Somewhat similar, though not so heinous an editorial blunder, was the translation into Ethiopic from Greek MSS. and the Vulgate, of the *lacunae* in the Ethiopic MS. used for the edition of 1548, printed at Rome⁴.

¹ The Syriac version of this section was first published by De Dieu in 1631 from a MS. lent him by Ussher, and probably Walton used De Dieu's text. Its history has been worked out by Dr. Gwynn, *Trans. Irish Acad.* vol. xxvii.

² Gwynn in *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* iv. 432-3, and *l. c.* p. 29 ff. Cp. also Ridley, *De Vers. Syr. Indole*, p. 298 [the paging is that of the German edition]; Adler, *Vers. Syr.* p. 78.

³ *Id. Dict. Christ. Biogr.* iv. 1020-1 (where the literature on the point is given), and *l. c.* pp. 32, 35.

⁴ C. B. Michaelis, *Tract. Crit.* p. 32.

There can be no doubt also that the printed edition of the Vulgate, to which we have seen such a tendency to conform other Versions, is something very different from the work as it left Jerome's hands. Here many circumstances have proved detrimental to the unimpaired transmission of the Version. Thus, owing to the existence of the previous Latin Version, side by side with his for at any rate two hundred and fifty years¹ (and for the first part of that time with equal authority)², it is difficult to separate the two. Further than this, it suffered very much in transmission, as will be seen by the many *Biblia Correctoria* from the thirteenth century onwards. Of the further element of uncertainty introduced by the revision of Alcuin, owing to his use of Greek and Syriac manuscripts, mention will be made later. Though the difficulties are thus great, it will be possible to approximate much more closely to Jerome's work than the text of 1592, authorised by Clement, which passes current as the Vulgate.

Nor have the editions of the Fathers fared much better, and in these the Biblical quotations (with which we are here concerned) have generally been the first part of the work to suffer. We are helped no doubt when the editors give us their authorities, even though they naively confess that they follow previous editors rather than manuscript authority. In the instance quoted from Irenaeus, iv. 37. 5, Stieren³ gives a reading which, so far as he knew, had no MS. authority. It is often his plan, whatever the manuscript authority, to conform his reading to the Itala column of Sabatier's work. What the state of Chrysostom's printed text was in his

¹ Not till the ninth century was its victory assured. Walafr. Strabo praef. gloss. ord. (cited by Fritzsche in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*, viii. 448), says, *Hieronymi translatione nunc ubique utitur tota ecclesia Romana, licet non in omnibus libris*.

² Greg. Magn. (*Pref. in Job*) *ut comprobationis causa exigit, nunc novam nunc veterem per testimonia assumo* (quoted by Fritzsche, l. c.).

³ Cp., for instance, Stieren's *Irenaeus*, i. 696—*alas*] sic scripsi cum plurimis editoribus sed Mass. e cod. Claromont. legit *ascellas*. In *Codd. Voss. et Vet. exstat assellis; Arund. ascillis*. But i. 520, note 8, he deserts a previous editor for manuscript authority.

homilies on St. Paul's Epistles, before Field edited it, may be seen in the preface to his edition¹, where he says that, there being two recensions of text, one easier, the other harder, Savile (the first editor) combined them. Instances of previous editors accommodating the biblical quotations to the ordinary text against the authority of the MSS. are given by Field in his edition of Chrysostom's Homilies on St. Matthew². The same complaint of editors preferring their own judgment to the authority of the MSS. is mentioned by Dean Burgon³ with reference to Cyril of Jerusalem. Some of the Fathers have been satisfactorily edited in such a way that, though the acquisition of fresh material may make it necessary to supplement what has been done, the work will not require to be re-done. But the continued outcry⁴ for critical editions of the Fathers and Versions shows that much remains to be done before we have the materials properly before us on which textual criticism is to work.

But in some cases the manuscripts necessary for such editions may not be forthcoming, and of course the value of our conclusions will be considerably depreciated if we cannot be sure we have the original work before us. Deficiency of MS. evidence is a common complaint among the editors, as may be seen by the references given to Otto, Hefele, and Potter, by Blunt⁵. It is where MSS. are numerous and

¹ *Bibl. Patr. Oxon.* p. xlii; but Savile's edition compares very favourably with the Benedictine edition of Montfaucon; cp. Lagarde, *Ankündigung*, p. 50.

² In Chrysostom's quotation (Hom. xlii) of Luke xxii. 35-38 *δουλος* is omitted by the MSS., inserted by the editors; p. 589, in the quotation of Luke xi. 27, 28, the editors substitute *νοῦλα* for *γαστήρ*.

³ *Last Twelve Verses*, p. 261. Dean Burgon quotes De Touttée's admission that he inserted *εὐδοκίας* into Cyril's quotation of Luke ii. 14, though he found *εὐδοκία* in the text.

⁴ E.g. Holtzmann, *Einführung*, p. 49; Scrivener, *Introduction*, etc., p. 419. For *Versions*, cp. Lagarde, *Anmerkungen*, etc., p. 2. The preparation of critical editions of the Vulgate (of which the first *fasciculus* has appeared) and Peshitto at Oxford, and of the Septuagint at Cambridge, shows that the need has been realized. The Vienna *Corpus* is also remedying the defect as far as the Latin Fathers are concerned.

⁵ *Use of the Fathers*, p. 68; cp. Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, p. 183 ff., as to Justin Martyr.

divided in their evidence that the work of the editor becomes difficult, though an inductive examination will show what manuscript or group of MSS. is to be followed. The MSS. of Cyprian will illustrate this, but it is unfortunate that Hartel in his edition for the *Vienna Corpus* seems to have followed the wrong group for the *Testimonia*. Where manuscripts are few, as in the case of Irenaeus, it may have been because the work was not in great request¹, and in such a case transcriptional errors are correspondingly few², and the lateness of our manuscripts less important. Where our existing manuscripts are derived from one Archetype, as is proved by common *lacunae* to be the case with the four MSS. of the Greek text of Origen's Commentaries both on St. Matthew³ and St. John⁴; or where, as in the case of the Curetonian Version, we have only one extant manuscript, there is no means of correcting errors which may have come in during transmission. Equally important is it that we should bear in mind the channels through which our quotations come. The value of Origen's quotations is depreciated by the consideration that much comes through Cramer's *Catena*, where the text is full of obvious blunders, and requires a fresh collation of manuscripts⁵. The same fact is noticed by Lipsius of Irenaeus⁶, whose Greek text has to be recovered piecemeal from the author of the *Philosophumena*, Epiphanius, Theodoret, Eusebius, and others, and has therefore been subjected to considerable dangers. It is exceptional to have extant manuscripts so near the time of the writer as that of John Damascene assigned by Tischendorf to the same century as the original⁷,

¹ Gregory the Great describes his difficulty in getting a copy, and the preface to *Cod. A* describes it as *perrarus*. *Journal of Philology*, xvii. 85.

² Even a much-used work like the Peshitto may keep comparatively free from errors of this kind; cp. Mr. Gwilliam in *Studia Biblica* (1st series), p. 161, and Cornill, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*.

³ *Dict. of Christian Biography*, iv. 111-2.

⁴ *Ib.* 114.

⁵ *Ib.* 118.

⁶ *Ib.* s. v. Irenaeus.

⁷ Tisch. *Nov. Test.* (8th edition), p. xvi, cited as *Dam^{par} cod.* Professor Rendel Harris, *Fragments of Philo*, p. xi ff., shows that these '*Paratibels*' have only a very slight connection with John Damascene, and are really an earlier

the Wolfenbüttel MS. of Chrysostom, cited as Chrys^{gus}, and ascribed to the sixth century. However, as we shall see later, age is no certain criterion of value.

But, though there are such difficulties as have been described to be met, it is possible by the help of available authorities to remove many errors which can be proved with more or less certainty to have come in during transmission, and therefore formed no part of the original text.

Firstly must be noticed obvious scribes' errors in the language of the Versions, misreadings of the Greek being reserved (till we come to consider the value on internal evidence of the several authorities), as dating from the time when the Version was made.

Thus the variants *iuncta* and *vineta* which we find in Augustine¹ for δέδερατ (Rom. vii. 2), *correptio* and *correctio* for νοουθεσία (1 Cor. xii), and possibly also *curiosae* and *otiosae* for περίεργοι (1 Tim. v. 13), are cases in point. To this may be ascribed the variant *misteriorum* for *ministeriumum* (Ambr. de Sacr. 6) at 1 Cor. xii. 14. Another instance, important as illustrating the perpetuation of error, is the reading *quidem* for *quidam* (twice) at 1 Cor. vi. 11, where Cyprian (*Test.* ii. 65) is followed by Ambrose and Augustine.

From the Peshitto we may quote the reading ܐܘܢܝܢ at 2 Tim. iv. 10 for Κρήσκης; here a Syriac manuscript reads ܐܘܢܝܢ, perhaps followed by the Arabic (see Tisch. *ad loc.*). These variants are clearly due to the confusion of ܐ and ܐ. Two other instances are given by Michaelis² from 2 Pet. ii. 17, 18, where the Erpenian Arabic (here a secondary version) makes it probable that ܐܘܢܝܢ, by which it translates ὑπὸ λαλᾶτος, is a mistake for ܐܘܢܝܢ; and in verse 18 ܐܘܢܝܢ (laughter), by which it translates ὑπέρογκα, a mistake for ܐܘܢܝܢ.

An instance from the Curetonian³ may be found at Matthew collection which he may possibly have re-arranged. He shows also, ib. p. xxi, that Tischendorf (*l. c.*) was mistaken in identifying the MS. with Cod. Rup.

¹ Cp. Ziegler, *Die lateinischen Bibelübersetzungen*, etc., p. 71 n.

² Marsh's *Michaelis*, ii. p. 20.

³ Baethgen, *Evangelienfragmente*, p. 8.

xi. 5, where ܥܝܪܝܢܐ, the proper translation of *εὐαγγελίζονται*, appears as ܥܝܪܝܢܐ (cf. the Peshitto at 1 Cor. ix. 13, where this word translates *ἐσθλοσιν*), which may, however, have been an intentional correction of the scribe as giving a better sense. A similar instance of some importance as affecting the origin of the Arabic version is quoted by Lagarde¹ from Acts ii. 10, where the printed editions give for Cyrene 'our country.' Both Lagarde and Lightfoot point out that a very slight change would make the Arabic read 'Cyrene,' and that what we have is probably an error of transcription.

Another class of errors, which may have an important bearing on the various readings, springs from the tendency of scribes, consciously or unconsciously, to make the text of biblical quotations in the work before them agree with that most familiar to them. It is pointed out by Ziegler², that the monks, to whose labours we are largely indebted for the multiplication at any rate of Greek and Latin manuscripts, were familiar with the Vulgate readings, and so we find a great tendency to substitute these for the readings of the manuscript before them, and to destroy peculiar readings. We should expect something of this kind to happen, but we have also abundant and indisputable proofs of it. Thus Barnabas, chap. ii, quotes from Ps. li. 19, and adds words not found in our Bible, but given in the same connection by Irenaeus (iv. 17. 2) and Clement of Alexandria (*Str.* ii. 18). Most MSS. give the addition correctly, but L³ substitutes for the unusual words the continuation as found in the LXX. Similarly in chap. v, L (this time with other authorities) alters an important quotation from Zech. xiii. 7 to suit Mat. xxii. 14. In chap. vi, L omits a part of a quotation from Ps. cxvii. 24 to suit the LXX, and alters Is. xxviii. 16 with the same object⁴. This phenomenon is, however, as has been above noticed, most

¹ *De Novo Test. ad fidem, etc.*, p. 3.

² *Loc. cit.* p. 71.

³ L = 'Latinus interpres.'

⁴ Cp. also Polyc. *ad Phil.* i. 2, where the quotation from 1 Pet. i. 12 is altered to suit the ordinary text of the New Testament (Funk, *Patr. Apost.* i. 267, n.).

frequently illustrated by alterations of the quotations in the Latin Fathers from Irenaeus (*Lat.*) and Cyprian downwards. In Cyprian we may refer to Hartel's Prolegomena, p. xxiv, where general reference to the fact is made; in Ep. 55. 18 we ought to read *suffragatorem* in the quotation from 1 John ii. 1, and not *justum*, as is read by Hartel's text, following the Vulgate. So in *Test.* iii. 95 Hartel follows the wrong group of MSS. (AW) in giving the Vulgate rendering of 1 Cor. xv. 33, *Corrumpunt mores bonos colloquia mala*, instead of (with LMB) *Corrumpunt ingenia bona confabulationes pessimae*, a quotation especially liable to this kind of alteration, being a proverb in constant use. Instances might be multiplied from the *apparatus criticus* of the *Testimonia*, where on nearly every page one or more MSS. have been thus corrupted. From Augustine we get another illustration; at Rom. v. 16 he expressly rejects the reading *ἀμαρτήματος*, and six times we accordingly find the other reading *per unum peccantem*; but Ep. 157. 20, *per unum peccatum* (*Vulg.*); so in the *de Natura et Gratia* we get *desiderium*, Rom. i. 24 (*Vulg.*), but six times elsewhere *concupiscentia* (*Vet. Lat.*). To this cause are probably to be attributed the numerous cases of discrepancy between the text given in a Father, and the commentary on the text¹. Thus in Iren. iv. 13. 1, Stieren notices that although *sine causa* is inserted in the quotation from Mat. v. 22, Irenaeus' argument assumes its omission, and so he concludes (i. 595, n. 5), *a scribis itaque . . . addita videtur, sicut et in latinam Vulgatam irrepsit*. In Jerome such cases are particularly numerous, thus at Mat. xxi. 31 he notes that the *vera exemplaria* have *primus*, in his commentary we find *novissimus*. Westcott on St. John x. 16 gives another instance. He quotes Jerome as approving the rendering of *αὐλή* by *atrium* rather than *ovile*, and yet we find the latter in the Vulgate text.

The clearest proof of such a corruption is in two Munich

¹ Wetstein, *Animadversiones et Cautiones*, pp. 86-7, 90.

manuscripts of the *Enchiridion* referred to by Ziegler¹, in one of which the old Latin quotations are crossed out, and written in above we find the Vulgate text, while in the second (Cod. 6283 Lat.) the Vulgate has been substituted in the actual quotations and the Old Latin has disappeared.

Somewhat similar, in the case of Versions, is the correction of one Version by another later one, or by Greek manuscripts. It differs from the last kind of corruption in being intentional and editorial, while the last often must have been involuntary. Both alike are damaging to the critical value of the work so corrected. In some cases we have definite historical statements of such treatment; in others, we infer it from the text under examination, but in such cases there is need of caution, lest we attribute to subsequent correction resemblances which existed from their origin in the two works compared, and are due to common ancestry. We have definite statements of the use of Greek MSS. in the Harklensian Version², and in Alcuin's revision of the Vulgate (A. D. 801) by the help of Greek and Syriac manuscripts³. There are probably few Versions which have not been affected by the Latin Versions. We have already⁴ seen traces of this in the printed editions of the Armenian and Ethiopic. The Gothic has perhaps also been affected, while as to the Arabic Versions there is a division of opinion. The close agreement between the Latin and Syriac Versions is a case in which caution is needed; the Syriac Version seems comparatively free from such correction by Latin authorities, and the accusations of Latinizing made by Michaelis⁵ and Wetstein (who on this account refers it to the seventh century⁶) are explanations of an agreement which

¹ Ziegler, *Die lat. Bibelübersetzungen*, etc. p. 73.

² *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* iv. 1017, s. v. Polycarp.

³ Fritzsche, *l. c.* p. 449; but cp. Porson, *Letters to Travis*, p. 145. Such revision, though recorded, is more than doubtful.

⁴ Cp. p. 197.

⁵ *Curæ in Vers. Syr. Act. Apost.* pp. 168-9. Cp. Lagarde, *De N. T. ad fidem Orient. Vers. Edendo*, p. 5.

⁶ As the Abbé Martin does the Curetonian, notwithstanding the date of the MS.

is due to derivation from the same early authorities¹. The Latin Versions² have in some cases been corrected by Greek manuscripts, and unfortunately it is a very difficult matter to ascertain the extent to which Jerome used his Greek manuscripts³, and recover from the Vulgate, as Bentley hoped to do, the pure Greek text of the end of the fourth century. A striking instance of the depreciation from this cause of what would have otherwise been a most valuable authority in the Old Testament is the *Codex Ambrosianus*, the oldest manuscript of the Peshitto, which on examination is found to have been corrected to the Massoretic text⁴.

Besides changes of the above kind, which are of the greatest importance, reference has to be made to changes, of less importance in regard to the Greek text, though they are extremely useful in determining the relative age of Versions in the same language, and therefore of great indirect value. Of this kind are formal changes introduced by the removal of solecisms, and hard or ungrammatical constructions or connections, and the substitution of ordinary words and phrases: thus from the Old Latin, Fritzsche⁵ instances the changes in Luke i. 49, ii. 35, and vi. 35 of *magnalia* into *magna*, *framea* into *gladius*, and *nequam* into *malos*. Such corrections would naturally be frequent in a Version which was originally *verborum tenacior*, but they are also found in the Peshitto, and such grammatical changes are noticed by Mr. Gwilliam⁶ as being for the most part the only differences between the manuscripts of the Peshitto, the text having been otherwise transmitted without much alteration.

Having taken into consideration the three kinds of changes that may have come into our authorities during transmission—viz. (i) Scribes' errors in the language of the Version or

¹ See below, p. 232.

² *Old Latin Bibl. Texts*, ii. 96.

³ Burgon, *The Revision Revised*, p. 449.

⁴ Cornill, *l. c.* p. 145. His estimate is criticized by Rahlfs (*Zeits. f. alt. Wissenschaft*, 1889, ii. p. 180 ff.).

⁵ In Herzog, *Real-Encyclopädie*, viii. 438, where many illustrations are given.

⁶ *Studia Biblica*, 1st series, p. 161.

Father ; (ii) corruptions to suit a familiar text, or adaptations to other authorities ; (iii) formal changes in style and diction—we come now to consider points for which the original author or writer, and the inevitable circumstances of the case are responsible, which cause a difficulty in getting at the underlying Greek text.

Firstly, we cannot always argue to omissions in the Greek text, because we find omissions in the Versions or patristic quotations. Such omissions may be due to the difficulty of the original Greek. Jerome (quoted by Burgon) notices this at 1 Cor. vii. 35¹. Of course where transliteration was regarded as allowable in translation, this argument does not so forcibly apply². To the difficulty of the word may be due the omission of *δευτεροπρώτῳ* at Luke vi. 1 in the many Versions quoted by Scrivener. Similarly in the Peshitto at Acts xix. 28 *ἀγοραῖοι ἀγορεύουσι* does not appear, and at James i. 23 *πρόσωπον γενέσεως* appears simply as ܡܝܬܐ (ܡܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ), though this may have been considered enough.

Again, things which seem to the translator irrelevant or tautological disappear. Thus Mill in his *Prolegomena*³ notices the following omissions of this kind from the Peshitto: at Mat. xii. 5 *τοῖς σάββασι* is omitted where *τὸ σάββατον βεβηλοῦσι* follows, in Mark xiv. 68 *οὔτε οἶδα οὔτε ἐπίσταμαι* appears simply as ܠ' ܡܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ, and similar instances are given from Mark ix. 43, and Luke xvii. 23, xix. 43. Winer⁴ gives a list of typical omissions from the Peshitto, which includes superfluous words of time or action, as for example *εὐθέως*, *ἰδοὺ*, *εἶτα*, *πάλιν*, *τότε*, and *λαβὼν*, *λέγων*, *εἰσελθὼν*, *ἀναστὰς*, and the like. The construction, particularly characteristic of St. Luke, *καὶ ἐγένετο . . . καὶ*, disappears at least nine times, though it is found sometimes as at Mat. xi. 1: this is the more

¹ He says (Vallarsi, ii. 261) *In Latinis codicibus ob difficultatem translationis hoc penitus non invenitur.*

² Cp. LXX passim. Thus the Harklensian (quoted by Ridley, *l. c.* p. 295) gives at St. John v. 2 ܡܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ.

³ Page 594.

⁴ G. B. Winer, *De Vers. Syr. N. T.*, etc. p. 20 ff.

peculiar, as it is a Hebraistic construction which one might have expected to find kept. *ἴδιος* is often omitted, sometimes inserted: *πᾶς* is often omitted without authority, Mark v. 12, Acts iii. 21, and elsewhere, as it is often inserted without authority. From the Curetonian Baethgen¹ gives similar omissions, thus John i. 26 and elsewhere ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπε becomes simply ܐܠܐ (he said) where the Peshitto has in full ܐܠܐ ܕܥܡܐ: in the same way the simple ܐܠܐ (he said) does duty for οὐκ ἠρνήσατο John i. 20, and ἐπηρώτησε λέγων Luke xxiii. 3.

Of rather a different kind are the omissions of words and expressions inserted as explanations in the Greek, and unnecessary in the Syriac, as at Mat. xxvii. 46, where we have nothing to correspond to the τοῦτ' ἔστιν, Θεέ μου, Θεέ μου, κ. τ. λ.: so at Mark v. 41 we have simply ταλιθα κούμ without further explanation. Instances might be multiplied as at Mark vii. 11, 34, John iv. 25, ix. 7, and from the Curetonian John i. 39, 42. In reference to these, however, Michaelis' suggestion² should be noticed, that the evidence of secondary Versions goes to show that they were kept in the original translation, and omitted by the scribes afterwards. To such intentional omissions are to be added unintentional omissions due to *itacism*, *homoioteleuta*³, and the like, as in the Curetonian at Mat. xxiii. 18, and in the Peshitto at 2 Cor. v. 17.

The danger of arguing from omissions in the patristic quotations will be noticed later in discussing the argument *e silentio*.

Similar caution is necessary in inferring from additions in Versions or patristic quotations that anything has dropped out of the Greek text.

In the first place additions are necessary in one language to

¹ *Loc. cit.* p. 22.

² *Curas*, etc., p. 60. The answer is obvious, that the translators of these secondary Versions would insert them when translating, such explanations being as necessary for their readers as for those of the original Greek.

³ Such are particularly frequent in the later translation of the Apocalypse; cp. xiv. 11, xviii. 22, xx. 5.

supply the ellipses of another. Thus in reference to ὑποτάσσῃ at Eph. v. 22, Jerome¹ says, *hoc quod in latinis exemplis additum est 'subditae sint' in gr. edd. non habetur . . . sed hoc magis in Graeco intelligitur quam in Latino*. Similarly at 1 Tim. vi. 7² δῆλον of the *textus receptus* is proved by the variants to be corrupt and has little support: Versions cannot be used to strengthen the evidence for it, because they required some such addition to complete the grammar.

From the Curetonian Baethgen gives instances at Mat. iii. 4, where a word has to be supplied, because ܠܡܢܐ cannot be used of ἔνδυμα and ζώνην, as is εἶχεν in Greek, at Luke ii. 52, where two words, ܐܡܪܐ and ܡܠܟܐ, have to be used for the one word προέκοψεν of the Greek, and at Luke viii. 33 both the Curetonian and Peshitto have to add ܡܠܟܐ, because the construction ὥρμησεν . . . εἰς τὴν λίμνην is not Syriac.

In modern editions we can generally, though not always³, detect such necessary additions by the help of italics.

Besides such necessary grammatical additions we have also to take into account additions made to explain references to persons or places. These abound in the Syriac. At Acts xii. 1, after Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς, we find ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܓܪܝܡܐ ܐܡܪܐ (surnamed Agrippa); at Acts xvii. 19, instead of simply Areopagus, we are told St. Paul was taken up to ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܥܪܥܘܒܐ (the house of justice which is called Areopagus), so at Acts xxvii. 9, τὴν νηστείαν is described as ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ (of the Jews), and in xxviii. 13 Rhegium is identified as ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ (a city), and Puteoli as ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ (a city of Italy). From the Curetonian we have parallel cases, thus Mat. iii. 5, iv. 15 Jordan is described as a river, and v. 18 iota is explained to be a letter.

Insertions of a somewhat different kind, to make clear the sense, are the substitutions of a proper name for a pronoun, as at Mat. i. 10, 19 (Curet.), or at the beginning of sections Jesus or Lord (both in the Peshitto and Curetonian) as at Mat. xiii.

¹ Alford, *Digest*, ad loc.

² Field, *Otium Norvicense*, iii, 127.

³ Cp. Revised Version at 2 Tim. ii. 26.

54, Luke viii. 19, or 'disciples' for αὐτοί, Mat. xiii. 51, Mark xvi. 19, and elsewhere in the Curetonian.

Not only is caution required in both these respects, viz. of additions and omissions, but it must be also remembered that varieties of rendering do not point necessarily to any variety in the underlying Greek text. How far it is advisable to try and keep the same word for the same Greek word was a question discussed in reference to the Revised Version. It is certain that to do so would not always give the best equivalent of the thought of one language in the expressions of another, though it would enable us to restore the Greek text much more certainly. An examination of the Versions shows that they often were content to give the sense regardless of the actual Greek before them, and so it is that we so frequently find interpretative glosses. Thus in the Peshitto at Heb. vi. 4 φωτισθέντες becomes ܨܠܫܬܐ ܕܡܝܐ (descended to baptism), at 1 Peter iii. 19 ἐν φυλακῇ is rendered ܡܥܬܐ (in Sheol), at 1 Cor. iv. 3 ἀνθρωπίνης ἡμέρας is ܐܢܝܢܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ (by any man), 2 Tim. iv. 13 φελόνην is ܕܡܬܐ ܕܡܬܐ (book-case), and Rev. i. 8 ἃ καὶ ᾧ becomes ܐܠܐ ܕܐܠܐ (Olaph and Tau); Acts i. 12 ὁδὸν σαββάτου becomes ܕܡܬܐ ܕܡܬܐ (seven stadia). In the Jerusalem Syriac Adler¹ gives an instance from Luke vii. 45. where φάρμακον οὐκ ἔδωκας becomes ܦܕܐ ܕܡܬܐ (thou didst not salute)².

In the Latin Version this custom of glosses will explain the variety of readings at Tit. ii. 3, where all are explanations of σώφρονες; and, were it not for the danger (less perhaps in this part of the Revelation than elsewhere) of relying on one authority only for a reading, the temptation would be great to say that all the epithets in Rev. xxii. 11, some of which have come through the Vulgate into our text, are glosses

¹ Loc. cit. p. 152.

² So, in the Ethiopic, Mat. xxiii. 15, ποιῆσαι προσήλυτον ἕνα appears as 'to baptize one proselyte'; in the Vulgate, James v. 15, ἐγερεῖ is alleviabit; cp. ib. v. 3. From the Fathers may be given Chrysostom's custom of making glosses on the text; cp. Field, l. c. iii. 48.

explaining *ἀνὼμος* and *δίκαιος*, and that the right reading is found only in the *Viennens. et Lugdun. Epist.* *ὁ ἀνὼμος ἀνομησάτω ἔτι καὶ ὁ δίκαιος δικαιοσθήτω ἔτι.* Not only have we glossematic corruptions of this kind to take into account, but we have also to bear in mind that the translators did not keep one word for the same Greek word. Sometimes a change was necessitated by the usage of the language, sometimes it is due to the caprice of the translator. Thus in the Curetonian *ποιεῖν* is generally translated *حج*, but in Mat. xx. 12, where it is used of husbandry *حج* is substituted; *ἐγένετο* is generally translated by *لوا*, but in John vi. 21 (where it is used of a ship drawing near to land) we find *لوا* *لج*; *σάφξ* is generally *لج*, but in John i. 13, 14, the Curetonian substitutes *لج*. On the other hand no explanation is to be given of two different words being used for *ἐνδύμα* in Mat. xxii. 11, 12, or *ἀνδραγαθία* in Mat. xxii. 28, 30. Instances from the Vulgate of St. John's Epistles are given by Dr. Westcott¹, thus *τηρεῖν* in three consecutive verses is *observare, custodire, servare*, 1 John ii. 3, 4, 5; *φῶς* is *lux* i. 5, 7, ii. 9, and *lumen* ii. 7, 10; so *γινώσκωμεν* is *scimus, cognoscimus, intelligimus*.

From James iv. 4 may be added the translation of *κόσμος* by *seculum* and *mundus*.

The number of various readings introduced into the Greek text, if this last consideration were neglected, would be very large, so that the first requisite for a safe use of any Version is an induction, carried over the whole authority to be used², in order to find out how far the evidence of versions may be available for synonymous words in the Greek, and what, as Nowack³ puts it, are the 'style of translation,' the 'peculiarities

¹ Introduction, p. xxvii.

² Lagarde, *De N. T. ad fidem*, etc. p. 7: *Duabus potius rebus opus est primum ut singula vocabula per omnes N. T. libros, quomodo vertantur, persequamur, deinde ut syntaxin sermonis Graeci cum linguis Syriaca, Aethiopica, Aegyptiaca, Armeniaca comparati scribere aggrediamur; ita enim et de interpretis alicuius constantia et de editionum codicumque nostrorum fide certiores erimus, et facillime observabimus, si quis interpres in suo libro alia habuit ac quae Codices Graeci nunc superstites praebeant.*

³ *Die Bedeutung des Hieronymus*, etc.

of the translator,' and the knowledge of both languages displayed by the translator.

It is of the greatest importance that we should examine these last three points, and also the genius of the language, i. e. its capability of being used to convey the thought and expression of the Greek.

The extent to which we can use a Version to recover the underlying Greek depends very largely on whether it is a literal or only a sense-translation¹. Some Versions aim at reproducing the letter of the original, sacrificing to that object the grammatical construction and idiom of their own language, and even in some cases intelligibility; some aim only at giving the thought of that which they are translating, and, so long as they attain that, disregard the letter entirely². From Aquila's Version of the Old Testament we might recover the Hebrew. From the Harklensian or Old Latin³ of the New we can generally be fairly sure of reproducing the Greek text, though we meet with violations of grammar at every turn. From the Harklensian, for example, we can often say where it read the Greek article, and where it did not; thus at Mat. x. 3 we have ⲁⲗⲁⲓⲥ ⲉⲓⲥ (ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς), where the Peshitto gives simply ⲁⲗⲁⲓⲥ. The Curetonian again is even less literal than the Peshitto⁴. In relation to the Memphitic and Thebaic Dr. Lightfoot notices that the latter shows a greater regard for Egyptian idiom than the former, so that the connecting particles are observed in the one but not in the other⁵.

¹ Kaulen, *Geschichte des Vulgata*, p. 39; Ridley, *l. c.* pp. 334-9; Bleek, *Einleitung*, p. 936.

² Cp. Jerome, *ad Pamm. Ep.* 57, *ad Sun. et Fret. Ep.* 106.

³ Cp. Acts xvii. 18, *seminiverbius* = *σπερμολόγος*; 2 Cor. vii. 10, *impauitendus* = *ἀμεταμέλητος*. This literalness often enables us to argue as to synonyms, e. g. at 1 Cor. ix. 9 we may be sure *d* and *e* reading *camum mittes* had *κημόςεις* and not *φιμόςεις*.

⁴ Baethgen, *l. c.* p. 14. 'In Peschito auf Kosten des syrischen Sprachgebrauchs ein engerer Anschluss an das griechische Original erstrebt wird.' Ib. p. 12, the Curetonian is a 'sinngemässe nicht buchstäbliche Uebersetzung'; cp. ib. p. 25 *ad init.*

⁵ Scrivener, *Introduction*, pp. 390, 400.

Of the translators' knowledge of the language little need be said. Those who have gone carefully into the different Versions confirm the *a priori* probability that they would be well acquainted with both languages¹. The Ethiopic is a striking exception, unless indeed the mistakes are to be attributed to careless readings of the Greek. The following instances are given by Michaelis². At Luke viii. 29 there is a confusion of *πέδαις* and *παῖδες*, at Rom. vii. 6 of *κατηχούμεθα* and *κατεχόμεθα*, at Rom. vii. 11 of *ἐξενάρησε* and *ἐξηπάρησε*. Whatever the cause, such mistakes have done much to lower the estimation of the Ethiopic Version for purposes of textual criticism³.

The other point, to which allusion has been made, is the necessity of knowing the genius and idioms of the language before using it for critical purposes. This suggests, as a preliminary consideration, that only those who know the language of the Version can use it. Certainly to use its evidence through the medium of a Latin translation is getting a most distorted idea of its value. This was the plan adopted by Mill⁴, Beza, and others who inaugurated the use of the Eastern languages for textual purposes, and many misstatements were the result. Tischendorf⁵ again relied absolutely on Tregelles for Eastern Versions, and the consequences have not always been good, if one may argue from the different conclusions as to Eastern evidence given by others. Thus Baethgen⁶ notices that at Luke xvii. 11 (and here Westcott and Hort are also wrong) Tregelles made the Syriac read 'ad Galilaeam,' not knowing 'that ܐܠܝܫܐܝܝܡ = (Hebr.) ܐܠܝܫܐܝܝܡ =

¹ For the Peshitto, see Marsh's *Michaelis*, ii. 40; for the Curetonian, see Baethgen, *l. c.* p. 12.

² *Tract. Crit.* § 24, p. 24 ff.

³ Tregelles, *Dict. of the Bible*, iii. 1614, gives other instances.

⁴ A number of Mill's errors are given by Michaelis, *Tract. Crit.* p. 45 and § 32, and also by Wetstein.

⁵ Gregory in Tisch. *N. T.* pt. iii.

⁶ Baethgen, *l. c.* p. 3, note. It is also noticed by Michaelis, *Tract. Crit.* § 73, that the Persian translators misunderstood this Syriac expression.

διὰ μέσου . . . καί.' In the same way Ridley¹ notices that it is the Syriac idiom to have θεόν after σεβόμενοι, and therefore Tischendorf is wrong in quoting this as a *varia lectio* at Acts xiii. 43, and not in the other places in the Acts where it occurs. Baethgen² gives other instances where the evidence is wrongly quoted for similar reasons at Mat. xiii. 16, and Luke xii. 1 and xx. 1.

It is also important to remember that some of the distinctions of one language are not kept in another: thus Dr. S. C. Malan points out that there is no distinction of genders in Armenian; in Arabic also the place of the neuter has to be supplied. Again, the usage of a language sometimes causes an ambiguity in the evidence, thus in Syriac οὐρανὸς and οὐρανός are not distinguished, the plural being always used. This is also the case with γραφή and γραφαί, the Peshitto always pointing as a plural (but see *infra*); the absence of a comparative in Syriac makes its evidence doubtful wherever this is involved in the adverb; thus the Syriac affords no evidence as between εὐθύμως and εὐθυμότερον at Acts xxiv. 10 (cf. Michaelis, *Curac*, p. 147), nor is the Latin always careful to observe the same idiomatic comparative Acts xxiv. 22, 26; xxv. 4, 10³.

An important class of instances to be noticed under this head are places where the evidence is ambiguous owing to the system of pointing. Thus at 1 Cor. xiv. 38 ٢٣ ١١ may be ἀγνοεῖται, or, as the Erpenian Arabic has taken it, ἀγνοεῖτω⁴. This is particularly to be noticed where the variant in the Greek is a question of singular and plural. Thus Tischendorf is wrong in quoting the Syriac at Mat. ii. 23, where that version (ܡܚܠܐ) may represent according to the pointing διὰ τοῦ προφήτου or διὰ τῶν προφητῶν. He is wrong also in quoting the Syriac for the plural σπαργαί at Acts iv. 1, where ܡܠܬܐ may be singular or plural.

¹ *Loc. cit.* p. 331. This does not affect the evidence of the Syriac at 1 Tim. iii. 16 as Ridley thought (p. 306).

² *Loc. cit.* p. 16.

³ Additional examples will be found in *O. L. Texts*, ii. p. ci.

⁴ Michaelis, *Tract. Crit.* § 36.

For a similar reason the evidence is ambiguous at Col. iv. 15 as to the reading there; nor have the printed editions improved matters, for the Peshitto vocalizes the noun (*Νυμφᾶν*) as a feminine and the affix as a masculine¹.

Finally, it should be noticed in reference to Versions that mistakes in translation may still give evidence as to the Greek text used. Thus at Luke vi. 1, if *e* reads *sabbato mane*, and *f* *sabbato a primo*, it is evidence that *δευτεροπρώτῳ* was found in the Greek text from which they came, though they convey a poor idea of its meaning. So if *k* at Mat. xi. 23 (*Old Latin Texts*, ii. 42) reads *ne quomodo in caelum elata es, usque ad inferos descendas*, it shows the Greek used was not ἡ ὑψωθείσα, but μὴ ὑψωθήσῃ². Again, *neglexit*, the reading of *e* at Mark v. 36 supports *παράκούσας* as against *ἀκούσας*; and similarly in the Syriac, ridiculous as is the translation at Rev. viii. 13 of *μεσουρανῆματι* ܡܝܕܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܕܡܝܬܐ (*in the middle of a tail of blood*), it is conclusive evidence for *μεσουρανῆματι* against *μεσουρανίσματι* (the reading of *i* and Erasmus). From the Latin other instances are given by Kaulen³.

When we turn to patristic quotations we are met by quite a distinct set of phenomena. In the first place we have to assure ourselves that the Fathers had a manuscript before them when quoting, and are not quoting from memory. Griesbach⁴ professes to have given a series of criteria for determining this, which is undoubtedly the most important point in reference to patristic quotations. We must first notice the complications that arise from their quoting from memory; a thing common enough now, and therefore much more common when books were more scarce, and the

¹ Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 256, Addit. Note. The question is between *kar' olkon abran, abrou, abrhs*.

² The reading of *k* may represent a stage in corruption not in evidence from Greek MSS., viz. *μὴ ὑψωθείσα*.

³ *Loc. cit.* pp. 88-9, note.

⁴ *Symbolae Criticae*, i. p. cxxxix; cp. his *Curae*, § 13, p. 27, *allegationes fideliter e codicibus depromptae* may be distinguished *vagis ad dicta scripturae provocationibus*.

difficulties of verifying a reference so much greater¹. The fact of quotations being given from memory explains the following phenomena in patristic quotations, none of which therefore substantiate various readings, (i) Combinations of different passages; (ii) transpositions; (iii) sense renderings, including changes of syntax, adaptation, use of synonymous terms.

Instances of combination are to be found in Barnabas v, where Ps. cxviii. 20 and Ps. xxi. 17 are combined; so in Ignatius *ad Philad.* vii, John iii. 8 and 1 Cor. ii. 10, and in Polycarp *ad Phil.* i, Acts ii. 24, 1 Pet. i. 8, 1 Pet. i. 12 are fused into one sentence. Later on, when manuscripts were more abundant, we have instances from Origen², where Acts xiii. 26, 46 are twice combined as if they were contiguous verses, and from Chrysostom³, where Matthew xiii. 55-6 has a passage from John vi. 42 inserted in the middle.

From the same page in Field we may illustrate the phenomenon of transposition; thus John vii. 4 appears as *ἐι γὰρ ταῦτα ποιεῖς δεῖξον σεαυτὸν τῷ κόσμῳ, οὐδεὶς γάρ τι ποιεῖ ἐν κρυπτῷ καὶ ζητεῖ αὐτὸς φανερός εἶναι* (where *φανερὸς* is also noticeable); cf. also Iren. v. 10 and v. 13, and iii. 38 and v. 13⁴.

Sense renderings may be illustrated from Irenaeus, who is as a rule 'a most careful quoter⁵.' Thus we get (α) change of syntax in the quotation of Luke ix. 57-8, where (i. 8. 3) *ἀκολουθήσω σοι κ.τ.λ.* appears as a question; (β) change of singular to plural, or *vice versa*, in a reference already given to John i. 13⁶; (γ) equivalent words in the quotation of Luke ii. 28 *εὐχαρίστησεν* for *εὐλόγησεν*; Luke xiv. 27 *ἀκολου-*

¹ Cornill, *l. c.* p. 58; cp. Porson, *Letters to Travis*, p. 275.

² Lommatzsch, xv. 135, 147, *Hom. XV in Jer.*

³ Field, *Homilies on St. Matthew*, i. 558, *οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ τέκνονος υἱός, οὐ ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα; καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ οὐχὶ παρ' ἡμῖν εἰσὶ;*

⁴ 1 Cor. xv. 53 is quoted correctly in v. 13, inverted in v. 10; 1 Cor. xv. 55 is kept in v. 13, inverted in iii. 38.

⁵ Tregelles in Horne, iv. 333.

⁶ Compare Ign. *ad Polyc.* ii. *φρόνιμος γίνου ὡς ὄφης ἐν ἄπασιν καὶ ἀέριαιος* (*Mat.* x. 16); *ad Smyrn.* i. *βεβαπτισμένον ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου, ἵνα πληρωθῇ πᾶσα δικαιοσύνη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ* (*Mat.* iii. 15).

θεὶ μοι for ἔρχεται ὀπίσω μου, in Luke xv. 4 πεπλανημένον for ἀπολωλός; (δ) change in the order of words in Luke ix. 62 (*contra Haer.* i. 8. 3), οὐδεὶς ἐπ' ἄροτρον τὴν χεῖρα ἐπιβαλὼν; (ε) equivalent of the passage without exact quotation, in Origen's quotation of Eph. ii. 12¹.

In many cases where we should be in doubt from this cause what reading a Father had, the context makes it clear, so that even in quotations from memory we may often use the Fathers' evidence for or against a certain reading.

We may, however, be sure that under certain circumstances they would have a manuscript before them, and then their evidence becomes much more valuable. Thus the longer passages are more correctly quoted than the shorter extracts. This is true of Justin Martyr's quotations from the Old Testament². It is also true of Augustine's quotations³, and it is easily intelligible that it would be worth while to take the trouble of verifying a long reference, while a short one would be left to the memory. Much depends also on the object for which the quotation is made; thus for a polemical purpose close adherence to the letter is necessary, and so in controversial treatises we find as a rule exactness⁴, while for a preacher more freedom would be allowed, and so it is that Chrysostom's quotations are very often inexact⁵. A marked difference, again, is found to exist, in respect of verbal exactness, between quotations made from historical matter, and those made from St. Paul's Epistles or our Lord's words. This is pointed out by Ziegler with reference to Augustine.

The question is further complicated by the possibility of the Fathers having more than one manuscript before them at

¹ Lommatzsch, xx. 170; *Contra Celsum*, viii. 43 (but cp. *ib.* viii. 5) τοὺς ἐτένους τῶν διαθηκῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἄλλοτριους τῶν εὐαγγελίων.

² But Justin's quotations afford in any case precarious evidence, as is seen from the remarks of Dr. Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, p. 186.

³ Ziegler, *l. c.* p. 55.

⁴ Von Gebhardt would on this account use only the *Contra Marcionem* of all Tertullian's writings.

⁵ F. H. Chase, *Chrysostom*, etc. p. 86.

a time¹. This may, in some places, explain the heterogeneous character of the quotations, and makes conclusions drawn from them uncertain. It must be remembered again that when they had manuscripts before them, they did not always use them, but regarded themselves as free to use their own judgment with reference to a reading. From what has survived to us of their writings we know that few of them were destitute of critical acumen, and that they used not only external but also internal evidence². Though we have instances of the skill with which they handle textual problems, we cannot but acknowledge that the adoption of such editorial functions makes them rather judges than witnesses of the text, and that they would have been more useful in the latter capacity, had they been more mechanical in transmitting the text. We have also to take into account the *possibility* of their having adopted a conjectural reading³, and, when we consider how dangerous a weapon this may become, it is at once obvious how suspicious of unsupported readings we must be. Yet another indeterminate factor is introduced when we remember that the Fathers often knew more than their own language, and possibly may have translated for themselves. It is still an open question in the eyes of some people, how far this may explain the variations of Tertullian's quotations⁴, and he is not the only Father who has been thus accused. The problem of patristic quotations would be much simplified could we be sure that any given Father knew only the language in which he was writing.

Lastly in considering patristic quotations, the question as to the amount of importance to be attached to the argument *e silentio* must not be passed by. The argument is under

¹ Wetstein, *Animadversiones*, etc. p. 89.

² Iren. v. 30. 1. Aug. *Contra Faustum*, xi. 2; *De Doctr. Christ.* ii. 21; *Retract.* i. 7. 2. Cp. Origen as to Mat. viii. 28.

³ References are given in Wetstein, *l. c.* pp. 26, 37, 49. It must be remembered, on the other side, that there are countless instances in which they refuse to let MS. evidence be balanced by any considerations.

⁴ Zahn is perhaps the strongest supporter of this view, e.g. cp. *Geschichte des N. T. Kanons*, i. 51.

all circumstances precarious¹, and a *consensus* of silence can alone give weight to it. Thus to argue that Cyprian cannot have had *θεοῦ* at Acts xx. 28, because he makes no reference to the verse in *Test.* ii. 6, 'Quod Christus deus,' is by no means safe; because it is easy enough to imagine that, in collecting proofs of that statement, this, though so obvious, might have escaped him. On the other hand the *consensus* of silence as to 1 John v. 7², when such a strong statement of the doctrine of the Trinity would have been valuable, and must have occurred to some among the many Fathers of the first five centuries, is in itself sufficient to condemn the passage. When we are considering the evidence afforded by the argument with reference to single words, it has to be remembered that owing to the many possible causes of omission mentioned above, it can only very rarely be relied on. Even in longer passages the argument, though convincing to one critic, may be far from convincing to another³.

It is also not unnecessary in using the evidence of patristic quotations to accept Tregelles'⁴ caution as to assuring ourselves that the passage of Scripture in question is really the one which the Father is quoting. Thus Burgon⁵ gives an instance where Athan. (*Pasch. Syr.* 11) is said by Westcott and Hort to be quoting Mat. v. 22, whereas he is really thinking of 1 John iii. 15. Where such ambiguity exists it is well to adopt Griesbach's method, and give the passages that may be intended⁶. There are also to be taken into account the possibilities of a quotation being referred to a wrong Father⁷,

¹ Cp. Westcott, *Canon*, p. xxviii.

² See Westcott and Hort, ii. 104 (Appendix) *ad loc.* It is found in Priscillian.

³ See, for example, Scrivener and Westcott and Hort as to the weight to be attached to Cyril of Jerusalem's silence about Mark xvi. 9-20.

⁴ Horne, iv. 340.

⁵ *Revision Revised*, p. 359.

⁶ *Symb. Crit.* ii. 620, where, quoting Clem. Alex. for Rev. xxii. 12, he gives as possible references Is. xl. 10, lxii. 11.

⁷ Ziegler, *l. c.* p. 69, note, points out that a quotation of 1 Cor. iii. 5, attributed by Sabatier to Augustine, is really due to Petilianus, and that Augustine quotes the passage quite differently.

or of the rejection of the authority on the ground of the work passing under the name of one who was not its author; and, when we get our quotation indirectly, there is always the chance of the Father being wrongly quoted ¹.

On all these grounds the evidence of patristic quotations merits the severest scrutiny before it is thrown into the balance on one side or the other.

In using Versions and patristic quotations alike we have to consider the possibility of many so-called *variae lectiones* having come from misreading of the Greek. Here caution is needed lest we should put on one side (as errors arising from this cause, not therefore to be counted as various readings) real differences in the Greek text, and thus unintentionally defeat our own object.

Such errors may be due to misreading abbreviations. No doubt the evidence of our earliest manuscripts points to the rarity of abbreviations, but these were no doubt a kind of *éditions de luxe*; when manuscripts had to be multiplied rapidly, abbreviations must have been much used. Several instances are given by Wetstein², and they afford plausible explanations of the phenomena, though for some of his suggested abbreviations other support would be desirable. Thus in Mark xv. 8 the alternatives *ἀναβάς* and *ἀναβοήσας*—the first read by Vulg. with *a*, the second by *c*, *ff*²—may be due to two interpretations of an abbreviation (so in 2 Kings xxiii. 9 there is a similar confusion of *ἀνέβησεν* and *ἀνεβόησεν*). At Matthew xiv. 7 a similar abbreviation may explain the reading of the Syriac and B, *ᾠμοσεν* for *ᾠμολόγησεν*. It is questionable whether this explanation should be adopted, as Wetstein suggests, of the variants *Ἱερουσαλήμ* and *Ἰσραήλ* at Acts vi. 7, or of the variants *ἀποστόλους* and *ἀνθρώπους* at Acts v. 34. Another instance, not given by Wetstein, would be the form in which Isaiah xlv. 1 appears at Barnabas xii, Tertullian

¹ Thus Tregelles (Horne, iv. 347) shows how Germanus, quoting Irenaeus' evidence as to Mat. i. 18, has exactly reversed it.

² Wetstein, *Animadversiones*, etc. p. 34; cp. Griesbach, *Curae*, iii. § 6.

adv. Judaeos 7, and Cyprian *Test.* i. 21, in all of which the abbreviation $\overline{\kappa\omega}$ for Cyrus is taken for the more familiar $\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\phi$, and in M of Cyprian the change has gone so far that $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\phi$ of the LXX has dropped out altogether, and we get *Domino Cyro* representing $\overline{\kappa\omega} \overline{\kappa\omega}$.

The most interesting variant for which this explanation has been offered is that of Tertullian¹ at Heb. vi. 5, where 'occidente iam aeco' is attributed by Semler to a misreading $\overline{\delta\upsilon\varsigma}$ (for $\delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$), as an abbreviation of $\delta\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$ ². If Rönisch's explanation that it was due to the Latin translation used by Tertullian held good, we should expect more widely-spread authority for this strange reading.

Another class of mistakes comes from the wrong division of Greek words³ (of which we get instances in the MSS. at Mark xv. 6, Rev. xviii. 8) as in the Curetonian at John iv. 38, where $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota$ is rendered as if it were $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda' \omicron\iota$, and John vi. 63 where $\eta \sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi$ is given instead of $\eta \sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\varsigma$.

Misreadings of the Greek manuscripts due to errors of the eye must also be taken into consideration. Thus in the Peshitto $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$ and $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$ are confused at 2 Cor. xi. 20, $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\iota\lambda\acute{\eta}\nu$ and $\delta\phi\epsilon\iota\lambda\acute{\eta}\nu$ at Eph. vi. 9. Other instances are given by Scholz and Hug. From the Curetonian may be quoted the confusion of $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ and $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ (where also the Vulg. reads *sustinebit*) at Mat. vi. 24, and of $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega$ and $\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega$ at Mat. xxi. 16⁴.

In the Vulgate a somewhat similar case *may* be the reading *minavit* for $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\eta}\lambda\alpha\sigma\epsilon\nu$ (Acts xviii. 16, as if from $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$) where *e. tol.* read *abegit*⁵.

¹ Rönisch, *Das Neue Testament Tertullians*, p. 725.

² An exact parallel is quoted by Griesbach, *Curæ in Text.*, etc. p. 83, note. Professor Sanday suggests that it may be most easily explained by the omission of a line in the MS.: thus $\delta\upsilon\nu[\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda]\omicron\tau\tau\omicron\varsigma \alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$.

³ Scholz, *Einleitung*, i. 593, note. Hug, *Einleitung*, i. 329.

⁴ Cp. also in the Peshitto: $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ read as $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta\alpha$, 1 Cor. i. 6; and $\kappa\alpha\iota \tau\acute{\alpha}$ for $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha} \tau\acute{\alpha}$, Col. ii. 22. So also, perhaps, we are to explain $\xi\tau\alpha\upsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma$ for $\xi\tau\epsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma$ (Luke xiv. 31), unless it is a sense reading, as Michaelis (*Tract. Crit.* § 37) suggests.

⁵ But in the Vulgate Exod. iii. 1 and elsewhere *mino* is used for 'to drive.'

Such mistakes are very frequent in the Ethiopic, as has been noticed above.

In the Fathers we have similar instances, and these cases are, probably, the strongest evidence for the assertions that they translated for themselves, to which reference has already been made. Thus in 1 Cor. xv. 54 *els nīkos* appears as *in contentionem* in Tertullian, Cyprian, and Hilary¹; in *de Resurr.* 23, Tertullian translates Phil. iii. 14 *tēs ānw klhsews* (as if it were *āneγκλήσεως*) by *in criminationis*². Augustine's often-repeated reading of *momenti* at James i. 17 seems to imply that he read *ροπῆς* (and not *τροπῆς*) *ἀποσκίασμα*; so in *Ep.* 199. 22 he reads *caecati* at 2 Tim. iii. 4, clearly showing he had not *τετυφωμένοι* but *τετυφλωμένοι*³.

There are some cases where it is not possible to say whether the mistakes are due to misreading the Greek, or to variants in the Greek, or to corruptions in the language of the Version. Thus in Mat. ix. 36, where all printed editions of the Peshitto after Widmanstadt have *ܥܠܡܐ* (*soluti*), is it, as J. D. Michaelis says, a manifest *erratum* for *ܥܡܡܐ* (*projecti*) of the Harklensian, or does it represent a variation in the Greek text between *ἐκκελυμένοι* and *ἐσκυλμένοι*? So in the Curetonian at Luke xx. 46, is the Syriac reading due to the Greek manuscript having confused *στοαῖς* and *στολαῖς*, or is it a scribe's error as to *ܥܡܡܐ* and *ܥܠܡܐ*? and in John iv. 47, is there a representation of the various readings *ἵνα ἴδῃ* and *ἵνα ἰδῶσιν*, or is there a scribe's confusion of *ܥܡܡܐ* and *ܥܠܡܐ*? None of these variants are, however, of any very great importance.

It is quite clear that all these kinds of error, and ambiguity as to the evidence afforded by Versions and patristic quotations, make it almost an imperative rule that no variant should be accepted on the authority of either of these kinds of testimony

¹ This may be due to their use of a common Version.

² In 2 Tim. iv. 6, Ziegler would seem to be wrong in inferring that Tertullian read *ἀνελεύσεως*, as his reading *deversionis* may well translate *ἀναλύσεως* (*l. c.* p. 36).

³ Augustine was not a good Greek scholar; cp. *Confess.* ii. 23; *de Trin.* iii. 1.

without some manuscript support. But before we come to consider the very difficult question as to the value of the evidence of Fathers and Versions in comparison with manuscripts, we have to compare our Versions together and see to what extent their evidence may be regarded as independent, and what their value is, regardless of the considerations which have been already referred to as affecting all the evidence which they give.

In estimating the critical value of our authority, *ceteris paribus*, age has the greatest weight. Tertullian's canon, 'id verius quod prius¹', is, under certain conditions, the first to apply. We must see then the age of our Versions, and this can be fixed with less certainty in the case of Versions than Fathers. The Armenian, Harklensian, Gothic, and Vulgate are the only early Versions that can be dated with approximate certainty, on the ground of definite historical facts. In assigning the dates of the Early Syriac, Old Latin, and Egyptian Versions, we have only internal or inferential evidence. If the Syriac Old Testament is cited as early as 170 A.D. by Melito of Sardis, it is impossible² to identify his quotation with an existing Version. The same holds good with reference to Hegesippus (Eus. *H. E.* iv. 22). When Ephraem quotes from the Catholic Epistles and Revelation, this is no evidence that a Syriac Version existed in his day, unless it can be proved that he knew no Greek³. Nor, again, if we could prove the existence of a Syriac translation of some part or parts of the New Testament, would that prove that a Version of the whole existed, because, at any rate, as late as Cyprian (*Pref. in Test.* iii), the different parts of the New Testament were kept separate. There is, again, as in the case of the LXX and Old Latin, the question whether the whole translation was the work of one man, as Bleek⁴ holds, or several, as Tregelles⁵ and Hug⁶ maintain. In spite of these difficulties the evidence goes to show

¹ *Contra Marc.* iv. 5.

² Field, *Hexapla*, p. lxxviii; but see Scrivener, *Introduction*, p. 312, note.

³ *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* iv. 434.

⁴ *Einleitung*, p. 931.

⁵ Horne, iv. 266.

⁶ *Einleitung*, i. 326.

that, if the Syriac tradition that the Version was the work of Mark is an exaggeration, there was a Syriac Version made before the end of the second century. This evidence is derived from (i) the Canon it implies, (ii) its use by all sects implying an origin earlier than these sects, (iii) the evidential value of the textual corruption, (iv) the translation of such words as ἐπισκοπος, which is not distinguished from πρεσβύτερος¹. It has to be added that by some the date of the Version is unduly brought down, as by Wetstein, who assigned it to the seventh century.

The date of the Latin Version is equally uncertain, but it is generally agreed that this also is prior to the close of the second century. If we could be sure of the date of Irenaeus' Latin translation, and assign it to almost the same date as the Greek as Tischendorf² and Massuet do, so as to be able to say that Irenaeus' Latin, Tertullian, and Cyprian were all one Version³, or if we could hold with Weiss⁴ that the agreement of Tertullian and Irenaeus' Latin showed a 'ziemlich verbreitete Uebersetzung,' then we might further infer from the variations between these Fathers' quotations that the Latin Version had a long history behind it, reaching back, it may be, almost to apostolic times⁵. We might then afford to neglect as comparatively unimportant⁶ the further question whether it was the work of one or many translators, a question on which opinion is not as yet unanimous. It must be added that the opinion of Dr. Hort is against assigning an earlier date than the fourth century to Irenaeus' Latin, and that others refuse to see, amidst the peculiar renderings of Tertullian, any evidence for a Latin Version then existing⁷.

¹ This is true so far as that at Phil. i. 1, 1 Tim. iii. 2, Tit. i. 7, the word ܡܪܝܬܝܢܐ is used for ἐπισκοπος. In Acts xx. 17, 28 the words are distinguished as in the Greek. At Luke xix. 44, 1 Pet. ii. 25 and v. 2, the colourless word ܡܪܝܬܝܢܐ is used.

² *Wann wurden, etc.*, E. T. p. 50.

³ Kaulen, l. c. p. 113.

⁴ *Einleitung*, p. 631.

⁵ Kaulen, l. c. p. 141; Ziegler, l. c. p. 27 ff.

⁶ Bleek, *Einleitung in das A. T.* p. 554, says, 'von grosser practischer Bedeutung ist übrigens die ganze Streitfrage nicht.'

⁷ See *supra*, p. 217.

These two points make it more important to settle, if possible, the question whether there were always many independent translations, or whether there was originally only one.

The Egyptian Versions are generally referred to almost as early a date¹, and there can be no doubt that these three Versions represent the earliest efforts to translate the New Testament into foreign tongues. The evidence of Chrysostom (*Hom. I in Johannem*) is generally quoted to show that by his time there were Versions in most languages.

But though the age of a Version as of a MS. is the first criterion of value, it is by no means an infallible test. It has been abundantly proved, and is accepted by all textual critics, that age only affords a presumption in favour of the authority. Thus to Burgon's² instance of the oldest fragment of Euripides (dating from about 200 B.C.), which is also the most valueless, may be added the already-quoted instance from the *Codex Ambrosianus*³ of the Peshitto Old Testament, many illustrations from late manuscripts of the LXX, and a striking example from one of the Vienna *Corpus* Series, reviewed by Professor Sanday in the *Classical Review* for February, 1888⁴.

And, finally, it must be noticed that it is not always possible to accept the dates given in the manuscripts, as the scribes often copied those found in the archetype from which they transcribed.

To determine the age of a Version or Father is not therefore a sufficient test, and we must have recourse to others. We must examine first whether we get any traces of intentional alteration or doctrinal bias, either of which, if substantiated, would destroy the value of the authority in which it was found. Fortunately, though accusations abound from Justin Martyr onwards⁵, the only ground for them very often is the

¹ Lightfoot, in Scrivener, *Introduction*, etc.

² *Revision Revised*, pp. 321-2.

³ See *supra*, p. 205.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 19, 'There is this peculiarity about the MSS. of the treatise *de Statu Animae* [of Claudianus Mamertus] that their value is in almost inverse ratio to their age.'

⁵ *Cum Tryph.* § 73, he accuses the Jews of cutting out at Psalm xvi. 10.

not unnatural tendency¹, where two readings exist already, to choose that one which best suits the purpose or views of the writer. This explanation will hold good of many of the instances in which Tertullian accuses Marcion or other heretics. Thus (*de Carne Christi* 19) he ascribes the plural ἐγενήθησαν (John i. 13) to the Valentinians, while as a matter of fact the singular which he adopts has absolutely no manuscript authority, and is most probably derived from Irenaeus², who, in adapting the quotation to his purpose, substitutes the singular for the plural, as is done by Ignatius, *ad Polyc.* 2, in a passage already quoted. Of a similar nature is Tertullian's accusation against Marcion (*c. Marc.* v. 3) of corrupting the text of Gal. ii. 5 by not omitting the negative. Here it is most likely that Marcion's is the right reading³.

On the ground of intentional falsification, then, it may be allowed we have small reason to depreciate patristic evidence, and it is asserted by very many that there are few, if any, traces of it⁴. But we have to take account of the tendency to adopt the reading which best suited the argument. Tertullian, 'with his forensic and rhetorical standard⁵,' and Jerome are perhaps the worst offenders in this respect. Thus, of the former, Rönisch⁶ says that he used one translation 'obschon die vor den Augen Tertullians, weil sie mitunter seinen polemischen Schlussfolgerungen im Wege stand, nicht immer Gnade gefunden hat.' The following illustration may be given from Jerome⁷. In 1 Tim. ii. 9 he says, writing against Jovinian, that σωφροσύνη should be translated not *sobrietas* but *castitas*, as better suited to his purpose: when accused of

¹ Cp. Coleridge's story of Luther's temptation to alter readings that told against his views.

² Iren. iii. 16. 2; 19. 2; 21. 5; cp. Griesbach, *Curae*, etc. p. 83, note. The singular is also found in *b* (*Cod. Veron.*).

³ For other so-called instances, cp. John iii. 6 (Arians), 1 Tim. iii. 16 (Maced.) and Tisch. ad Heb. ii. 9 (Nest.). Pearson on the Creed, p. 526.

⁴ Westcott, *St. John*, p. 142; Simon, *Histoire des Versions E. T.* pp. 2, 3, 126; Griesbach, *Curae*, etc. p. 90; Porson, *Letters to Travis*, pp. 155, 174.

⁵ *Expositor*, i. xi. 7.

⁶ *Italia und Vulgata*, p. 3.

⁷ Simon, *l. c.* p. 58.

this by Rufinus in the Old Testament he can only defend himself (*adv. Rufin.* I) by a reference to *commentariolis ubi libertas est disserendi!*

In the case of Versions there is very little trace. In the Peshitto at 1 Cor. v. 8 we have the Nestorian reading¹ ܡܥܡܥܐ ܕܥܡܥܐ for ἐν ἀζύμοις ἐλίκρινας, which, however, is not to be regarded so much as a doctrinal correction, but rather as one intended to bring the language into conformity with the general Eastern custom of using leavened and not unleavened bread². The Nestorian reading at Heb. ii. 9 (χωρὶς θεοῦ), found in later Syriac Versions, is not found in the Peshitto.

We cannot ignore in this connection the clear tendency of the Syriac Versions towards encratite views, if not in 1 Cor. vii. 2, 6, 7³, at any rate in reference to the virginity of Mary. This may be illustrated by the Syriac readings⁴ (which agree with Tatian's) at Mat. i. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 25, and Luke ii. 48. The same tendency is noticed by C. B. Michaelis in the Erpenian and Polyglot Arabic⁵.

The softening down of the force of δεῖ when used of Christ's Passion (e.g. δεῖ ἀποκτανθῆναι, etc.) by the use of ܡܥܥܥܐ (elsewhere used for μέλλειν), is also noticed by Baethgen as characteristic of the Curetonian. Ellicott finds a 'slightly Arian tinge in the Gothic' at Phil. ii. 6-8, but it must be remembered that the same charge has been brought against the Revisers of the English Bible on account of their reading in John i. 18⁶.

There would seem then to have been very slight alteration, for doctrinal purposes, of the Greek text.

We have next to consider how far our authorities are homogeneous, and so see whether we are justified in assigning them

¹ Adler, *l. c.* pp. 40-41, says our printed editions following Widmanstadt are based on Nestorian MSS.

² Adler, *l. c.* p. 37.

³ So Marsh's *Michaelis*, ch. vii. § 8.

⁴ Baethgen, *l. c.* p. 92; Renan (*Histoire des Origines*, v. 187) calls the reading in Mat. i. 17 a 'correction tout apologétique.'

⁵ *Tract. Crit.* § 27.

⁶ F. T. Bassett on Revised Version, p. 84.

the same value in separate parts of the New Testament. Canon Westcott says, 'No authority has an unvarying value, no authority is ever homogeneous¹.' It is confessedly true of our manuscript authority; thus A 'has one recension in the Gospels, another in the Pauline Epistles, another in the Acts and Catholic Epistles².' It is also true of the Versions and patristic quotations. Of the Versions some are primary (or taken direct from the Greek) in one part of the New Testament, secondary at another, or even a combination of two different recensions. Thus the *Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae*³ is in the Gospels from the Harklensian, in the Acts and Epistles from the Peshitto. The Arabic Version, called after Erpenius (1616), is in the Gospels a primary Version, in the Acts and Epistles derived from the Syriac⁴. In order to settle the question of homogeneity, it is further necessary to attempt to solve the problem as to how far the translations were made simultaneously, and by one hand. It has already been pointed out that, owing to our ignorance of the conditions under which the Versions arose, this is very difficult. It is probably an open question whether the early Versions, at any rate, were not the spontaneous outcome of the want, which must have been early felt, of having the books of the New Testament in a 'tongue understood of the people.' If so, these Versions would be made in different districts, and different books would be translated as they became known. Later on in the Church's history, as organization increased, such translations would be made under authority; but in the second century it is quite possible that Ridley's⁵ account may be right, *plures a pluribus interpretibus in vulgus effusae sunt explicativae quae tandem collectae et non nunquam refectae in unum codicem vel editionem relatae sunt*. The same theory would explain Augustine's *numerositas interpretum* of the Old Latin. It is obvious that

¹ *St. John's Gospel*, p. xc.

² Griesbach, *N. T.* i. lxxxi.

³ Ridley, *l. c.* §§ 13-14.

⁴ Michaelis, *Tract. Crit.* § 22.

⁵ *Loc. cit.* p. 334. He says, pp. 284, 291, the Versions were a sort of Targum intended *circumforaneis et vulgatoribus*, and the glosses were gradually removed from the text.

an appearance of homogeneity would be given by the redaction of which Ridley speaks. If this be the true account of its origin, it will explain the Targum-like additions in the way of critical or exegetical glosses which we find in the Syriac, but it will weaken the importance which we might otherwise attach to Versions as made with the best Manuscripts, and exhibiting *non unius alteriusve hominis sed totius ecclesiae interpretationem et iudicium*¹.

It is impossible to arrive at very certain conclusions as to the homogeneity of a Version for the reasons given above, and accordingly we find great divergence of opinion. Of the Peshitto it is asserted on the one hand by Bleek that in the New Testament, at any rate, it is all by one hand; while Hug and Tregelles say it is the work of several, the Acts and Epistles, for example, showing more signs of revision than the Gospels². Of the four Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse, and their relation to the rest of the Peshitto, we have already spoken³. There seems to be some ground for Michaelis' assertion, based on the evidence of language—as, for example, the use of ܡܠܟܝܢ (elsewhere in the New Testament, e.g. Acts xiv. 12 for *heathen* priests) instead of ܚܚܝܢ—that the Epistle to the Hebrews is later, and by a different hand⁴.

When we turn to the Latin Version the question is equally difficult, and the earliest evidence we have on the question is opposed. Do the various fragments which have come down to us owe their diversity to changes introduced in transcription from a common archetype, and are there no differences other than those which may be traced to *vitiosi interpretes, praesumptores imperiti, and librarii dormitantes*⁵? Or have we in our present Old Latin *codices* the results of what

¹ Voigt, *de Vers. N. T. Syr.* p. 178.

² This revision may, however, have been subsequent to the original translation.

³ *Supra*, p. 197.

⁴ Marsh's *Michaelis*, ii. p. 8. The Erpenian Arabic has the same variation (*ib.* p. 5).

⁵ Jerome, *Pref. ad Dam.*

Augustine, in a well-known passage, calls the *Latinorum interpretum infinita varietas*, the *interpretum numerositas*? On this point opinion is still divided¹, though it seems to be agreed that we have two types of text, African and European, fairly well defined; and on the further question whether these were originally distinct, all the available evidence is not yet assorted, and 'premature theorizing' to be deprecated². There is no doubt when we come, a little later in the history of the Latin Version, to Jerome's time, that his work was anything but homogeneous, and though his statements on this point do not always agree with the facts as we find them, probably Rönseh unduly depreciates the critical value of the Vulgate on this account³. That further changes have been introduced into the Vulgate Manuscripts through the existence and use of the Old Latin side by side with the Vulgate for three or four centuries, has been already pointed out⁴.

These illustrations from the Syriac and Latin Versions show the need of settling where possible the homogeneity of our authorities. It is not less necessary in reference to patristic quotations. In the case of Tertullian, whom Rönseh calls the 'Gewährsmann' of the oldest Latin Bible, it is well known that his quotations are singularly erratic. It may be questioned whether it is right to attribute this to the Ishmaelitic character of the man, or whether, if, as Rönseh says, there were not only one but several translations extant, the variety in quotations may not be due to the fact that the Epistles were not as yet bound up in one volume⁵, and so he followed in various parts various types of manuscripts. It is certainly important in reference to the value of Tertullian's quotations to settle this point.

¹ The authorities on each side may be seen in Holtzmann, *Einleitung*, p. 62, and Herzog, *R. E.* viii. 436.

² *Old Latin Texts*, ii. p. cclv.

³ *Itala und Vulgata*, p. 11.

⁴ Westcott and Hort, ii. § 114, and *supra*, p. 198.

⁵ Ziegler, p. 36, n., quotes to this effect from Münster, *De primordio Ecclesiae Africanæ*.

If we pass on to Origen, there is no doubt that (as has been proved by Griesbach¹) in his earlier work, his Commentary on St. John, he used manuscripts of what he called an Alexandrian character (BCL); in his later, his Commentary on St. Matthew, he used a Western text resembling D. The question as to the 'Einheit der Augustinischen Bibel,' is discussed by Ziegler at great length; and the importance of such a question, and the difficulties which surround it, are well illustrated there².

Before we are in a position to rightly value our authorities we must, after having examined them individually in reference to all the points which have been discussed, and assigned them their proper weight according to the results of the inductive process thus carried out, proceed to institute a sort of comparative criticism, with the object of ascertaining their dependence and independence of each other. We shall thus avoid counting as independent, authorities which examination would show to be closely related, or neglecting from identity of language and *prima facie* resemblance to notice real distinctions. On the extent to which this can be done depends the accuracy of textual criticism as a science. What Professor Sanday has said of Manuscripts is true of all textual authorities. 'It is now generally recognized that what the textual critic has to deal with is not so much MSS. taken singly as the archetypes of groups of MSS.'; i.e. as he has said elsewhere, 'Authorities must be weighed, not counted'; and if this process were complete, then it would be easy to throw them into one scale or the other, and so accept or reject a certain reading. It is, however, extremely difficult; for while authorities, in their origin locally most remote, are found to be derived from one source, so, on the other hand, those in the same language are often found to be independent.

¹ *Symb. Crit.* part ii.

² He decides finally (*l. c.* p. 76) that, in spite of apparent evidence to the contrary, there is 'unbestreitbares Zeugnis für die Einheit der Augustinischen Schriftcitatie.'

The relation to each other of Versions in the same language is almost more difficult to define than that of Versions in different languages. Is the Peshitto older than the Curetonian, or are they related as the Vulgate and Itala? In spite of Dr. Hort's definition of the Curetonian as *Syrvetus*, this must still be regarded as an open question¹. And, of the later Syriac Versions, is the Harklensian merely a correction of the Peshitto (as Ridley and White), or practically a new Version (as Gregory Barhebraeus and Bernstein²)? Is the mysterious Carcaphensian, as Adler says (*l. c.* p. 33), not a different Version, but a *codex vulgatae Syriacae versionis*? Are the resemblances of the Jerusalem Syriac to the Peshitto noted by Adler (*l. c.* p. 155, note) due to connection with that Version, or are they, as Storr says, interpolations from it?

To the similar questions, in reference to the Old Latin, allusion has already been made. Are *k*, *e* of the same descent as *a*, *b*, *f*, *q*, or are they to be regarded as independent witnesses? It is only possible thus to indicate the nature of the questions involved in the relationship between Versions of the same language.

Again, in considering the relationship which exists between Versions of different languages we have to notice, first of all, the distinction between primary and secondary Versions, i.e. those made directly from the Greek, and those which come through the medium of another language. Many of the Western Versions come through the Latin, as many of the Eastern bear traces of Syrian influence.

Of the printed Persian Versions one is primary (that edited by Whelock), while that of Walton's Polyglot, which is the older Version, was made from the Syriac. So, too, of the Arabic Versions, while that of the Polyglot was from the Greek, parts, at any rate, of Erpenius' edition were from the Syriac. These considerations will show the inexactness of

¹ Cp. *Studia Biblica*, 1st series, p. 172, and Dr. Salmon's review of it in the *Academy*, 1885. Scrivener, p. 324.

² Cp. *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* iv. 433, 1017.

quoting the Arabic Versions without distinction, as was done by Mill and Bengel, or of not distinguishing between the two Persian Versions. It will be obvious that secondary authorities are for the most part only useful for correcting errors that may have come into the original Version subsequent to the date at which the secondary Version was made. Instances have already been given in which Michaelis uses the Erpenian Arabic to correct the Syriac, and it is only in this indirect way that it can be used to establish the Greek text.

But we have also to examine the relations that exist between Versions not traceable definitely to the same origin, and see whether the one has been conformed to the other, or whether the resemblance is due to derivation from the same early Greek archetype. What, for example, is to be said of the connection between the early Syriac and Latin Versions? Are we, with Wetstein, J. D. Michaelis¹, and Griesbach², to ascribe the resemblances to later interpolations from the Latin; or, with Bengel, to assume the use by the Syriac translator of a Latin Version as well as a Greek Manuscript; or, with C. B. Michaelis, to say that one of the Old Latin Versions was by a Syrian; or, finally, shall we accept the somewhat similar suggestion of Professor Sanday, that the Latin Version may have been made at Antioch or Caesarea? A settlement of this is obviously preliminary to a certain and accurate use of both these Versions.

Again, what is to be said of the Origenic readings in the Curetonian, as, for instance, at John i. 28? It is easy to suppose, seeing that we have only one Manuscript of the Version, that it may be a later insertion; but it is equally possible to use it as an argument for the lateness of the Curetonian Version.

What, again, is the explanation of the frequent close relation of the Thebaic with Western readings?

¹ *Curæ in Vers. Syr. Act. Apost.*

² *Hist. Text. Epp. Paul. i. § 12.*

The answers to these and similar questions as to the relations of the Versions to each other must be given, and on the probability of the explanation offered, and its agreement with all the facts of the case, depends the use that can be made of these materials.

In the same way we must examine the dependence of the Fathers on each other. From the absence of any canons of literary usage, plagiarism was not uncommon. This adaptation of a predecessor's language is seen in the way in which quotations are transmitted in a way that varies from all Manuscripts, instances of which have been already given. From the earliest times the Fathers studied each other's writings. Thus Clement of Alexandria followed Clement of Rome¹; Barnabas² was used by Justin Martyr and Clement of Alexandria; Irenaeus, as we have already seen, was followed by Tertullian and Epiphanius, and Cyprian was a pupil and admirer of Tertullian³; and from the language used by Jerome the 'extent to which he leans on others' is obvious. The way in which the patristic evidence on Mark xvi. 9-20 may be traced through Eusebius, possibly to Origen, may be seen in Burgon's *Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark*⁴. It is obvious, too, that in many cases the Fathers who wrote in Latin are evidence only for the Latin Version, and are dependent on that for their reading. This may be clearly seen from the many cases where we have the Latin Fathers and Versions on one side, and the Greek Fathers on the other. In such cases the Latin Fathers only count as corroborating the Versions, and not as independent evidence. Worthy of notice also is the agreement in error which is found to exist between Ephraem Syrus and the Peshitto⁵.

This would make it almost certain that the evidence of Fathers, whom we have not in the Greek, is only indirectly valuable; and it is important to bear this in mind with

¹ Sanday, *Gospels*, etc. p. 17.

² Hilgenfeld, *Nov. Test. extra Canonem*, pp. 74, 89.

³ Porson, *Letters to Travis*, 262-3.

⁴ Pages 509, 512-3.

⁵ Cornill, *l. c.* p. 147. *Studia Biblica*, 1st series, p. 173.

reference to the Latin Version of Irenaeus, and also such parts of Origen as we have only in Rufinus' Latin translation¹. This last point is clearly proved by the remains we have of Origen's Commentaries on the Romans. Of course under some conditions it is possible to infer from the context what Greek reading they had, as in the case of Irenaeus' readings at Mat. i. 18 (*contra Haer.* iii. 16 al.), and at Luke viii. 51 (*contra Haer.* ii. 24); but as a rule what has been said above holds good, and it may be asserted generally that the same limitations apply to the use of their evidence as to that of Versions².

It may well be said that, if so many precautions have to be taken in the use of Versions and patristic quotations, it is an open question whether they will repay the labour spent on them. Such is not, however, the opinion of textual critics.

The evidence of patristic quotations is described by Professor Sanday³ as 'the Archimedean point on which the lever of scientific criticism must be laid, and by means of which alone fixed, precise, and definite conclusions can be reached.' This is due to three special features of their evidence. Firstly, they 'settle the principles on which textual criticism must proceed, viz. in considering a few old authorities rather than many late ones⁴.' Secondly, 'they are to all intents and purposes dated codices⁵.' Thirdly, they determine the district in which any recension of text was prevalent.

They are useful to fix the locale. This may be seen from the way in which Cardinal Wiseman⁶ used the evidence of

¹ *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* iv. 116. Ziegler, *l. c.* p. 54, draws wrong inferences as to Origen's readings.

² Thus Irenaeus' evidence as to Acts xx. 28 in iii. 14. 2 is uncertain, though the Latin has *ecclesiam Domini*, because, in places where the Greek has survived as well as the Latin, we find an inexact translation of titles, e.g. i. pref. § 2; ii. 26. 1; v. 2. 3; v. 3. 2.

³ *Expositor*, i. xi. 178.

⁴ Tregelles, *Printed Text*, p. 148.

⁵ Burgon, *Revision Revised*; cp. Griesbach, *Symb. Crit.* i. p. cxi, *continent igitur patrum allegationes ipsissima licet disiecta aut laxata eorum codicum Graecorum membra quibus patres illi usi fuerunt*.

⁶ Wiseman, *Essays*, etc. (edit. 1888), p. 291 ff.

Cyprian and Arnobius to prove the origin of the Latin Version in Africa, from the resemblance in style and diction, and also in the substance of the quotations which has been proved to exist between Cyprian and the African representatives (as they have been thus found to be) of the Old Latin *k*, *e*, and also between Augustine and the European Codices. We may illustrate this also by the way in which Dr. Field used the quotations of Chrysostom and Theodoret to localize Lucian's recension of the LXX¹.

They are certainly useful as to date. In the cases of both Versions and Manuscripts we have as a rule only inferential evidence on which to proceed; and sometimes, as has been seen, we have statements which are misleading. But when we find any reading in a patristic quotation, we are able at once to say approximately the date at which a certain reading was found. Thus it is important, with reference to the corruptions found in D, the Old Latin, and Curetonian, to remember that they are found as early as the second century². If this could not be proved from the evidence of patristic quotations, we should most probably have assigned these corruptions to a later period in the history of the text, even if we did not, on the strength of such corruptions, assert that the authorities which contained them must be late. But if they have this value it will not be right with Tregelles³ to use none after 320, for even if the evidence of their actual quotations may have no direct value after that time, yet indirectly they will be of value even down to the seventh and eighth centuries, and even later. Nor will it be right to confine ourselves to the Latin Fathers, as Lachmann did, who used no other patristic evidence than theirs, saving only Origen's. *All* the Fathers, whose date and locality we know, will be useful.

¹ *Hexapla, Proleg.* p. lxxxvii.

² Nearly all the important interpolations are found in the early Fathers; 1 John v. 7 is an exception.

³ Scrivener, *Introduction*, p. 397. Cp. Westcott and Hort, ii. p. 102. All after 320 are 'so many secondary manuscripts, inferior to the better sort of secondary uncials now existing.'

The special value of Versions depends on the fact that the best were made from Manuscript authority considerably earlier than any now extant. They are, under the limitations that have been already discussed, Manuscripts to all intents and purposes¹, and we shall see that in conjunction with Manuscript authority they may be used as evidence on points, on which, without such support, they could not have been used. Further, it is possible in cases where there is not the ambiguity which is inherent in the evidence of all Versions *quâ* Versions, to use their evidence without Manuscript support, as we could not use that of patristic quotations; for we may, as a rule, be sure that all readings which have the authority of Versions have Manuscript evidence, whereas many various readings, derived from patristic sources only, are, as we have seen, sufficiently explained by the fact of their being quoted from memory. But the evidence of Versions, before it can be used, requires to have tests (of the character described above) applied to it, in order that we may see whether there is any explanation of the reading they seem to support. The value of their evidence depends largely on what we believe to be their origin. If they were authoritative translations, we may be sure they were made from the best MSS. procurable, and by competent translators; but the chances of this increase in proportion as we get later in the history of the Church, and those generally considered the oldest lack this stamp of authority, as they were probably made for out-of-the-way congregations, or the illiterate, by whom the need of them would be first felt².

We have now to consider the value of patristic evidence, and that of Versions³ when it is opposed to that of the

¹ Cp. J. D. Michaelis, *l. c.* ch. vii. § 1. The difficulties which prevent our treating Versions as MSS. are given by C. B. Michaelis, *Tract. Crit.* §§ 37-48.

² See *supra*, pp. 227, 228. Fritzsche (Herzog, viii. 437) says of the translator of the Old Latin—für den Gebrauch der Gemeinde schrieb.

³ As to the opposition of Versions and MSS., see Michaelis, *Tract. Crit.* § 20; Westcott and Hort, ii. § 360; cp. also *Aug. de doct. Christ.* ii. 15 *si quid in Latinis codicibus titubet Græcis cedere oportere*. Cp. *id. de civit. Dei*, xv. 13.

Manuscripts. Under certain circumstances what Walton said is true, that to correct the Manuscripts by the Versions was like correcting the sun by clocks, and like drinking of the stream when we might drink of the fountain; but unfortunately the comparison does not hold good, for in this case both the sun and the fountain require to be improved. Were the Manuscripts free from error we might agree with Walton, but as it is (unless we are prepared with Lachmann to follow the most ancient Manuscript authority, even when in error) we must correct our evidence by the best means at our disposal¹. This does not mean that we should, with Wichelhaus, make the Syriac the standard to which Greek MSS. should conform, or use the Latin² to correct the Greek, as Ambrosiaster and Helvidius, and in later times Harduin, wished to do. In the case of Versions it has been noticed that they always presuppose Manuscript authority, so that it is unlikely that a Version would support a reading which has no Manuscript authority.

In the case of patristic evidence for a reading as against Manuscript authority, it must be remembered that the early date of a Father is by itself in no way a guarantee for the value of his evidence, because contemporary with the earliest Fathers we have a great amount of textual corruption, as has been already pointed out. Holtzmann³ upholds the principle that the quotations of the Fathers are to be taken in evidence against all Manuscript authority: thus in John vi. 4 he would omit any reference to the Passover⁴, and at Mat. xi. 27 and Luke x. 22 he would prefer the Fathers to the Manuscripts. Again, at Heb. xi. 4, Westcott and Hort say that Clement of Alexandria alone has probably preserved the right

¹ *Quid quod versionibus illis quinque integris uti possumus, codicibus Graecis etiam mutilis esse contenti debemus?* Lagarde, *de N. T. ad fidem*, etc. p. 4.

² Horne, *Introduction*, iv. 265; Simon, *l. c.* pp. 44, 47. This is discussed at length by the author of *Palaeoromaica*. Harduin describes the Vulgate as *sola integra et incorrupta*.

³ *Einleitung*, § 49.

⁴ Cp. Hort, in *N. T.* ii. Appendix, *ad loc.*

reading, while in Col. ii. 2 Lightfoot inserts into his text a reading which has only the authority of B and Hilary¹. It should be noticed that by accepting a reading on the authority of patristic evidence alone, we suppose that the MSS. used by the Fathers were the same, and that they and all copies derived from them have disappeared. The difficulty of this supposition becomes greater the later in time the Father lived. This should make us very loth to accept the evidence of patristic quotations alone without any other support². We have seen enough to make us feel how easy it was when once a reading had been accepted by a Father, even as a marginal gloss, for it to be adopted by succeeding writers; and though we should welcome, if it were attainable, 'the consentient voice of Catholic antiquity' to which Burgon refers, the agreement must be that of independent witnesses to a reading. A *consensus* of patristic testimony may only mean the acceptance of a reading which was originally a critical or exegetical gloss, and never had any Manuscript authority.

Lastly, we must consider the evidence of patristic quotations and Versions when the readings they imply have Manuscript authority. Under such circumstances this evidence may be used for points in which, without such additional support, they would be valueless for one or other of the reasons given above. Winer cites cases where the Syriac may be used thus: at Phil. ii. 26 with ACDE; at 2 Cor. iii. 17 to support the omission of *ἐκεῖ*, because omitted in ABCD; at Eph. iii. 3 for the passive, because it has the Manuscript authority of ABCDFG; at 1 Cor. vii. 36 for the singular *γαμέτω* on similar grounds³.

Versions and Fathers may also be used under such circum-

¹ Scrivener, *Introduction*, p. 634, is inclined to favour this reading, but finally adopts one with more MS. authority.

² Cornill, *l. c.* p. 59, says they are only useful 'als Anhaltspunkte für das Unterbringen von in Handschriften überlieferten Recensionen.'

³ Of course at the present time more stress would be laid on the grouping of MSS. than on the presence or absence of the Syriac.

stances to support one reading against another of similar meaning, if (but only if) an inductive examination of the Version shows that the translator carefully distinguished the words in question. Thus at Acts xii. 7 Lagarde would read *νύξας* instead of *παράξας*, though it is read by D only of the Manuscripts. He has not, however, here carried out the inductive process on which he himself insists¹: if so, he would have found that the Syriac word ܢܝܫܐ, though used for *ἐνυξεν* again at John xix. 34, is also used for *παράσσω* at Mat. xxvi. 31, Luke xxii. 50, Rev. xix. 15, as well as for other Greek words of varied meaning, e.g. *ῥάπισμα* *ἔδωκεν*, John xviii. 22; *τύπτω*, Mat. xxiv. 49, Acts xxiii. 2; *δρεῖς*, John xviii. 23. So that, from a word capable of being used so widely, it seems impossible to argue as Lagarde² would do.

So, again, he would use the evidence of Versions for the reading of A *καταμαρτυροῦσιν* at Mark xv. 4, as against *κατηγοροῦσιν* read by B and D.

Lastly, in connection with Manuscripts, Versions may be used to remove later additions which have come into the Manuscripts after the point at which the Versions were made. This use of them Jerome suggested. Speaking of the recension which went by the name of Lucian and Hesychius, he says he will not use it *cum multarum gentium linguis Scriptura ante translata doceat falsa esse quae addita sunt*.

Without Manuscripts it is impossible to restore the Greek text from Versions or those patristic quotations which labour under the same disadvantages as Versions. Of course the evidence of the Greek Fathers stands on a somewhat different footing; and yet we have seen that we might make many mistakes and be often in doubt as to the form, though no doubt the substance might be in great measure restored even 'from the works of Origen alone³.'

How useless is the attempt to restore the Greek text from

¹ Cp. especially Winer, *l. c.* p. 15; Baethgen, *l. c.* p. 21 *ad init.*; Nowack, *l. c.* p. 21.

² *De N. T. ad fidem*, etc. p. 10.

³ See Michaelis, *Tract. Crit.* § 19, for the necessity of MSS. as a *norma*.

the Versions alone, without any help from Manuscripts, may be seen from the instance of Crowfoot's labours on the Curetonian, which resulted in the production of a Greek text in many places agreeing with no Manuscript whatever.

The whole subject is a wide one. Enough will have been said to show that very useful and important evidence may be got both from Versions and Patristic quotations, but that many precautions have to be taken before we can say that we have clear signs of a *varia lectio*. The most indispensable requisite is that the supposed *varia lectio* should have Manuscript authority of some kind, and the farther such Manuscript authority is from the possibility of any intimate relationship to the witnesses under consideration, the greater does the value of the evidence become, and the more such independent authorities for a reading, whether Manuscripts, Versions, or patristic quotations increase, the nearer may we feel we are getting to the attainment of the original text of the New Testament.

NOTE.

In reading the above abundantly illustrated and cautiously balanced estimate of the use of Versions and Fathers, it will be well to bear in mind the broad steps in the argument by which their value is established. It is a cardinal principle of modern textual criticism, that in order to recover the true text of any ancient document, it is necessary first to know its history. Especially is this the case with a text so complicated as that of the New Testament. But to the history of this text Versions and Fathers give the key. The text of MSS. is perfectly definite, but it is neither dated nor localized. It is just this dating and localizing which, in spite of their greater indefiniteness, is supplied by the Versions and Fathers. By their means the ground is mapped out: the succession of the different texts in point of time and their distribution in space are determined: and so the reconstruction of the text proceeds, not upon mere counting of numbers nor upon a subjective weighing of probabilities, but upon a firm basis of history. [W. S.]

VI.

THE AMMONIAN SECTIONS, EUSEBIAN
CANONS, AND HARMONIZING TABLES IN
THE SYRIAC TETRAEVANGELIUM,

WITH NOTICES OF PESHITTO AND OTHER MSS. WHICH
EXHIBIT THESE ACCESSORIES OF THE TEXT.

[G. H. Gwilliam.]

It is proposed in the following paper to give an account of the form in which the (so-called) Ammonian Sections and the Eusebian Canons are exhibited in MSS. of the Peshitto Version of the Four Gospels. The Greek form of this system of division and reference is well known, the symbols being expressed along the margin of the Greek text in such common editions as those of Mill, of Lloyd, and of Tischendorf; but the Syriac form has never been printed in any edition of the Syriac text. It was known from J. G. C. Adler's *Versiones Syriacae* that Peshitto and Philoxenian (or rather *Charelean*) MSS. frequently exhibit these divisions, and have tables of Canons prefixed, while some of the facsimiles appended to his book show a marginal notation of Section and Canon, like that found in Greek codices. So it has, perhaps, been assumed that the two systems, which are constructed on the same principle, differ only in unimportant details: certainly but little attention has been paid to the Syriac form, although it derives its origin from a very remote period¹.

The *editio princeps* of the Peshitto (Widmanstadt, Vienna,

¹ The late Dean Burgon claimed to have been the first to direct the attention of Biblical scholars in general to the Syriac Ammonian Sections and Eusebian Canons. He has given a brief but clear account of them in his *Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark*, App. G. The late P. E. Pusey set them out on the margins of his *Widmanstadt* from the MSS. which he had collated for his projected revision of the text. They will be printed in the edition of the Peshitto Gospels, now in preparation at the Clarendon Press.

1555) may be supposed to imitate on its pages the very form of the MS. matter from which the type was set up, for such was the practice of the early printers. So Widmanstadt's headings and subscriptions, his inserted liturgical rubrics, and his marginal ornaments, were doubtless copied from his MSS. The ordinary division into chapters is indicated by small figures, placed in the margin so as not to disturb the Syriac paragraphs. Perhaps he was hardly acquainted with Robert Stephen's verses. But with all this careful distribution of the text, there is no indication of the Sections and the Canons. It must be concluded that the editor's MSS. did not exhibit them. They are not so frequently found in later Peshitto MSS. as they are in the earlier copies, and the MSS. employed in preparing the *editio princeps* of the Peshitto were certainly of a late type, whatever their date and origin¹. It seems useless to enquire further about them, nor would their recovery be of much importance; for we can be in no doubt of their character. It is patent on the printed pages of Widmanstadt².

The century and a half which followed the period of the first editing of the Peshitto gave birth to several other editions, in part little more than reprints, but in part also improved by the use of other MS. evidence³. But as yet no notice was taken of the Syriac Sections and Canons. Then in 1742 S. E. Assemani published his *Catalogus Bibliothecae Mediceae*. The first pages of this magnificently printed work are devoted to a full description of the most ancient MS. of the Holy Gospels in the Versio Simplex which that Library contains, the celebrated Codex Florentinus, which is dated A. Gr. 897, i. e. A. D. 586. He states that the Epistle of Eusebius to Carpianus is prefixed, but does not print the text of it, although he sets out in full the Tables of the

¹ Inter alia may be mentioned ܐܘܪܝܢܐ for ܐܘܪܝܢܐ, as the word is spelled in all old MSS.; ܐܘܪܝܢܐ, in old MSS. usually ܐܘܪܝܢܐ, or ܐܘܪܝܢܐ; the full form ܐܘܪܝܢܐ very rare; ܐܘܪܝܢܐ paragogic appended to 3rd per. fem. pl., as ܐܘܪܝܢܐ.

² See Appendix I.

³ Besides the well-known authorities—Wichelhaus, Scrivener's *Introduction*, Leusden and Schaaf's *Preface*—see a valuable article on *The Printed Editions of the Syriac New Testament* in the *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. xxvi, July, 1888.

Canons, with their curious ornamentation. No remark is made on the differences between the Syriac and the Greek systems, although it would be obvious to any one who should compare the numbers of the Sections in any table, with those in the corresponding Greek table, that the systems are by no means identical. But in describing another codex (Plut. i, No. 58), Assemani (*op. cit.* p. 25) speaks of a 'distinctio Evangeliorum in versiculos, seu parvas sectiones ab Eusebio editas, quae apud Syros aliae sunt ab iis quae in MSS. Graecis et Aegyptiacis codicibus conspiciantur¹.'

From the materials collected by the late Mr. P. E. Pusey, supplemented by my own researches, we can now determine what were the peculiarities of the Syriac system. The following specimen will suffice to illustrate and explain the differences between the Greek and the Syriac forms. We select the first eleven verses of St. Mark, as affording a convenient and instructive comparison between the two systems. The reader is also referred to the facsimile which forms the frontispiece to the present volume, and which is described in Appendix II.

α 'Αρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ·

β Ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς προφήταις, 'Ἴδού, ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδὸν σου ἔμπροσθέν σου.'

β 'Φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, 'Ετοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν Κυρίου·
α εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ.'

γ 'Ἐγένετο Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, καὶ κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.

Καὶ ἐξεπορεύετο πρὸς αὐτὸν πᾶσα ἡ Ἰουδαία χώρα, καὶ οἱ Ἱεροσολυμίται· καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο πάντες ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐξομολογούμενοι τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν.

Ἦν δὲ Ἰωάννης ἐνδεδυμένος τρίχας καμήλου, καὶ ζώην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐσθίων ἀκρίδας καὶ μέλι ἄγριον.

δ Καὶ ἐκήρυσσε, λέγων, 'Ἐρχεται ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου ὅπισθ' μου, α οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς κύψας λῦσαι τὸν ἱμάντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῦ.

¹ Of the Canons etc. in the former Codex, Assemani says: 'de quibus consulenda Prolegomena ad Biblia Polyglotta.' The reference must be to Walton's *Polyglott*, London, 1657, albeit Walton's description is entirely confined to the Greek form. Of the Syriac form he was probably ignorant.

It may be convenient to add the version of the above from Leusden and Schaaf [*Nov. Test. Syr. c. Vers. Lat.* 1708], changing also the Syriac numeral letters for their equivalents in figures.

Principium Euangelii Jesu Christi Filii Dei ♦

¹ Sicut scriptum est in Esaia Propheta: Ecce, ego mitto nuncium
² meum ante faciem tuam, qui praeparabit viam tuam ♦

² Vox clamantis in deserto; Parate viam Domini, et exaequate
¹ semitas ejus ♦

³ Johannes in deserto baptizabat, et praedicabat baptismum resi-
¹ piscientiae in remissionem peccatorum ♦

⁴ Et exibat ad eum universa regio Judaeae, et omnes Hierosoly-
⁶ mitae, et baptizabat eos in Jordane flumine, quum confiterentur
peccata sua ♦

⁵ Ipse autem Johannes indutus erat vestimento pili camelorum, et
⁶ cinctus erat zona pellicea in lumbis suis: et cibus ejus erat locustae
et mel sylvestre ♦

⁶ Et praedicabat, ac dicebat; Ecce, post me venit qui validior est
¹ me, is cui non sum dignus ut me incurvans solvam corrigias calcea-
⁷ mentorum ejus. Ego baptizavi vos aqua ♦

¹ Ipse verò baptizabit vos Spiritu sancto ♦

⁸ Et factum est diebus illis, venit Jesus à Nazareth Galilaeae, et
⁴ baptizatus est in Jordane à Johanne ♦

⁹ Et statim quum ascendisset ex aqua, vidit quòd fissi sunt coeli,
¹ et Spiritum tanquam columbam, qui descendit super eum ♦

¹⁰ Et vox facta est de caelo: Tu es Filius meus dilectus, in te com-
¹ placitum est mihi ♦

MARCUS	MATTHAEUS	LUCAS	JOHANNES
1	124	87	.. ..
2	8	7	10
3	7	6	2
4	10	.. ..	.. ..
5	9	.. ..	.. ..
6	12	10	12
7	13	11	17
8	15	.. ..	14
9	17	15	16
10	18	16	18

On comparing the treatment of this passage in the original, and in the Syriac, we observe how much more numerous the

Syriac Sections are than the Greek. Here the former are twice as many as the latter; in some other passages the disproportion is even greater, although usually it is less. The numbers in each Gospel are respectively, in Matthew, *Syriac* 426, *Greek* 355; Mark 290 and 236; Luke 402 and 342; John 271 and 232; in all 1389 in the *Syriac*, against 1165 in the *Greek*¹. The latter sought only to place in harmony those paragraphs in one Gospel which are in historical, or perhaps only verbal agreement with paragraphs in one or more of the other Evangelists: the *Syriac* aimed at a complete tabulation of the more minute resemblances between the several statements within the compass of such paragraphs. Thus it often happens that the *Syriac* section is but a few words, only half a verse, or less, but it forms a distinct division, because it bears a resemblance to some longer or shorter passage in another Gospel, or else it is noted as being without a parallel in the other Evangelists.

It will be seen that the references in the *Syriac* text are very conveniently collected together at the foot of the page. This was not intended, however, to supersede the Tables of Harmony, for they are often prefixed to the codex as well; but whether they were given or not, *Syriac* scribes, almost without exception, collected the references, page by page, precisely as we have exhibited them above. This is distinctly a feature of the *Syriac* system: rarely is a MS., which exhibits the Sections and Canons, unprovided with the Foot-harmony. The plan was imitated by the scribe of the *Cod. Argenteus*, of the Gothic Version, and was not unknown to

¹ I am not aware of any variation in the number of Sections in *Syriac* copies. The scribes performed their work with mechanical accuracy, favoured by the distinctness of the large Estrangela characters employed in the oldest MSS. It is not so as regards the Greek scheme. Dean Burgon (*op. cit.*), whose intimate acquaintance with Greek MS. Evangelia will be recognised by all, says that, while the majority of copies have for the sum total 1165, as above, it is found also to vary between 1181 and 1162. Suidas (s. v. *Κεφάλαιον*, or *Τίτλος*) gives the Sections thus:—Mat. 355, Mark 236, Luke 348, John 232 = 1171. Further details of the sums total in MSS. are given by Tischendorf (*Nov. Test. Gr. ed. crit. maj.*) at the conclusion of each Gospel.

some of the Greeks; yet it is rare in Greek MSS., and apparently borrowed from Syria. This remark applies also to the Coptic MSS. If the plan of a Foot-harmony had belonged from the first to the scheme, it is strange indeed that Eusebius says nothing about it when explaining the notation which the reader would find on each page. Strange also that scribes should neglect so convenient an arrangement, so that it now accompanies the notation on the pages of a few MSS. only¹.

In looking out the references for the Greek in the Eusebian Tables we frequently find (as in the case of Section 4 above) that the passage is compared with more than one parallel in one or more of the other Gospels. In the Syriac only one parallel is given at the foot of the page; the others, if any, are noted in the Tables at the beginning of the codex. To these, therefore, we must refer for a complete conspectus of the Harmonies.

The parallel passages indicated by the different numerals in the above examples are set out, and combined, in the following Table. The Greek references can be verified from the *Novum Testamentum*, Oxon. 1889²; the Syriac parallels are derived from the unpublished materials in my hands.

¹ It is impossible at present to assign a date for the introduction of the Foot-harmonies into Greek MSS. They are found, e.g. in E (eighth, perhaps seventh century), but are not *a prima manu* in the judgment of some; in M (ninth century); in 262 (tenth century); in 199. (twelfth century); in 264 (thirteenth century)—a MS. 'with Coptic-like letters.' The earliest MS. which exhibits this arrangement is, I believe, the fragment T^b, probably of the sixth century (Tischendorf, *Monumenta sac. ined.* 1870 and *Proleg. in N. T.*). If its characters ('litterae litterarum in fragg. Borgianis similes,' i.e. *tanquam a Copto exaratae*) are an indication of its origin, it doubtless owes the Foot-harmony to the influence of Syriac Evangelia known to the scribe, for between the Copts and the Monophysites of Syria there was frequent intercourse. The *Cod. Argenteus* is by some assigned to the fifth century. The scheme is that of Greek MSS. If the Foot-harmony, as seems most probable, was derived from the same source, we must assign an earlier date than that suggested by T^b for the adoption of this plan in Greek codices. The extant Coptic MSS. are of much later date. Their sections are Greek, like those of the Gothic. Of the latter, there is a facsimile illustrating the features under discussion in Andreas Uppström's *Versionis Gothicae Fragmenta*, 1854. An instructive facsimile from 262 will be found in *The Last Twelve Verses* (Burgon), p. 305.

² Or Wordsworth's *New Testament*, where the Tables are rearranged to facilitate reference.

GREEK.

Mark	Matthew	Luke	John
i. 1, 2	xi. 10	vii. 27	
3	iii. 3	iii. 3-6	i. 23
4, 5, 6	iii. 4-6		
7, 8	iii. 11	iii. 16	i. 15; 26, 27; 30, 31; iii. 28
9, 10, 11	iii. 16, 17	iii. 21, 22	i. 32-34

The passages quoted as parallels in the above are necessarily for the most part identical, both in the Greek and in the Syriac scheme. In the latter, in accordance with the principle which is followed throughout by the Syriac Harmonist, the parallels are dissected, and the portions variously manipulated; but besides, passages are quoted (viz. John i. 6-8, Mat. iii. 13, John i. 29) of which no notice is taken in the Greek. It is strange that Mat. iii. 13 should be omitted in the Greek scheme, as it is required for a parallel to Mark i. 9. The citation of John i. 29 is interesting as indicating the compiler's opinion on a point of harmony. For it may be supposed that the verse was quoted for that purpose, although, in using the term *Harmony* in connection with these parallels, we must bear in mind the just remark that 'a very slight examination is sufficient to show that the most ancient endeavour [in the direction of a Harmony] known as the Eusebian Canons, aims as much at showing verbal as historical agreement¹.' This applies equally to the Greek and the Syriac schemes².

¹ *The Student's Gospel Harmony*, Slatter, London, 1878. The accurate compiler of this useful manual may be supposed to mean, *the most ancient Harmony which is extant in the complete and original form*. Tatian's *Diatessaron* is only known to us at second-hand. The controversy about Theophilus of Antioch and his writings arose subsequently to the publication of Canon Slatter's work. For *Harmonies* of various periods, see Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.* iv. 5. 20; Tischendorf, *Synop. Evang.* Proleg. viii. seq.

² An instructive example is the treatment of our Lord's Discourse at Capernaum.

SYRIAC.

Mark	Matthew	Luke	John
i. 1 having no parallel is treated as a Title and not included in the Sections.			
2	xi. 10	vii. 27	
3	iii. 3	iii. 4-6	i. 23
4	iii. 1, 2		
5	iii. 5, 6	iii. 2 last part, 3	i. 6-8, iii. 23
6	iii. 4		
7, 8 first part	iii. 11 first part	iii. 16	i. 15; 26, 27; 30, 31; iii. 28
8 last part	iii. 11 last part	iii. 16	i. 33
9	iii. 13		i. 29
10	iii. 16	iii. 21	i. 32
11	iii. 17	iii. 22	i. 34

The Peshitto possesses this great advantage over some other ancient writings, that the true text depends in no respect whatever upon conjecture, but is fully assured by the testimony of a large amount of diplomatic evidence of great antiquity. Such also is the case with the Syriac scheme of Sections and Canons. They are so intimately connected with the text which they serve that they may almost be regarded as a constituent part of it.

The notation of Section and Canon in Syriac Evangelia is almost invariably *a prima manu*. The usual plan was to make each Section, however short, a separate paragraph, by setting in the first word far enough for the notation to stand *upon* the edge of the column of writing, and not *outside* it.

naum (John vi. 22 f.), which has clearly no historical parallel in the Synoptists, although some (as Tischendorf, *Synopsis Evangelica*, 1871, p. 73) would harmonize vv. 66-71 with the conversation which preceded the Transfiguration. And yet both the Greek and the Syriac scheme exhibit a number of comparisons between passages in vv. 22-65 (not to speak of the concluding section of the chapter) and passages in the other three Gospels—e. g. v. 38 is compared with our Lord's words in Gethsemane. The earliest labourer in this department of Gospel criticism, Tatian, produced an epitome of the Gospel history, if we may depend on Zahn's clever reproduction of the *Diatessaron*. The Eusebian system holds an intermediate place between a Gospel history, and a collection of modern marginal references. The result of employing the Sections and Canons for the construction of a harmony may be seen in a sumptuous, but useless work, entitled, *Harmonia Quat. Evang. juxta Sect. Ann. et Euseb.* Can. Oxon. 1805.

An example may be taken from Lord Crawford's MS., our No. 3, at St. Mat. xxvi. 6:—

ܐܠܗ ܕܥܡ ܕܥܡ ܕܥܡ	323 And when Jesus
ܕܥܡ ܕܥܡ	I
ܕܥܡ ܕܥܡ	was in Bethany
ܕܥܡ ܕܥܡ	in the house of Simon

But in the Nestorian codex, *Add. Brit. Mus.* 7157 (our No. 11), the text is not broken up, but the notation is inserted between the final and initial words of the Sections, in the midst of long paragraphs; and while the Section is marked, as usual, with red, the Canon is indicated by a *green* letter placed after, instead of under, the Section-number¹.

In ancient times they were well known in various parts of the Syrian Church, and are handed down to us by many witnesses, of whom we may select eleven, all written before the close of the eighth century, and one dating from the first half of the sixth.

The MSS. are these:—

1. *Vaticanus* (S. E. Assemani, *Bibl. Vat. Cat.* P. 1, t. 2, p. 27 seq.; Adler, *op. cit.* pp. 3-10; Wichelhaus, *Vers. Syr. Ant.* 1850, p. 141). Written at Edessa, A. Gr. 859=A. D. 548.

The careful collation of this valuable relic of antiquity, which Adler desired, has now been undertaken by Professors Guidi and Ugolini, through the liberality of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press. It exhibits the notation of Sections with their Canons, and the Foot-harmony. The Epistle to Carpianus and the Tables were probably at one time prefixed, but at present the original writing only begins at Mat. i. 12.

2. *Tetraevangelium² Florentinum I* (Plut. 1, No. 56).

Assemani's account of this MS. has already (p. 242) been referred to. It was written in the Monophysite Monastery of St. John, in Beth Zagba (see Wichelhaus, p. 142; Adler, pp. 11-13) in the year 897=A. D. 586. As Adler doubted the genuineness of the epigraph, which gives the date, the following in confirmation of its

¹ See facsimiles in *British Museum Catalogues*, Forshall and Rosen, 1838, W. Wright, 1872.

² ܕܥܡ ܕܥܡ (cf. Suiceri *Thes. Eccl.* II. 1269) often occurs in the titles of MSS. of this class and age.

genuineness will be of interest. It is taken from a letter from Dr. A. Ceriani to myself, March 10, 1882, after an inspection of the MS.:—'Essa è di prima manu, e precisamente come sogliono i Siri scrivere la data dei codici. Anchè la scrittura del testo conviene all' età assegnata nella sottoscrizione.'

3. *The Earl of Crawford's Tetraevangelium.*

A noble volume, of which, through his lordship's kindness, I have been able to make a thorough collation. The Sections and Canons, as well as the Foot-harmony, are in agreement with the same accessories in the Cod. Florentinus. The text of Mat. i. 1 begins on the second quire; the first, which is now lost, doubtless contained the Tables and Epistle to Carpius.

The late lamented Dr. Wright, after examining this MS., wrote to Lord Crawford as follows:—'There is no date, and no mention of the person or place to whom or which it originally belonged. Of the age of the MS. there can, I think, be no doubt. I should call it a fine specimen of Syriac Estrangēlā writing of the sixth century of our era.'

4. *Oxoniensis* (Dawkins 3).

Sections, Canons, Harmony, but wanting the Tables and Epistle. It is ascribed in the Bodleian Catalogue to the ninth century, but I understand that Dr. Wright was inclined to give it a very early date. Richard Jones, who collated it carefully at the beginning of this century (*Text. S.S. Evang. Ver. Simplicis c. duobus MSS. in Bodl. repositis collatus*, etc.), thought it was of nearly the same age as the Cod. Vat. described above. This is improbable. It is a carelessly written MS. in comparison with others of its class.

5. *Londinensis* (Mus. Brit. Add. 14,455).

Four Gospels. Sect., Can., Harm.

Apparently of the same era as Lord Crawford's codex.

6. *Add.* 14,449.

Four Gospels. Sect., Can., Harm. Sixth or seventh century.

7. *Add.* 14,458.

Similar to last-named.

8. *Add.* 14,445.

Sixth or seventh century. Contains St. Matthew and parts of SS. Mark and Luke, with Sec., Can., Harm. in St. Matthew only.

9. *Add.* 14,450.

Seventh century. Besides the Sections and Canons it once had the Tables, similar to those of the Florentine codex, but less ornamented. The Tables of the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th Canons are still extant.

10. *Add.* 17,114.

Four Gospels, but with many lacunae, in a Nestorian hand¹, of seventh or perhaps sixth century. Sections and Canons in St. Matthew only, but no Harmony.

For the last six MSS. see *Cat. Syr. MSS. in Brit. Mus.* P. 1, W. Wright, 1870.

11. *Add.* 7157 (*Cat. MSS. Orient. Mus. Brit.* P. 1, Forshall and Rosen, 1838, W. Wright, *op. cit.* Appendix A, p. 1203).

Written in A. Gr. 1079=A. D. 768, at Beth Kuka, a Nestorian monastery (v. *Assem. Bib. Orient.* iii. i. 308, 454) near the Lycus, in Adiabene. Its peculiar method of notation of Sections and Canons has been already mentioned. But though written under different influences, their numbers and the arrangement of the Foot-harmony agree with the same accessories of the other codices.

It is interesting to compare the weight of testimony which we have now adduced with the evidence in support of the Greek scheme. Of the codices anterior to the year A. D. 800, which exhibit the Greek Sections and Canons, some are only fragments; in some the numerals indicating the Canons of the Sections are not now legible, if they were ever expressed; sometimes (e. g. in the important cod. L, *Reg. Par.* 62) the Sections and Canons are so placed as to suggest that the scribe was not familiar with the use of them; again, in the Cod. Basileensis, E, they are deemed by some critics to have been inserted by a later hand. Thus the evidence for the Greek scheme, while amply sufficient for practical purposes, is not so clear and accurate as that for the Syriac scheme, and is not so abundant. Our observation illustrates what is well known

¹ For the different styles of Syriac writing, see Assemani, *Bib. Orient.* iii. ii. 377 seq., the Plates in the *British Museum* and *Bodleian Catalogues*, J. P. N. Land's *Anecdota Syriaca*, and W. Wright in Preface to *B. M. Syr. MSS. Cat.* pp. xxix-xxxii. As early as the close of the sixth century (if not earlier) a divergence of writing had arisen between Eastern and Western Syrians. A MS. (*Add.* 14,460) written among the Nestorians in the neighbourhood of Naarda, in Babylonia, A. D. 600, already exhibits that type of writing which developed such distinct characteristics in the following centuries. With this style, the hand of our No. 10 has many affinities: it has also Nestorian vowel-marks, though these are not *pr. m.*, and altogether may be considered as belonging to the same class as 7157 (=No. 11) which tells its own story. For Nestorian MSS. see Wichelhaus, *op. cit.* lib. iii. c. iv; Adler, pp. 19-39. For the computation of dates see Nicolas' *Chronology*, p. 10.

to the very few scholars who have devoted their time to the careful collation of Syriac documents. They were inscribed with almost mechanical precision, and (speaking of the Holy Scriptures) so many accurate copies of very ancient date have survived, that certainty is secured, and conjecture has no place; because the occasional itacism, or other *lapsus calami*, can almost invariably be corrected by diplomatic evidence.

The late Dean Burgon (*op. cit.*) raised the question, but left it to others to decide, whether Eusebius may not himself have published the more numerous Sections, now extant only in the Syriac¹. Bishop Lightfoot² justly objects that there are no grounds for such a conclusion, and Dean Burgon once informed the writer that subsequent study had long since brought him to the same opinion. That Eusebius should have put forth a simpler, and a more elaborate, system of parallels, is most improbable. That the Syriac form is based upon the Greek scheme no one can doubt after an examination of even the one example only which we have set out *in extenso* above. The more perfect and complete Syriac scheme is clearly a development of the Greek.

And this reasonable conclusion is confirmed by the arrangement of the *Tetraevan. Florent. I.* The scribe first gives a version (in some respects rather a paraphrase) of the Epistle of Eusebius to Carpianus: then follow the Ten Tables of Canons, identical with the Greek (the numbering of the Sections, of course, being changed) except that in Canon VIII the order is Mark, Luke, instead of *Λουκας, Μαρκος*: then the Four Gospels, divided into Sections on the Syriac plan. There is no indication that the Greek Sections were different, nor a hint that the convenient arrangement of the Harmony at the foot of the page was a Syriac improvement. The reader is left to suppose that these accessories of the Peshitto text were obtained from Eusebius: he is not informed to what extent the Syriac critics have improved upon the work of the Greek historian.

¹ The date of the *Ep. ad Carp.* is not known, but about A. D. 330 Eusebius was multiplying copies of the Scriptures: see *Vit. Const.* iv. 36, 37.

² Art. 'Eusebius' in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

We cannot adduce the same amount of evidence for the *Epistle* and the *Tables* which we have for the *Sections* and *Canons*. Many ancient codices which contain the latter accessories are destitute of the former because they are now mutilated at the beginning: in their perfect state they probably exhibited the same matter which is happily still extant in the Florentine codex. Of the manuscripts described above (pp. 250–252), the *Epistle* and *Tables* are prefixed in No. 2 and are complete; in No. 9, four of the *Tables* only are still extant, and not the *Epistle*.

We have besides:—

1. *Cod. Mus. Brit. Additionalis* 17,213.

Probably a fragment of a copy of the Gospels. Contains the latter half of the *Epistle*: also *Canons* 1 and 2, much mutilated. Sixth century.

2. *Cod. Add.* 17,224.

Paper leaf of thirteenth century, containing about as much of the *Epistle* as the last-named MS. It also is a fragment of a copy of the Gospels.

3. *Cod. Parisiensis*.

Numbered 33 in the *Catalogue des MSS. Syr. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Partly sixth, partly twelfth century. The older containing the greater part of the *Epistle*, with the *Tables* of *Canons*.

4. *Tetraevangelium Florentinum II*.

Catalogued as *Plut.* 1, cod. 58, and, according to Adler (*Vers. Syr.*), written before the ninth century. It exhibits a copy of the *Epistle*, apparently identical with that in the more famous *Cod. Flor.* already described¹.

The following is the text of the form in which the *Epistle* of Eusebius to Carpianus was known to the early Syrian Church. It is here printed for the first time, with a literal Latin translation².

¹ For information about the last two MSS. I am indebted to the courtesy of M. Samuel Berger, and of Dr. Bruto Teloni.

² The *Greek Epistle* was published by Robert Stephens (ed. 1550), and reproduced by Mill; also, with *varr. lectt.* in Tischendorf's *Test. Gr.* (Proleg.), 1884. The text seems corrupt.

EPISTOLA QUAM SCRIPSIT EUSEBIUS AD CARPIANUM DE
EXPLICATIONE CANONUM QUOS FECIT.

Eusebius Carpiano fratri et dilecto meo in Domino nostro,
Salutem !

Ammonius Alexandrinus, multam, ut videtur, industriam, et amorem laboris multum huic [operi] intulit, et Evangelium Diatesaron nobis reliquit. Operam enim impendit multam in Evangelium Mattai; et sectionum, quae restabant, Evangelistarum trium sociorum ejus eas comparavit, quae sibi concordant, secuit, ad hunc modum collocavit¹: ita ut fiat ut necessario perdatur nexus ordinatorum verborum Evangelistarum ex composita eorum [verborum] lectione per id ipsum quod fecit. Itaque, ut conservetur corpus totum completum plene, necnon ordo verborum Evangelistarum quattuor, et ut tu cognoscas loca verborum Illorum, ubicunque sibi concordaverint, en tibi sunt numeri inscripti, super Evangelistas singulos, in locis idoneis: ut amicus veritatis fateor, nos a labore viri illius, quem supra diximus, occasionem nactos esse; et alia ratione decem Canones tibi designavi, qui infra inscribuntur.

Canon primus: hoc continentur numeri [locorum] ubi multa conjuncte quattuor Evangelistae dixerunt, et sibi concordaverunt, Mattai, Marcus, Lucas, Juchanan. 15

Canon secundus: ubi tres sibi concordaverunt, Mattai, Marcus, Lucas.

Canon tertius: ubi item tres sibi concordaverunt, Mattai, Lucas, Juchanan.

Canon quartus: ubi item tres sibi concordaverunt, Mattai, Marcus, Juchanan. 20

Canon quintus: ubi duo sibi concordaverunt, Mattai, Lucas.

Canon sextus: ubi item duo sibi concordaverunt, Mattai, Marcus.

Canon septimus: ubi item duo sibi concordaverunt, Mattai, Juchanan.

Canon octavus: ubi duo item sibi concordaverunt, Marcus, Lucas. 25

Canon nonus: ubi duo item sibi concordaverunt, Lucas, Juchanan.

Canon decimus: ubi unusquisque ex Evangelistis quattuor singulatim, de rebus diversis, ipse solus scripsit, Mattai, Marcus, Lucas, Juchanan.

Ita se habet res Canonum; eorum autem clara expositio haec est:—In unoquoque e quattuor Evangelistis numerorum ordo ponitur; ab uno incipit, et duobus, et tribus; et usque procedit

¹ Vel, hoc modo collocavit, ita ut fiat. Codex autem interpungit ut supra,

ipse numerus, per totum Evangelium, ad finem libri. Et unicuique e numeris subest signum Canonis, minio depictum: et hoc
 35 indicat apud quem e decem Canonibus sit hic numerus; et ita quidem, quasi dicat aliquis, [i. e. *exempli gratia*] si designetur unus, liqueat apud Canonem primum esse; et si duo, apud Canonem secundum; et si tres, apud Canonem tertium: ad hunc modum usque [exitum] decem Canonum.

Si igitur evolvas unum e quattuor Evangelistis, et tibi sumas
 40 prima [capituli] verba, undecunque placeat; ut cognoscas quis ex Evangelistis eadem verba dixerit, utrum quattuor, an tres, an duo; atque ut cognoscas loca verborum Illorum, in quibus sibi concordaverint: sume numerum Canonis minio depictum quem ante te habes,
 45 ad signum [capituli] quod sumpsisti; et recurrens ad numeros qui in principio libri jacent, intra columnas parvas, eundem quaere in eo Canone quem signum minio depictum tibi ostendit, et inveni numeros inscriptos [quibus significatur] quis aut quam multi ex Evangelistis dixerint de eo [loco] cujus signum habes: deinde statim disces qui sint numeri principii [capituli] quod quaeris, ex eis numeris qui intra librum ipsum inscripti sunt, in margine foliorum. Et quum enumerationi versuum cum Canonibus eorum
 50 institeris, invenies Evangelistas illos quattuor, in verbis suis sibi concordantes, Mattai, Marcus, Lucas, Juchanan.

Itaque hi numeri apponuntur ne verba Evangelistarum quattuor abscindantur a verbis sequentibus, nec perdaturs nexus ordinis eorum; tantum ut numeri mutentur, alius in alium, quibus indicetur Evan-
 55 gelistas sibi concordare, et perstet lectio ordinata verborum quattuor Illorum integra, qui sunt Mattai, Marcum, Lucam, Juchanan.

Explicit Epistola Eusebii de explicatione Canonum.

The earlier part of this Syriac version of Eusebius' Epistle is a fair rendering of the original, but the latter part has become a paraphrase in the attempt to make the somewhat obscure Greek intelligible. Two places should be noticed. The Greek corresponding to ll. 11, 12 is:—*τοὺς οὐκ εὐαγγελιστοῦ τόπους, ἐν οἷς κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἡρέχθησαν φιλαλήθως εἰπεῖν*. The translator has punctuated after *ἡρέχθησαν*, and joined *φιλαλήθως εἰπεῖν* to what follows—... Evangelistas singulos, in locis idoneis: ut amicus veritatis fateor nos a labore illius...—Again, and more worthy of remark, *ἀφορμὰς* is represented by *ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲓ*,—... nos *occasionem*

nactus esse—and the meaning intended is, that Eusebius worked out his scheme in consequence of what Ammonius had attempted. This agrees with the rendering 'hint' in *Last Twelve Verses*, p. 127¹.

Fabricius, writing of the Eusebian Sections and Canons², did not overstate the case when he remarked, 'frequens illorum usus fuit in Ecclesiis Orientis pariter et Occidentis, ut ex Codd. MSS. Bib. in variis versionibus notarunt viri docti.' Although now superseded by the modern marginal references (which are but a further development and much wider extension of the same principle), they were considered in former ages important accessories of the text³. We have spoken of the use made of them by the Copts, and in the Gothic Version. They were derived to the Ethiopic apparently from an Arabic source—of course in the Greek form⁴. The Armenian Evangelia for the most part exhibit them. They are found in Latin MSS., in a minority of those of the earlier type⁵, and in a majority of those of Jerome's revision. To some of the latter a version of the Epistle to Carpianus is prefixed, which is also paraphrased by Jerome in his *Epistola ad Damasum*⁶.

The case of the Philoxenian, and its Charclean revision, is more immediately connected with our main subject. Of the two *Codices Riddleiani*, in the Library of New College, which

¹ For Eusebius, and his relation to the work of Ammonius, see Mill's *Prolegomena* (ss. 658–666, 738–744, ed. Küster, 1723). Other authorities are cited by Lloyd, *Nov. Test. Gr.* (ed. 1883, p. xi).

² *Bibliotheca Graeca*, v. 4. 15. He gives a version of the *Epistle*, which Migne (*Patrol. Gr.*) has reproduced. See also Wordsworth's *N. T.* i. 6.

³ Taking some fifty Syriac Evangelia, described in *Brit. Mus. Syr. Cat.* p. i, as a sample of works of this class, we find that Peshitto MSS. were usually furnished with these accessories during the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries. Charclean MSS. exhibit them at a much later period (e.g. the Paris MS., written in the Edessene Monastery of Beth Achsenaja, A. D. 1212), but not, I think, those of the Peshitto text.

⁴ *Catalogus Codd. Orient. Mus. Brit.* P. iii, ed. A. Dillmann, 1847.

⁵ Cod. Rhedig. (D), seventh century, has a Foot-Harmony according to C. R. Gregory in *Tisch. Test. Gr. Proleg.* p. 144.

⁶ See Bishop Wordsworth's *N. T.* i. 3: for details in regard to the Armenian MSS. I am indebted to Professor Margoliouth.

The variations in the notation of Sections and Canons in the above-named MSS. are in marked contrast with the consistency of those of the Peshitto. From the testimony of the latter we infer that the Syrian system was universally, and alone, received, wherever the Peshitto Version was in use, at least as early as the sixth century. Earlier diplomatic evidence is lacking: the very few MSS.¹ of the Holy Gospels which can be assigned with any probability to the preceding century, are not furnished with these divisions. Others, however, which have perished, might have exhibited them. And indirect evidence can be adduced.

For it is known that many of the works of Eusebius were translated into Syriac at a very early period. There is a version of his 'Ecclesiastical History' in a MS. dated 462 of our era, and now preserved in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg. In the British Museum, we find in the *Cod. Add.* 12,150², among other translations from Greek authors, Eusebius' *Theophania*, *History of the Palestinian Martyrs*, and *Panegyric on the Martyrs*. This MS. is dated, according to our era, 411 or 412; but we must go back still earlier for the date of the first appearance of these writings of Eusebius in their Syriac dress. The codex is a *Collection of Treatises*; it is not an autograph *Translation of Eusebius*; in fact, the text affords in itself evidence of having passed through the hands of successive scribes³. It is reasonable to suppose that the works of Eusebius were in part, if not in whole, translated into Syriac within the lifetime of the author⁴; and for the place of such translations we turn, of

¹ Such as *Cod. Add. Mus. Brit.* 14,459 (cf. *Studia Biblica*, 1885, No. VIII), *Add.* 17,117, 'fifth, or beginning of sixth century'; *Add.* 14,453 and 14,470, 'fifth or sixth century'; *Catalogue British Museum*.

² *Cat. Syr. MSS. in Brit. Mus.* ii. p. 631. Cureton, *Festal Letters of Athanasius*, p. xv f.

³ See Lightfoot, *op. cit.*; Wright, art. 'Syriac Literature' in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed.—opus plenissimum, 1237 notae marginales,' Nestle, *Syr. Gr.*

⁴ See (in reference to the *Ecclesiastical History*) A. Merx, *Atti del iv Congr. intern. degli Orientalisti*.

course, to Edessa, and its famous school. In that city was written the *Cod. Add.* 12,150, and here, besides the great original writers, like Ephrem, flourished such students as Maanes, the translator of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Proba, the Nestorian translator of Aristotle¹. One of the Bishops of this eminent Syrian See, Rabula, who died in 435, corresponded with Cyril of Alexandria², and received from him copies of his works for translation and publication at Edessa³. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Eusebius also had a friend⁴ to undertake a similar office for him in the city, which, a century before Rabula's time, had already become a chief centre of Syriac culture and biblical study. We conclude then that the critical work of Eusebius upon the Tetraevangelium was quickly known among the Doctors of the School of Edessa. And it is reasonable to suppose that their expansion of Eusebius' scheme was published before the dissolution of the school under the Emperor Zeno, towards the close of the fifth century; for we have already seen that diplomatic evidence shows that the Peshitto text was circulated in copies furnished with the Sections and Canons early in the sixth century, if not in the fifth.

It is also significant that the majority of the oldest codices which exhibit the Sections and Canons are of Western, or Monophysite origin⁵. That they are also found in some later Nestorian MSS. may perhaps indicate that these accessories were the common property of the Syrian Church, before the

¹ See Wright, *op. cit.*; Etheridge's *Syrian Churches*.

² Overbeck, *Opera Selecta* (Ephraemi aliorumque), 1865.

³ In a seventh century Brit. Mus. MS. (*Add.* 14,557, fol. 97) we find, amongst other translations of Greek writings, the Treatise *De Recta Fide*, t. ix. col. 1133 in Patrol. Gr. lxxvi, with the following inscription:—'The Tract on the Humanity of our Lord, which Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, addressed to the Emperor Theodosius, and sent a copy thereof to the holy Rabula, Bishop of Edessa, and he translated it from Greek into Aramaean,' i. e. the Edessene dialect, cf. *Thes. Syr.* col. 389.


⁴ Eusebius seems to have known Syriac: certainly he had access to Edessene writers.—*Hist. Ecol.* i. 13.


⁵ Our eleven codices (pp. 250–252) are a fair specimen of the different Collections. Only one, No. 11, is certainly of Nestorian origin. No. 10 I should class with it, but its notation of Sections, etc., is incomplete.

rupture of the fifth century, and the establishment of the Nestorian School at Nisibis¹. But, on the other hand, it is certain that these rival bodies were not unwilling to borrow, and to imitate each other's critical methods². But on either supposition, it is clear that the exegetical studies necessary for the elaboration of the Syrian harmonizing system, must have been pursued at a very early period among the Syriac-speaking Christians. Their diligence in comparing the *ipsissima verba* of the Tetraevangelium (for their scheme demanded an independent compilation, although on a borrowed³ design) is, perhaps, in favourable contrast with those other characteristics by which the rival sects of Eastern Christendom are more commonly known.

The subject investigated, while in itself possibly of minor importance, has suggested notices and considerations which, it is believed, are here brought together for the first time. But besides such points of antiquarian interest, the Syriac system of Sections and Canons has an absolute critical value, (I) as a witness to the integrity and antiquity of the Peshitto text; and (II) as showing the estimate in which that text

¹ For this city, see *Thesaurus Syr.* (R. Payne Smith), col. 2440. An account of the 'Syrorum schola in Nisibi' was given by Junilius Africanus in the sixth century—quoted in Westcott's *Canon of the N. T.*, Ap. D, p. 506.

² The  (*sectiones majores*) of which there are in Mat. 22, in Mark 13, in Luke 23, in John 20, are found *a prima manu* in the Nestorian codices, *Add.* 14,460 (A. D. 600), 14,448 (apparently A. D. 699-700); they were added by later possessors to the Jacobite codices, *Add.* 14,470, 17,117, and several others. I do not think they are expressed *p. m.* in early MSS. of this class. Probably they were adopted from another school. Both amongst the Eastern and the Western Syrians critical studies were pursued, resembling those of the Jewish Massoretes. Wiseman (*Horae Syriacae*) describes a MS. embodying such criticisms, which is dated A. Gr. 1291 = A. D. 980. This has sometimes been called, but inappropriately, 'the Karkaphensian Version.' The Nestorian Massoretic MS. (*Add.* 12,138) is dated A. D. 899. See the *Brit. Mus. Syr. Cat.*, and various Tracts by the Abbé Martin.

³ The Divisions known as *τίτλοι* were borrowed by the Syriac scribes, but rearranged, so that each first *τίτλος* begins with the commencement of the Gospel; an improvement on the Greek plan (Mill, ed. Küster, ss. 354-360). See a good account of these and other divisions in Syriac MSS. in the *American Journal of the Soc. of Bib. Lit. and Exegesis*, paper by J. H. Hall, vol. June-Dec., 1882. In our No. 11 (p. 252) the  (*ḥēmara*) are marked.

was held in the Schools and Monasteries of Syria at a very remote period.

I. In illustration of the former remark, we may consider the witness of the system in the following important places:

1. St. Mat. xxviii. 9—end is in the Greek one Section (355), in the tenth Canon: in the Syriac system it is resolved into five Sections, of which the words that follow v. 18 of the Greek, ܐܢܝ ܡܥܕܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܝܐ ܕܥܡܝܐ (and as my Father sent me, I also send you), form a separate Section in the Syriac, in the seventh Canon. The parallel Section is, as might be expected, the latter clause of St. John xx. 21. We have here evidence that this remarkable addition, which is found in every Peshitto MS., was known to Syriac critics at a period anterior to the dates of our earliest copies.

2. St. Mark xvi (of which Tischendorf says¹, 'nec Ammonii sectionibus nec Eusebii canonibus agnoscuntur ultimi versus') affords, from vv. 9—20 inclusive, nine Sections in the Syriac system, some of which are quoted in the harmonies appended to the other three Evangelists. There can be no doubt whatever that these verses formed an integral part of the Peshitto from the earliest times. It will be remembered also that they are found in the Curetonian which, for other purposes, is of great authority with those who dispute the genuineness of this passage.

3. St. Luke xxii. 17, 18. These verses are omitted in Widmanstadt, the passage being one of those to which the editor calls attention, as exhibiting a remarkable variation between the Greek and the Syriac. Syriac, to correspond to the Greek, has been introduced into later printed books, and strange to say, is given by Schaaf *without remark*, although he was so industrious in collecting variants. Had the passage been recognised by the Syriac scribes of the fifth century, it would certainly have obtained a place in Canon 10, as a Section peculiar to St. Luke. But it is unknown to the arrangement of Sections, and has no place in Peshitto MSS.

4. But while the witness of the Sections is valuable, because unimpeachable, where the text is broken into short portions, it will fail us sometimes as a test of the integrity of the text, on account of the great length of many Sections, where the matter is peculiar

¹ *Nor. Test. Gr.* in loc. This is controverted by Burgon (*op. cit.*, Ap. G) to whom C. R. Gregory (*Prolegomena in N. T. Tisch.*, 1884, p. 153) attempts to make some reply.

to one Gospel. Thus, as to the disputed passages, St. John v. 3, 4, vii. 53-viii. 11, we learn nothing from the Harmony, because each forms part of a longer capitulum in Canon 10¹.

II. And in reference to the second consideration already indicated, it will be remembered that the authors of the Syrian system of Sections and Canons were associated with those who were familiar with Greek writings, and must have been acquainted with good codices of the Greek New Testament. They could not have failed to observe that between their vernacular Bible, and various codices of the Greek text, there were not inconsiderable differences. The desire for a more accurate representation of the original induced Philoxenus and Thomas at a later period to attempt a revision of the Syriac². But we have seen that, so far from revision, those who borrowed Eusebius' Sections and Canons deliberately devoted their energies to the work of dissecting and harmonizing the ancient Syriac text³. In such an expenditure of labour upon the Peshitto, they may have been ill-advised: ignorant of the means of improving their Bible they cannot have been. They lived in intercourse⁴ with those to whom the Greek of the New Testament was still the mother-tongue. In the hands of their Greek friends and teachers were copies of the New Testament, of which some must certainly have been older than any which have survived to our days. If

¹ In Greek and Latin Evangelia many *variae lectiones* are to be traced to the Harmonists (see Scrivener, *Introduction*, 2nd ed., p. 12; Mill, *Prolegomena*, 742), but Syriac copies have not been affected by this cause to the same extent.

² This is implied in the colophons of Charclean MSS., quoted in Adler and White (*opp. cit.*), and the similar note found in the *Cod. Angelicus* (Adler, p. 59), which MS., though of uncertain age, was believed by Bernstein to exhibit the Pre-Charclean, or true Philoxenian text. See his *Heilige Evan. des Joh.* p. 3, and *De Charklen. N. T. transl.*, 1837.

³ The absence of the Sections and Canons from Cureton's MS. (*Add.* 14,451) is not evidence for the relatively greater antiquity of the Curetonian Version, because these accessories are also absent from the coeval Peshitto MS., *Add.* 14,459. The same is true of another, perhaps as old, *Cod. Add.* 14,470. The only inference from these facts is a slight presumption against the introduction of the Sectional system before the sixth century.

⁴ Rabula preached at Constantinople: part of the Sermon is in the *Cod. Add.* 14,652, and is given by Overbeck, *op. cit.*

those codices exhibited a text of the 'Antiochian, or Graeco-Syrian' type¹, and therefore in agreement with the Peshitto text for the most part, though with important differences², then can that type of text claim the authority of a great antiquity. But if the students of the Peshitto found on the contrary that the oldest and best MSS. of their Greek brethren represented rather what have survived to us as the 'Apostolic Readings of the Pre-Syrian text,' yet they clung to their own Bible; they attempted no alteration of the text; and they deliberately assigned to it the very highest value as the record of the deeds and words of the Lord³. It may be said that they were blinded by prejudice, even to the extent of regarding their Peshitto as inspired⁴. This is hard to believe of men of the character and learning of the best Syriac writers and teachers of the sixth and preceding centuries. And it is certain, though seldom admitted, that they had access to information about the antiquity and authority of the Syriac Versions, to which we cannot at present refer. For we view through long lapse of ages events from which those men were not far removed in time. Fresh discoveries, and better knowledge of what is already available, are demanded before we can, with reason, set aside their judgment.

¹ See Burgon, *The Revision Revised*, Art. iii. 257 seq., for an account of the supposed origin and history of the Pre-Syrian and Antiochian texts.

² Such as those we have noticed above: see also *Syrus Interpres c. fonte N. T. Gr.* (i. e. the Textus Receptus) collatus, J. G. Reusch, 1742. The Canon of the Peshitto differed from that of Antioch, and in the opinion of some was still more limited at an earlier period. Westcott, *op. cit.* i. iii. 221; Zahn, *Forschungen* (Tatian's Diatessaron), 91, 92, and *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons*, i. 369; Bert, *Aphrahat's des Persischen Weisen Homilien*; Phillips, *Doctrine of Addai*, p. 46.

³ On the importance of the Peshitto in this respect, and on the great critical value of ancient versions of authors, see the opinion of the learned Dr. S. C. Malan in *St. John translated from the eleven oldest Versions*, 1862, p. vii.

⁴ A similar opinion has been held by some modern Syrian Christians, according to Buchanan, *Christian Researches* (10th ed., p. 114 and n.), and authorities quoted in *A Translation of the Peshito-Syriac of Hebrews, etc.*, Norton, 1889. Proof need not here be given that even in St. Matthew the Peshitto is a translation. On the language used by our Lord, see Dr. Neubauer's important essay, No. III, in the former volume of *Studia Biblica*.

APPENDIX I.

As regards the *Four Gospels*, Widmanstadt states that they were printed from *two* MSS., which in the *Preface* he calls 'vetus-tissima,' and in the Colophon 'singularis fidei exemplaria.' The *Pauline Epistles*, *Acts*, and *Catholic Epistles* he treats as a second part of the work, and prefixes a different *Dedication*. Of MS. authority for this part he says nothing beyond the following, appended to the title of the *Three Epistles*:—'*Reliquae S.S.S. Petri, Johannis, et Judae Epistolae una cum Apocalypsi, etsi extent apud Syros, tamen in exemplaribus quae sequuti sumus, defuerunt.*'

From statements in the *Dedication* prefixed to the *Gospels* it would appear that Widmanstadt might have had access to the following authorities:—

1. The codex belonging to Teseo Ambrogio, whom he met at Reggio, and which contained the Four Gospels.
2. The Syriac Evangelia which Widmanstadt found in the Ptolemean Library at Sienna.
3. The New Testament brought by Moses of Mardin.
4. The MS. brought by Postel from Damascus.

It is not quite clear whether Teseo entrusted Widmanstadt with his MS., or only gave him extracts from it. Something considerable is implied by the '*Thesei munus splendidissimum*,' and Widmanstadt does not mention any subsequent occasion on which he might have received this gift. The small portions¹ published a few years afterwards by Teseo himself, might well have been printed from 'copy' already prepared before Widmanstadt's visit. Of No. 2, Widmanstadt says that he made a transcript for himself. No. 4 is the one afterwards known as the 'Cologne MS.' Its readings were collected by Rapheleng², and differ so greatly from the Widmanstadt text, that we may conclude it was not employed for the *editio princeps*.

¹ *Mat.* vi. 9-13, xxii. 1-14; *Luke* i. 46-55; *John* i. 16, 17.

² See *Biblia Regia*, Antwerp, 1572, the *Heb. O. T. and Syr. N. T.* in 8vo., Plantin, 1574, and the *List of Variants* appended to Schaaf's *Syr. N. T.*; also Land's *Anecd. Syr.* i. p. 6. P. J. Bruns collated this MS., and the Wolfenbüttel cod. of A. D. 634, with the printed text. The Cologne MS. shows signs of having been conformed (itself, or its prototype) to the Greek. '*Bemerkungen, etc.*,' von P. J. Bruns, in *Repertorium für Bibl. u. Morg. Litt.* xv, xvi, 1785.

It is almost certain therefore that one of the 'duo exemplaria' would be the Sienna transcript: the other might be Teseo's MS., or that of Moses. The remainder of the New Testament must have been printed from Moses' MS., but in the note to the Catholic Epistles the editor probably refers to the Postel MS. as further authority for his omissions¹.

I had supposed² that Widmanstadt's MSS. might be at Vienna, but an enquiry kindly made by my learned friend, Mr. Reginald L. Poole, has elicited the information that the only Syriac MS. in the Imperial Library (and this collection includes those formerly in the University Library) is a copy made by Moses of Mardin himself, and left as a present to the Emperor. Some of Widmanstadt's MSS. are now in the Royal Library at Munich³, but none connected with the *editio princeps* of the Syriac N. T.

It is probable that Moses took his own MS. away with him, after the edition was printed.

Adler⁴ has some remarks on supposed affinities between Nestorian copies and the Vienna edition; but many resemblances can also be traced between it and the later Jacobite copies, such as Lord Crawford's valuable MS. of the whole Syriac New Testament⁵. These affinities consist chiefly of those grammatical changes which were made in the seventh and eighth centuries in MSS. of both Schools. The Vienna edition has not the famous Nestorian reading at Heb. ii. 9 (ܐܕܡ ܡܕܢܝܐ = *χωρις Θεου*), and the characters are Western, or Maronite; while the vowel-point system is that mixture of the Greek and Syriac signs, which is found in Western copies, but not, I believe, in Eastern. The Jacobite Rubrics may, of course, be attributed to Moses.

In 1539 Teseo published the portions of the Gospels named above. This was, apparently, the first Syriac printed from movable types. The letters and vowel-points greatly resemble those in Widmanstadt, though far inferior in beauty of execution. The text of the small portions is substantially the same as Widmanstadt's, but in Mat. vi. 12 he gives ܡܕܢܝܐ ܡܕܢܝܐ, *our debts and*

¹ He says of Postel (*Dedic.* p. 25), 'minime vulgare nobis attulit adjumentum.'

² *Studia Biblica*, 1885, p. 153, n. 2.

³ *Cat. Munich Library*, i. 4.

⁴ *Ver. Syr.* pp. 39-41; but see *Wichelhaus*, *op. cit.* p. 217.

⁵ Of which Dr. Gwynn, Reg. Prof., Dublin, is preparing a full account. It is, of course, a different codex from the *Tetraevangelium* described p. 251 above.

our sins, for which there seems no other authority. Teseo's teachers were Maronites¹, and I am not aware that he shows any knowledge of the Nestorian characters, although his pages² exhibit a great variety of alphabets. It may fairly be concluded that Teseo's Syriac Evangelia were of Western type. The Postel MS., brought from Damascus, and that in the hands of the Monophysite Moses, wherever written, and of whatever age³, could hardly have been of a different School from Teseo's codex. The Sienna MS. is alone doubtful, but the probability is great that it also came either from the Lebanon, or from the Monophysites of Egypt.

¹ See authorities in Art. in *Ch. Quart. Rev.* quoted on p. 242 n.

² Teseo's work is a very rare book, and is interesting as an early attempt to produce a 'Manual of Languages.' But it contains much irrelevant matter, including a description of a kind of Bagpipes, which belonged to his uncle, and, *mirabile dictu!* an autograph reply by the Devil to an invocation. But alas! the reader is left in the dark about the signification of the Satanic characters. The title of the work is, *Introductio in Chaldaicam linguam, Syriacam, atque Armenicam, et decem alias linguas. Theseo Ambrosio authore. MDXXXIX.*

³ According to Masius (who in his *Josuae Imper. Hist.* first applied Syriac to the criticism of the LXX) Moses' MS. was an old copy, written at Mosul (*Introd. in Gram. Syr.*), and it is not likely that he would be misinformed. The correspondence between Masius and Moses was published by Andrew Müller, Berlin, 1673.

APPENDIX II.



THE frontispiece to this volume represents a page (fol. 91 verso) of the Vatican copy of the Peshitto Gospels, our No. 1 on p. 250 above. The negative was taken in Rome under the supervision of Drs. Guidi and Ugolini, whose kind assistance I gratefully acknowledge, and is as satisfactory a photograph as could reasonably be expected considering the condition of the MS.¹ It affords a sufficient illustration of the arrangement of *Sections* and *Canons*, and shows the *Foot-harmony* below the right-hand column; the writing at the foot of the other column is illegible. The characters are in that large and beautiful Estrangelo hand² which was in use in the sixth century, especially for MSS. of the Scriptures. It would have been easy to have selected from MSS. in England a page entirely free from the blemishes which disfigure our illustration, but the Roman MS. was chosen as being of special interest because its origin is known, and its great antiquity is fixed by exact date.

The passage exhibited is St. Mark xv. 12 *will ye then*, etc., to the last word of ver. 22. The commencement of each Section is indicated by the setting in of the initial word, and by the numeral: the conclusion, by the mark [• ~ •], with more or less space, according to the exigencies of the writing. The Sections indicated in the specimen are:—

At ver. 14 ²⁴⁷/₂; middle of same ver. ²⁴⁸/₁; at ver. 15 ²⁴⁹/₁; at ver. 16 ²⁵⁰/₁; at ver. 20 ²⁵¹/₆; same ver.—*and led Him out*,—²⁵²/₄; at ver. 21 ²⁵³/₂; at ver. 22 ²⁵⁴/₁. Section 255 begins with the first word of the next page.

¹ Dr. Ugolini writes:—‘Il codice trovasi in cattivo stato, ed in ogni pagina mostra i tristissimi effetti dell’acque del Nilo.’

‘Porro quum codex hic una cum caeteris Nitriensibus mense Julio, anno 1707, in coenosis Nili vorticibus submersus aliquandiu delituisse, sic fuit luto infectus et humore madefactus, ut de admiranda scripturae venustate multum deperierit.’ *Biblioth. Vat. Codd. MSS. Catalogus*, Assemani, 1758, P. i, t. 2, p. 35.

² Bianchini in *Evangeliarium Quadruplex Lat. Vers. Antiquae*, 1748, gave a specimen page—St. Matt. ix. 18] ١٠٠,  to , ver. 28—with three facsimiles from other codices; but the plate represents very inadequately the style and beauty of the handwriting of the Vatican MS.

❖ කතෘත්වය පිළිබඳව ❖

This, and the majority of the indications of Lessons, are in a much later hand than the text: a few, however, are inserted in the text by the first hand. In other MSS. we find some Lessons rubricated in the text, but many more indicated by later hands on the margins. Indeed in all respects the Vatican MS. bears a remarkable resemblance to the Syriac Evangelia in the British Museum, the Earl of Crawford's *Tetraevangelium*, and others of the same era.

Examples of such differences in 'Use' might be multiplied from the Syriac MSS. which we have collated. They indicate the divers circumstances and conditions under which the copies were produced, and confirm the conclusion derived from other considerations, that our extant MSS. represent several lines of independent testimony. Thus they carry back the evidence for the Peshitto text to a more remote antiquity than the date of the oldest of them, as I pointed out in Paper No. VIII in the former volume of *Studia Biblica*.

Since writing this paper, I have seen a work which is scarce in England, M. l'Abbé Martin's *Critique Textuelle* (Leçons professées à l'École de Théologie en 1882-3), *partie théorique*. On pp. 590-614 he treats the subject of this essay on a different plan, and gives many interesting particulars. The learned writer's remarks about the *Tables* p. 595, and *Nestorian MS. evidence* p. 610, should however be compared with what I have stated on p. 254, and on pp. 252 n. 1, 262 n. 5.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

THE arguments on pp. 265, 266 of the preceding essay are most temperately stated, and the inferences which they suggest lie near at hand when the problems of the text are approached from the side of the Peshitto. But they will perhaps be found to assume a different aspect when they are seen in connexion with a wider range of phenomena. It must not be forgotten that side by side with the Peshitto there are other versions—the Latin and the Egyptian—which compete with it in antiquity; and these too have to be taken into account, together with the texts represented by quotations in the Ante-Nicene Fathers. If it is argued that the Peshitto itself was transmitted, with especial care, and that it fell into a kind of Massoretic tradition like the Massoretic tradition of the Old Testament, still we should not be justified in supposing that this process was continued backwards in the same manner all the way to the autographs. MSS. and quotations together carry back our knowledge of the Peshitto, roughly speaking, to the beginning of the fourth century. But beyond that point more direct evidence fails us. And when we take in the indirect evidence furnished by the authorities above mentioned, we see that the Ante-Nicene period as a whole was one of rapid change and development—of change and development which become most rapid as we approach its beginning. How far the Peshitto participated in this process must be matter for enquiry; but in any case there is ample room for both the Syriac text and the Greek text out of which it sprang to have undergone considerable modifications before it acquired the shape with which we are familiar.

Again, though it must certainly be admitted that the Syriac Christians were strongly attached to their national version, and though we may well believe that they gave it a deliberate preference over other forms of text with which they were acquainted, it is another question what weight that preference will have for ourselves, and how far we can use it in our own selection of a line of text to follow. Before this question can be answered we must know more of the value of ancient criticism in general. And an inductive examination does not permit us to rate the importance of this too highly. It is true that the ancients exercised a certain amount of criticism—more perhaps than they are sometimes credited with—but even at its best it is not of such a kind that we can accept their verdicts without revision. [W. S.]

VII.

THE CODEX AMIATINUS AND ITS
BIRTHPLACE,

[H. J. WHITE.]

I.

THE visitor in Florence who happens to be in the Mediceo-Laurentian Library when its greatest treasure, the celebrated Vulgate CODEX AMIATINUS, is out of its case, will see what is perhaps the finest book in the world. Wonderful as are the other treasures of this Library, the Orosius, the Sophocles, the Tacitus, the Virgil, the Pandects, the Codex Amiatinus surpasses them all, and, to use the words of Dr. Hort, impresses the beholder with a feeling not far removed from awe, as he contemplates this 'prodigy of a manuscript.' The book measures about 50×34 centim. ($19\frac{1}{4} \times 13\frac{3}{8}$ in.) in length and breadth, and nearly $20\frac{7}{8}$ centim. (7 in.) in thickness without the binding. It contains the whole Bible according to the Vulgate version, together with the usual prefaces, &c. to each book, and a quaternion of very valuable introductory matter at the commencement; it numbers 1029 leaves of vellum, stout but smooth and white, written in two columns to a page, and forty-three or forty-four lines to a column. The text is in a regular and beautiful uncial hand, so carefully and clearly written that it has needed but few corrections; there is no punctuation, as the text is divided into lines of varying length, technically called *cola* and *commata*, or less correctly *stichi*, which represent an ancient system of punctuation perfectly intelligible to the trained eye. The first lines of each book are written in red, but there is no

illumination in the body of the manuscript, except in the page before the beginning of the New Testament, and in the first quaternion, the paintings in which we shall discuss below.

A manuscript of this size and beauty would naturally take a high rank amongst authorities for determining the text of the Vulgate version, and we are not surprised to learn that during the Sixtine revision it was brought to Rome for the purpose of collation, by the order of Sixtus V. Till lately, moreover, it was generally dated by scholars near the middle of the sixth century, and such an early date would of course render its text of great value; but two years ago a series of facts was brought to light which has conclusively fixed the MS. a century and a half later. The links in this chain it is the purpose of the following pages to describe, though nothing has been attempted in the solution of many questions which are still somewhat obscure.

II.

The Dedication Verses.

On the reverse of the first leaf of the Codex appear the following verses, in a hand slightly larger than the rest of the writing, and surrounded by a thin illuminated border :—

CENOBIVM AD EXIMII MERITO
 VENERABILE SALVATORIS
 QVEM CAPVT ECCLESIAE
 DEDICAT ALTA FIDES
 PETRVS LANGOBARDORVM
 EXTREMIS DE FINIB. ABBAS
 DEVOTI AFFECTVS
 PIGNORA MITTO MEI
 MEQVE MEOSQ. OPTANS
 TANTI INTER GAVDIA PATRIS
 IN CAELIS MEMOREM
 SEMPER HABERE LOCVM.

The four words in italics, which record the name of the monastery to which the book was at one time dedicated, and the name of the donor, are not in the original hand. They are a substitute for other names which have been carefully erased, with the exception of the *c* in *cenobium* and the *e* in *Petrus*; the marks of the erasure are plainly visible and the handwriting is evidently later, while the violation of the laws of metre would itself betray the work of one who was using material not his own¹.

But what lurks under this erasure? The words at present record the gift of the book to the Convent of Monte Amiata by a certain Peter, abbat of a Lombard monastery, who lived at the end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth centuries; but he has made use of the dedication of a previous donor; have we any means of restoring the original inscription and discovering who that donor was?

Until lately scholars had accepted the emendation proposed by Bandini, who, in his catalogue of the MSS. of the Laurentian Library², has given a long and able description of the *Codex Amiatinus*. Tischendorf indeed, who in our own days published the text of the New Testament³, did little more in his prolegomena than abbreviate this description.

Now Bandini proposed to restore the first two lines in a way which seemed to carry probability, nay certainty, with it, viz. :—

CVLMEN AD EXIMII MERITO
VENERABILE PETRI,

a restitution which not only makes the hexameter run smoothly, but also fits in excellently with the expression *caput ecclesiae*, and records the gift of the book to St. Peter's at Rome, as being the head of the Church. For the name of the donor in the fifth line, however, Bandini's suggested

¹ The MS. reads LANGOBARDORVM not LONGOBARDORVM as Bandini erroneously transcribed it, and Tischendorf, who copied from Bandini.

² *Bibliotheca Leopoldina Laurentiana*, Florentiae, 1791, vol. i. p. 701 ff.

³ *Novum Testamentum ex Codice Amiatino*, Lipsiae, 1850 and 1854.

explanation did not seem so conclusive; instead of *Petrus Langobardorum*, etc., he proposed to read

SERVANDVS LATII

EXTREMIS DE FINIB. ABBAS.

This emendation indeed hardly satisfied himself, for he tells us that at the first glance (cap. vi. p. 706) the Codex appeared to him to have been written not by an Italian, but by an *English* or German abbat—a piece of acuteness which after-events have strangely verified. The name Servandus was suggested by an inscription in somewhat barbarous Greek, by the first hand, at the beginning of the book of Leviticus, informing us that a scribe of that name had written at any rate a portion of the Bible extending so far:—

OKYPIC CEPBANDOC AI TOIHCEH

As Mabillon in his *Annales*¹ records a Servandus, abbat of a Benedictine monastery near Alatri, who visited St. Benedict in the year 541 at Monte Cassino, Bandini concluded that this was the scribe of the book and author of the dedication verses. Or the book might have been written by another Servandus, who lived later in the century, and was among the correspondents of Gregory the Great. A tradition preserved by Ughelli² ascribes the writing of the book to Gregory himself; and such a tradition might easily have arisen if it had been presented to him by Servandus (e.g.) upon his election to the Papal chair in 590.

The date of the manuscript then seemed fixed to the middle, or at the latest to the second half, of the sixth century; and even Tischendorf thought that the expression *extremis de finibus abbas* might be meant to describe the distance of Servandus' monastery from Rome, though it certainly seems an exaggerated way of describing a distance

¹ *Annales O. S. B.* tom. i. pp. 85, 86.

² *Italia Sacra*, iii. p. 623; and for the connection between Servandus and Pope Gregory, see Gregory's *Dialogues*, lib. ii. c. xxxv.

which, as Dr. Ranke remarks, is not greater than that between Leipzig and Berlin¹.

As time went on, critics began to grow suspicious of such an early date; and as early as 1873, Dr. Karl Hamann² maintained that it was of the eighth, not the sixth century; he also doubted whether Servandus was really the scribe of the book, on the ground that had he been so he would hardly have put the Greek inscription in the strange place it occupies—the beginning of Leviticus; nor would he have been likely to style himself KYPIC (i.e. KYPIOC, Dominus).

Nothing more, however, was said in print on the question till 1882, when Lagarde wrote a letter to the *Academy*³, stating that for some time he had felt almost certain—‘for intrinsic reasons’—that the *Codex Amiatinus* should be dated in the ninth century; and that an examination of the manuscript which he had been permitted to make in Florence, proved the external evidence to be in thorough accord with his anticipations. He urged that if a MS. of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century were placed beside the *Codex Amiatinus*, the difference between a genuine and an artificial uncial hand, between old and more modern vellum, and between the truly antique size of a book and a size chosen to make the most of the skins at hand, would at once become apparent: he suggested that the *Codex* was written at Reichenau, on the Lake of Constance, by the same scribe who wrote the copy of Jerome’s *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* (now at Carlsruhe), there being great similarity in the handwriting of the two MSS. In his own *Mittheilungen*⁴,

¹ *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1887, p. 270.

² Dr. Hamann’s criticism occurs in a review of Heyse and Tischendorf’s edition of the Vulgate Old Testament with collation of the *Codex Amiatinus* (Leipzig, 1873); see Hilgenfeld’s *Zeitschrift. f. wissenschaft. Theologie*, 1873, pp. 591–594.

³ *Academy*, Sept. 2, 1882.

⁴ *Mittheilungen*, von P. de Lagarde; Goettingen, 1884: see pp. 191–2: also a review of this by H. Roensch in Hilgenfeld’s *Zeitschrift*, 1885, p. 252: and Samuel Berger in a review of Dr. Corssen’s *Epistula ad Galatas*, *Bulletin Critique*, March, 1886.

published a little later, Lagarde still keeps to this, as it proves, too late date for the MS.; and urges the same reasons, —namely, the difference in the size of the parchment, ink, and form of the letters, from genuine sixth century MSS. In addition he remarks that the marginal notes, which are obviously by the first hand¹, are written in minuscule character, and that some of the textual errors look as if they resulted from the careless copying of a minuscule exemplar.

III.

It was reserved however for the Commendatore G. B. de Rossi, the famous Italian epigraphist and historian of the Catacombs, to make the emendation in the fifth line of the dedication verses, the verification of which has removed the later date of the *Codex Amiatinus* from the realm of conjecture into that of fact. In the summer of 1886 he published an essay², printed in Rome at the Vatican Press, and extracted from the first volume of a description of the Palatine MSS. of the Vatican Library. In the ninth chapter of this work he drew attention to the very large traffic in manuscripts of the sacred Scriptures which was carried on in the seventh century between Rome and the various churches in northern Europe, especially that of England. As the Church spread in more distant lands, the new bishops and abbats were all anxious to obtain from Rome Bibles for their respective cathedrals and monasteries; and sometimes the demand proved greater than the supply. Thus we find Martin I. writing to one bishop, *Codices iam exinaniti sunt a nostra bibliotheca, unde ei* (the bearer of the letter) *dare nullatenus habuimus; transcribere autem non potuit, quoniam festinanter de hac civitate egredi properavit*³.

Few, however, of the bishops or abbats have such a claim on the grateful remembrance of Englishmen as Benedict

¹ Dr. Corssen thinks they may be later (*Academy*, April 7, 1888).

² *De Origine Historia Indicibus Scrinii et Bibliothecae Sedis Apostolicae Commentatio J. B. de R.*, Romae, 1886.

³ *Mansi Concil.* x. p. 1183, quoted by De Rossi, p. lxxiii.

Biscop, the founder of the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow in Northumberland, and his disciple and successor Ceolfrid. Students of Bede had long read with admiration of the untiring and far-sighted energy with which Benedict, from his northern cloister, made no less than five journeys to Rome, partly for devotion, but also to enrich his monastery with the finest manuscripts and pictures he could obtain, and to civilise and educate his rough island followers by introducing to them the arts of France and Italy. Benedict was a traveller and a collector from his youth; after his first journey (probably about 653 A.D.) Bede¹ tells us that *ad patriam mox reversus, studiosius ea quae vidit ecclesiasticae vitae instituta diligere venerari, et quibus potuit praedicare non desiit*. His second journey was made in 658, after which he remained some time abroad, returning at length in 669. After two years of monastic life in England, he again in 671 started on his third journey, *librosque omnis divinae eruditionis non paucos vel placito pretio emptos vel amicorum dono largitos retulit*; and it was after this journey that he obtained from Egfrid the gift of land which enabled him to found the Wearmouth monastery of St. Peter. To make the buildings of sufficient beauty he journeyed again to France, and procured from thence builders and *vitri factores* to adorn the windows of the chapel and refectory with the hitherto unknown luxury of glass, while the fittings for the chapel, the sacred vessels and vestments were also obtained from abroad.

Finding, however, that even the resources of Gaul failed to satisfy all his requirements, the indefatigable abbat in 678 made a fourth journey to Rome, whence he brought back *innumerabilem librorum omnis generis copiam*, a large store of relics, and also obtained the Pope's permission for the Abbat John, *archicantor* of St. Peter's, to accompany him to England, and introduce into the Northumberland monastery the order of singing and performing Divine Service according to the Roman use.

¹ Bede, *Vita quinque Abbatum*; Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xciv. p. 714 foll.

A year later, Benedict founded the sister monastery of St. Paul at Jarrow, and appointed as its abbat the presbyter Ceolfrid, his faithful companion, who had accompanied him on his last journey to Rome to share his devotions and studies.

And in 684 Benedict started yet again on his fifth journey to Rome, and again returned *innumeris sicut semper ecclesiasticorum donis commodorum locupletatus . . . magna quidem copia voluminum sacrorum sed non minori sicut et prius sanctarum imaginum munere ditatus.*

But soon after, worn out, as we may well believe, not only by the asceticism of the monastic life, but also by his frequent and arduous journeys, Benedict grew ill and died; and in his last thoughts and arrangements, the library he had collected at such trouble and expense naturally occupied a prominent position: *bibliothecam quam de Roma nobilissimam copiosissimamque adveherat ad instructionem ecclesiae necessariam, sollicitè servari integram, nec per incuriam foedari aut passim dissipari praecepit.* And so, after appointing Ceolfrid abbat over the two monasteries, the good man breathed his last.

Ceolfrid proved a worthy successor, and continued the work of extending the monastic buildings. During his rule of seven years over Jarrow, and twenty-eight over the combined monasteries, we read¹ of the altars, the sacred vessels, and vestments he added to the property of the church; and especially how *bibliothecam utriusque monasterii, quam Benedictus abbas magna coepit instantia, ipse non minori geminavit industria; ita ut tres pandectes novae translationis ad unum vetustae translationis quem de Roma attulerat, ipse super adiungeret; quorum unum senex Romam rediens secum inter alia pro munere sumpsit, duos utrique monasterio reliquit.* The *pandectes vetustae translationis* he must have brought with him from Rome when accompanying Benedict on his fourth journey². After a long and faithful rule over the monasteries, Ceolfrid determined to visit for the last time

¹ Bede, *Vita quinque Abbatum*, lib. ii. p. 725 ff.

² In 678 probably, see above, p. 279, and also Bede, *Ecl. Hist.* iv. 18.

the Apostolic city, and for this purpose left England with a few followers in 716; he did not live, however, to complete his journey, getting no further than Langres, where he died on the 25th of September.

Some of his monks went on to Rome, while the rest returned at once to their monastery.

In his work *De temporum ratione*¹, c. 66, Bede furnishes us with some more interesting information about this journey. We read that Ceolfrid was seventy-four years old at the time of this last pilgrimage, and that *inter alia donaria quae adferre disposuerat, misit ecclesiae sancti Petri pandectem a beato Hieronymo in Latinum ex Hebraeo vel Graeco fonte translaturam*. After his death at Langres, those of his followers who proceeded to Rome took with them the Pandect, we must suppose, and offered it to the chair of St. Peter.

We may now return to the Dedication verses in a position to understand De Rossi's brilliant emendation of the erased letters in the fifth line. He had, like Dr. Hamann before him, remarked that Servandus, were he the scribe or possessor of the whole book, would not be likely to sign his name only at the beginning of Leviticus; and Dr. Anziani, the librarian of the Laurentian Library, had remarked to him that the erasure was too long to be properly filled up by the words *SERVANDVS LATII*; the expression also *EXTREMIS DE FINIB. ABBAS* seemed less applicable to the dwellers in Latium than to such a people as the *toto divisos orbe Britannos*. Bearing this in mind, together with the incident related in Bede of the Pandect offered by Ceolfrid to the Church of Rome, De Rossi conjectured the substitution of *CEOLFRIDVS BRITONVM* for *SERVANDVS LATII*.

A fresh examination of the erasure in the Dedication verses in this new light confirmed the conjecture almost to certainty. The second letter in the fifth line, E, was, as we saw, not erased but was part of the original inscription, and

¹ Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xc. p. 571.

of course suited *Ceolfriðus Britonum* quite as well as *Servandus*; in addition to this, the words *Ceolfriðus Britonum* exactly fill up the space erased; the first letter has not been entirely destroyed, and shows strong indications of having once been a c instead of an s; the erasure of the fourth letter extends above the line, which looks as if L had once been there; that of the fifth extends below, which agrees well with an r. All these points together made the words *CEOLFRIÐVS BRITONVM* an almost certain emendation of *SERVANDVS LATII*, and subsequent events have shown this discovery to be one of the most brilliant perhaps that have ever been made in the history of palaeography.

This much, then, might now be said to have been proved with regard to the *Codex Amiatinus*. It was in all probability the identical manuscript which had been in the possession of the Abbat Ceolfrið, at Wearmouth, in the beginning of the eighth century, and had been sent by him as a gift to the Pope. Whether it was written by him or at his order, or whether it was an older manuscript procured by him during his travels was not clear, for Bede's words simply state that Ceolfrið added to the monastic library three Pandects of the new translation, in addition to the one volume of the old translation brought from Rome. Still the discovery at any rate explained the late date which some critics had wished to give to the book, and rendered it possible, if not probable, that it was written in Ceolfrið's own days.

Meanwhile a parallel line of argument strongly supporting De Rossi's conjecture was developing from another quarter. The Bishop of Salisbury, whilst collating MSS. for his edition of the Vulgate, had been for some time struck by the resemblance in text between the eighth and ninth century British manuscripts and the *Codex Amiatinus*, a resemblance for which there seemed no means of accounting on the prevailing supposition of the latter having been written in Italy. This was notably the case with the St. John of the *Durham Gospels* (A. II. 16) of the seventh century, the exquisite *Stonyhurst St.*

John (sixth or seventh century) found in the coffin of St. Cuthbert, who died in 687, but most of all with the *Lindisfarne Gospels* (Brit. Mus. Nero D. IV.) of the beginning of the eighth century; in a less degree with the *Rushworth Gospels*, an Irish text of the beginning of the ninth century, now in the Bodleian Library, with the Gospels from *St. Augustine's Canterbury* (sixth or seventh), both at Oxford and at Cambridge, and the first hand of the *Echternach Gospels* (Paris, Lat. 9389), a MS. written in an Anglo-Saxon hand, and placed by M. Delisle in the eighth or ninth century. The *Lindisfarne Gospels* indeed present a text of that puzzling nature which falls short of being an actual transcript of the *Amiatinus*, and yet argues the very closest connection short of this; there are indeed differences between the two MSS., often in spelling, sometimes in reading; but in spite of this the general agreement between them is most noticeable, and not unfrequently a reading is shared by them against all other Vulgate MSS. hitherto examined. The explanation of this extraordinarily close affinity in text between the two MSS. is of course simple enough on the supposition that the *Codex Amiatinus* itself enjoyed for some years a place of honour in the library at Wearmouth or Jarrow.

IV.

The conjecture of De Rossi and the evidence in its favour borne by the texts of the MSS. were brought before English readers in a letter from the Bishop of Salisbury, published in the *Academy* of Feb. 12, 1887, and in the *Guardian* of Feb. 9; the correspondence was continued by other writers, amongst whom Prof. G. F. Browne proposed to read *Anglorum* instead of *Britonum* in the erased line of the Dedication verses; and M. Samuel Berger also suggested the same correction in a private letter to the Bishop. The last link in the chain, however, was supplied by Dr. Hort (*Academy*, Feb. 26), who contributed the one additional piece of evidence needed to complete the identification. Bede, it is

now generally recognized, drew many of his details respecting Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrid from a valuable little tract known as the *Anonymous Life of Ceolfrid*. This has not been printed on the continent, but was first published by J. Stevenson in 1841¹, and curiously enough it contains two passages which supply just the required information. The first describes Ceolfrid's provision for the furniture and enrichment of the two monasteries as follows :—

‘Itaque monasteria quibus praeerat et extrinsecus abundanter opibus et non minus locupletavit internis. Nam et vasis quae ad ecclesiae vel altaris officium pertinent copiosissime ditavit et bibliothecam quam de Roma vel ipse vel Benedictus attulerat nobiliter ampliavit, ita ut inter alia tres Pandectes faceret describi; quorum duo per totidem sua monasteria posuit in ecclesiis, ut cunctis qui aliquod capitulum de utrolibet Testamento legere voluissent in promptu esset invenire quod cuperent, tertium autem Romam profecturus donum beato Petro apostolorum principi offerre decrevit.’

The second relates the journey of the monks to Rome after Ceolfrid's death :—

‘Sepulto igitur patre quidam ex fratribus qui eum deduxerunt patriam rediere, narraturi in monasterio ipsius ubi et quando transiret e corpore; quidam vero dispositum Romam iter peregere, delaturi munera quae miserat. In quibus videlicet muneribus erat Pandectes, ut diximus, interpretatione beati Hieronymi presbyteri ex Hebraeo et Graeco fonte transfusus, habens in capite scriptos huiusmodi versus :

Corpus ad eximii merito venerabile Petri
Dedicat ecclesiae quem caput alta fides
Ceolfridus, Anglorum extimis de finibus abbas,
Devoti affectus pignora mitto mei,
Meque meosque optans tanti inter gaudia patris
In caelis memorem semper habere locum.’

¹ Stevenson published it for the English Historical Society in the Appendix to Bede's historical works from a Harleian MS. (3020) of the 9th or 10th century; it was reprinted ‘with the correction of a few errors’ by Giles, in 1843, in vol. vi. of his *Bede* (416 ff.): see Dr. Hort in the *Academy*; the passages here cited occur in Giles, p. 423 and 430, Stevenson, p. 325 and 332.

These verses we at once see are those of the *Codex Amiatinus*; for the transposition in the second line, and *extimis* for *extremis* in the third, are both probably slips made by the author of the *Anonymous Life*. As regards the first erased word, a fresh examination of the Codex shows the original word to be *corpus*, not *culmen*, as Bandini supposed; for the second letter, which is only half erased, appears to have been an *o* rather than an *u*¹; in the third line De Rossi's 'admirable conjecture' stares us in the face, and there is only the slight change, before suggested by Prof. Browne and M. Berger, of *Anglorum* for *Britonum* (*Ceolfrīdūs Anglorum*, not *Ceolfrīdūs Britonum*), an emendation again which a fresh examination of the erasure renders more probable. And thus is proved without the shadow of a doubt the identity of the *Codex Amiatinus* with the Pandect, which, amongst others, Ceolfrid ordered to be written in England at the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century, and sent as a present to Pope Gregory II.

For the words of the anonymous life, *ita ut tres pandectes faceret describi*, show further that this Pandect was not an old manuscript obtained by Ceolfrid during his travels, but a new one written at his order, and thus the date of the writing is fixed a full century and a half later than Bandini and Tischendorf imagined, and the place is again fixed, as definitely, to one of the two northern monasteries. It is not of course so certain that the hand which wrote it was English; as a Roman musician was brought over to teach the English monks to sing, so an Italian scribe may well have come to instruct them in writing, and the Amiatine Bible may be the work of a foreigner though written in England. Dr. Hort² inclines to this opinion, and Dr. Hamann³ urges on the ground of orthography, that

¹ The left limb of an uncial *u* has always a slight horizontal stroke to the left finishing it off; but there is no sign of such a stroke having been erased here, as the student may observe in the facsimile of the page given in the Palaeographical Society's Second Series (Plate 65).

² *Academy*, Feb. 26, 1887.

³ *Academy*, May 7.

either the scribe himself was an Italian, or that at any rate he copied from an Italian exemplar. To Italy, he says, and to no other country, are we directed by such orthographical forms as *senes* for *senex*, *senia* for *xenia*, and *optimantium*, *gigans*, *ancxius*, *uncxit*, *sussaltastis*, *ammirata*, *quemammodum*, *cluserunt*, *hostia*, *tophadius*, *agusto*, *ascultabant*, *clodum*, *adtrac-taverit*, *redemet*, *histriatarum*, *espendebat*, *scandescet*, *Spaniae*, *totum belli impetu*, *in tantum arrogantiae tumore*, *incidemus in manu Dei et non in manus hominum*, etc.

But the handwriting of this, almost the largest Biblical MS. in existence, shows, strange to say, a remarkable similarity in form to another which may claim to be nearly the smallest—the *Stonyhurst St. John*. The resemblance in *text* between the two books has been noted above (p. 282). Dr. Hort¹ in calling attention to this, suggested that as the *Codex Amiatinus* was apparently written by an Italian scribe in Northumbria, the *Stonyhurst St. John* might have had a similar origin; for more than one scribe may have been brought from Rome, or the Northern monks may themselves have proved apt pupils.

If the scribe came back with Benedict in his *fourth* journey in 678, there would be ample time for him, or a pupil, to write the book and to send it as a present to Cuthbert in his retirement at Farne, so that we need not reject the legend (which goes back to the thirteenth century), that it was found in his coffin, and was therefore in his possession before 687; nor, on the other hand, need we suppose the book to have been written before the writing-school at Wearmouth was established².

It remains to mention some other specimens of writing

¹ *Academy*, Feb. 26, 1887. The Palaeographical Society's editors indeed (Series I. pl. 17) suppose it to have been written on the continent, but there seem to be more distinct British characteristics in the hand-writing than in that of the *Codex Amiatinus*; the F especially—with its upper horizontal bar curved, and the lower straight—seems Anglo-British. See the Bishop of Salisbury in the *Academy*, Feb. 26.

² Dr. Sanday in the *Academy*, Feb. 19, 1887.

which probably came from the same place and at the same date as the *Codex Amiatinus* and the *Stonyhurst St. John*. Two fragments of manuscripts are bound up at the end of the famous Utrecht Psalter¹, containing prefatory matter to the Gospels, the capitula to St. Matthew and chapters i. 1-iii. 4 of that Gospel; also St. John ii. 1-21. The greater part of these fragments is written in a hand very strongly resembling the *Amiatinus*, though Mr. Thompson² does not think it to be actually the same; the student, however, will be especially struck with the peculiar form of the small capital L which stands for St. Luke in the *Ammonian Sections* in both manuscripts, and is, I believe, extremely rare. The *capitula* after the first three letters are in a hand which, though larger, seems to be identical with that of the *Stonyhurst St. John*. And lastly, there is a fragment of St. Luke bound up in one of the Durham MSS., which not only presents the text of *Amiatinus* almost word for word, but also strongly resembles it in handwriting, and would seem to be a sister MS. There was then a large and flourishing school of calligraphy at Wearmouth or Jarrow in the seventh and eighth centuries, of which till lately we had no knowledge at all. It produced manuscripts such as the *Codex Amiatinus*, which have never been equalled for grandeur, and such as the *Stonyhurst St. John*, which have never been equalled for delicacy and grace; and we have to thank the Commendatore De Rossi for both fixing a date and a place to one of the most important Vulgate MSS., and for giving to England the credit of a writing school which more than rivals that of Tours.

V.

We have mentioned above that the first quaternion of the *Codex Amiatinus* contains some extremely interesting prefatory matter; this consists of three arrangements of the

¹ Dr. Sanday in the *Academy*, March 5.

² *Academy*, March 12, 1887.

books of the Old and New Testament with separate prolegomena, a two-page representation of the Tabernacle, and another of Ezra working in his study. The order of the leaves has been twice disturbed; for that given by Bandini in his description is evidently not the order in which they originally stood, while since Bandini's time, probably when the book was last bound, the order has been again changed. At present it is as follows¹:—

Fol. 1 is blank; 1 *b* has the Dedication verses; 2 is blank; 2 *b* and 3 contain a large bird's-eye view of the Tabernacle (this is usually spoken of as 'Solomon's Temple'), drawn with great intricacy and painted with deep rich colours; 3 *b* is blank; 4 contains the prologue to the contents of the MS., and 4 *b* contains a list of these contents; this page is stained on both sides with a fine purple, and the writing, in yellow pigment, is arranged in tables with a double arch of twisted rope-pattern; 5 has an interesting picture of Ezra seated at work on a stool in front of an open bookcase; 5 *b* is blank; 6 contains the Hieronymian division of the Sacred books; at the head of the page is represented the Golden Lamb, from which hang seven *tabellae* as Bandini calls them, three of them containing the Old and four the New Testament; 6 *b* is blank; 7 has the Hilarian and Epiphanian division of Scripture, underneath the head of a monk, supposed by Bandini to be meant for a portrait of Pope Gregory; 7 *b* is of vellum stained bright yellow; the greater part of the page is occupied by a large circle filled in with purple, and with a yellow circumference; inside this again are five other circles disposed in the form of a cross, with intertwined circumference of green, and around these seven other still smaller circles; the colours of this page are not used in the other three pictures; 8 contains the Augustinian division of Scripture; here we have again a picture intersected by a circle; a dove has its wings outspread, and is surrounded by flames; two fillets are suspended from its beak, and from

¹ Prof. G. F. Browne, *Guardian*, Apr. 27, and *Academy*, Apr. 30, 1887.

these hang the six divisions of the sacred books, a cross being placed at the beginning and end of each division ; finally, 8 b is blank, and looks like an outside sheet.

Such is the arrangement of the quaternion at the present time ; in Bandini's time it was so far different that the second leaf of 'Solomon's Temple' stood seventh, the rest of the leaves standing as now.

We must, however, before discussing the original order of the leaves consider an important question, to which attention was drawn in 1883 by Dr. P. Corssen of Jever¹, the relation of the contents of this quaternion to the earlier Bibles described by Cassiodorus in his *De Institutione Divinarum Litterarum*. In that treatise Cassiodorus describes at length his nine MSS., containing the books of the Old and New Testaments, with commentaries on these books by Jerome and other fathers. In Chapter XII he describes one volume which contained the sacred books according to Jerome's division ; in the thirteenth chapter the Augustinian division ; and in the fourteenth that of the *Antiqua Translatio*. This latter was written *inter alias (divisiones)* in a *Codex Grandior*, a fine volume containing 95 quaternions or 760 leaves. The Old Testament was a Latin translation from the LXX, in 44 books, the text being corrected throughout in accordance with St. Jerome's version.

The three lists in the Amiatine *Prolegomena* bear a striking resemblance to those of the *Codex Grandior*, as we shall see by printing at length the contents of the first quaternion of the Codex, and placing in a parallel column those passages from Cassiodorus which cover the same ground.

The first sheet, after the Dedication verses, which contains writing, is fol. 4 b ; this has the Prologue to the contents of the MS. It is as follows :—

'Si diuino ut dignum est amore flammati ad ueram cupimus sapientiam peruenire et in hac uita fragili aeterni saeculi deside-

¹ *Die Bibeln des Cassiodorus und der Codex Amiatinus*, in the *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, Leipzig, 1883.

ramus imaginem contueri Patrem luminum deprecemur ut nobis cor mundum tribuat actionem bonae uoluntatis impertiat¹ perseverantiam sua uirtute concedat, ut Scripturarum diuinarum palatia, ipsius misericordia largiente possimus fiducialiter introire, ne nobis dicatur Quare tu enarras iustitias meas et adsumis testamentum meum per os tuum sed inuitati illud potius audiamus Uenite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis et ego uos reficiam. Magnum munus inaestimabile beneficium, audire hominem secreta dei et quemadmodum ad ipsum ueniat institui. Festinemus itaque fratres ad animarum fontem uiuum salutaria remedia iusionum. Quisquis enim in terris Scripturis talibus occupatur paene caelestis iam regni suauitate perfruitur. Nec nos moueat quod pater Augustinus in septuaginta unum libros testamentum uetus nouumque diuinit; doctissimus autem Hieronymus idem uetus nouumque testamentum XLVIII sectionibus comprehendit. In hoc autem corpore utrumque testamentum septuagenario numero probatur impletum, in illa palmarum quantitate forsitan praesagatus (*sic*) quas in mansione Helim inuenit populus Hebraeorum. Nam licet haec calculo disparia uideantur, doctrina tamen patrum ad instructionem caelestis ecclesiae concorditer uniuersa perducunt. Amen.'

4 b contains the Amiatine list arranged in two columns with the hexameter lines at the bottom of the page as follows:—

'In hoc codice continentur ueteris et noui testamenti Libri N LXXI.

'Genesis, Exodus, Leuiticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium, Iosue, Iudicum, Ruth, Samuhel, Malachias², Paralypomenon, Lib. Psalmorum, Prouerbia, Ecclesiastes, Cantica Canticorum, Lib. Sapientiae, Ecclesiasticum, Esaias, Hieremias³, Hiezechiel, Danihel, Osee, Iohel, Amos, Abdias, Ionas, Michas, Naum, Habacuc, Soffonias, Aggeus, Zaccharias, Malachias, Iob, Thobias, Iudith, Hester, Ezras⁴, Machabeorum lib. duo.

Euangelium secundum Mattheum, secundum Marcum, secundum

¹ *impertiat*, Cod.; *impertiat*, Bandini: see Corssen, p. 625.

² An obvious mistake for *Malachim*, i. e. *Regum*. *Malachim* is frequently found in Latin lists, cf. Isidore of Seville, Johannes Sarisburiensis, Hugo de S. Caro, in Hody, *De bibl. text.* etc. pp. 653, 656.

³ Containing also Lamentations and the prayer of Jeremiah; cf. Bandini, p. 720.

⁴ Including Nehemiah; Bandini, p. 721.

Lucam, secundum Iohannem, Actus Apostolorum, Epistulae Pauli Apost., ad Romanos I, ad Corintheos II, ad Galatas I, ad Ephesios I, ad Philippenses I, ad Colosenses I, ad Thessalon. II, ad Timotheum II, ad Titum I, ad Philimon I, ad Hebreos I, Epist. Iacobi I, Petri I', Iohannis III, Iudae I, Apocalypsis Iohan. Amen.

Hieronyme interpretes uariis doctissime linguis
Te bethlem celebrat te totus personat orbis
Te quoque nostra tuis promet bibliotheca libris
Qua noua cum priscis conditis donaria gazis.'

Fol. 5 contains the Ezra picture, with the couplet over his head, possibly added later :

'Codicibus sacris hostili clade perustis
Ezra deo feruens hoc reparauit opus.'

In the open book-case by which he is sitting, are arranged various volumes of Scripture, entitled ² OCT. LIB.—REG. LIB.—HEST. LIB.—PSAL. LIB.—SAL. . . .—PROP. . . .—EVANGEL. IIII.—EPIST. AP. XXI.—ACT. AP. APOCA. Here the coincidences with Cassiodorus begin, for these titles, as Dr. Corssen notes, correspond with only one exception to the nine MSS. described by Cassiodorus in the earlier chapters of the *Institutio* ; these were

'c. i. Primus scripturarum diuinarum codex est *Octateuchus*.
c. ii. In secundo *Regum* codice. c. iii. Ex omni igitur *Prophetarum* codice tertio. c. iv. Sequitur *Psalterium* codex quartus.
c. v. Quintus codex est *Salomonis*. c. vi. Sequitur *Hagiographorum* codex sextus. c. vii. Septimus igitur codex . . . quattuor *Euangelistarum* superna luce resplendet. c. viii. Octauus codex *Canonicas Epistolas* continet *Apostolorum*. c. ix. Nonus igitur codex *Actus Apostolorum* et *Apocalypsin* noscitur continere.'

Fol. 6 contains, in tables depending from the Lamb, the Hieronymian division of the sacred books ; and the likeness between this and the Hieronymian division of the *Institutio* c. xii, will be seen by printing them side by side. It is indeed far closer than Corssen imagined, for he had only

¹ Only one Epistle of Peter is noticed in this list ; the *Codex* itself of course contains the second as well.

² *Academy*, Apr. 7, 1888.

the printed text of Cassiodorus to go by, which is known to be in a wretched state. Dr. Westcott collated the British Museum MSS. of the *Institutio* for c. xiv. in his *History of the Canon*, ed. 5, p. 573; and a comparison of the text thus amended with the Amiatine *Epiphanian* and *Hilarian* list (see next page) showed the two to be so near to each other that I have thought it worth while to collate these MSS. for the other lists also. They are Reg. 13 A. xxi. 7 (a); Cotton Vesp. (not Claud, as Westcott cites) B. 13. 8 (β); Reg. 10 B. xv. 2 (γ); Reg. 5 B. viii. 6 (δ).

I have formed the text throughout from α, which seems the closest to the Amiatine text; giving the variants of the other MSS. and of the printed texts, except in cases of mere orthography, below.

CASS. DE INST. DIV. LITT. c. xii.

AMIATINUS, p. 6.

Auctoritas diuina secundum sanctum Iheronimum in testamentis¹ duobus ita diuiditur id est in uetus et nouum. In lege² id est in³ Genesim, Exodum, Leuiticum, Numerorum, Deuteronomium. In prophetis⁴ Iesu Naue, Iudicum, Ruth, Samuel, Ysayas, Iheremias, Ezechiel⁵, libri duodecim prophetarum. In agyographis⁶ Iob, Daud, Salomon, Prouerbia, Ecclesiastes⁷, Canticum Canticorum, Uerba dierum, id est Paralipomenon, Ezras, Hester. In Euangelis⁸, Matheus, Marcus, Lucas, Iohannes⁹. Epistole Apostolorum, Petri due, Pauli quatuordecim, Iohannis tres, Iacobi una, Iude

Auctoritas diuina continetur in testamenta duo id est in uetus et in nouum.

In lege: Genesis, Exodum, Leuiticum, Numerorum, Deuteronomium.

In prophetis: Iesu Naue, Iudicum et Ruth, Samuhel, Malachian, Esaias, Hieremias, Hiezechiel, Liber duodecim prophetarum. In agiographis: Iob, Daud, Salom., Prouerbia, Ecclesiastes, Cantica Canticorum, Danihel, Uerba dierum id est Paralip., Esras, Hester. In Euangelis: Matheus, Marcus, Lucas, Iohannes. Epist. Apost.: Pauli Apostoli xiiii, Petri Apost. ii, Iohann. Apost. iii, Iacobi Ap.

¹ testamenta duo *edd.* ² legem βγδ *edd.* ³ om. in βγδ *edd.* ⁴ prophetas βγδ *edd.*; + qui sunt *edd.*

⁵ + Daniel *edd.*

⁶ Hagiographos

⁷ Ecclesiasticum βγδ, Ecclesiasticus *edd.*

⁸ Euangelistas + qui sunt *edd.*

⁹ + post hos sequuntur *edd.*

una. In Actibus Apostolorum¹.
In Apocalipsi Johannis². . . .

Huic (i.e. to the Old Testament, which Jerome divided into twenty-two books, the number of the letters of the Hebrew Alphabet) etiam adiecti sunt Noui Testamenti libri uiginti septem, qui colliguntur simul quadraginta nouem. Quo³ numero adde omnipotentem et indiuisibilem Trinitatem, per quam hec facta et propter quam ista praedicta sunt, et quinquagenarius numerus indubitanter efficitur, quia⁴ ad instar iubilei anni magna pietate beneficii debita relaxat et pure penitentium peccata dissoluit.

i, Iudae Ap. i. Act. Apost.:
Actus Apostolorum Liber unus.
Apocalypsi: Apocalypsin Liber unus.

Sic fiunt ueteris nouique testamenti secundum Hieronymum libri quadraginta nouem quibus adde dominum Christum de quo et per quem ista conscripta sunt fit quinquagenarius numerus qui ad instar iobelei anni debita remittit et paenitentium peccata dissoluit.

Fol. 7 contains the Hilarian and Epiphanian divisions, written under the human or quasi-human head; here again we may compare Cassiodorus:—

CASSIODORUS' ANTIQUA TRANSLATIO, c. xiv.

AMIATINUS, p. 7.

Scriptura sancta secundum antiquam translationem in testamenta duo ita diuiditur id est in uetus et in⁵ nouum. In Genesim, Exodum, Leuiticum, Numerorum, Deutronomium, Iesu Naue, Iudicum, Ruth, Regum libri⁶ quatuor, Paralipomenon⁷ duo, Psalterii⁸, Salomonis libri quincque id est Prouerbia,

Scriptura sancta diuiditur in testamenta duo id est in uetus et in nouum. Genesi, Exodum, Leuiticum, Numerorum, Deutronomium, Iesu Naue, Iudicum, Ruth, Regum libri iiii, Paralipomenon libri ii, Psalorum lib. v, Salom. lib. v id est Prouerbia, Sapientia, Ecclesiasticum, Ecclesiastes, Cantica Canticorum, Pro-

¹ Actuum Apostolorum *edd.*; + Lucae liber unus *γδ edd.*; + Lucae unus liber *β.* ² In Apocalypsin Johannis liber unus *βγδ*; et Apocalypsis Joannis liber unus *edd.* ³ cui *edd.* ⁴ qui *edd.* ⁵ *om.* in *edd.* ⁶ libros *edd. et infra.* ⁷ libros duos *edd.* ⁸ + unus *βγδ*; + librum unum *edd.*

Sapientie, Ecclesiasticum, Ecclesiastes, Canticum canticorum. Prophete id est Ysayas, Iheremias, Ezechiel, Daniel, Osee, Amos, Micheas, Iohel, Abdias, Ionas, Naum, Abacuc, Sophonias, Aggeus, Zacharias, Malachim qui et angelus, Iob, Tobi, Hester, Iudith, Ezre duo, Machabeorum duo.

Euangelia quatuor id est Mathei¹, Marci, Luce, Iohannis, Actus apostolorum; epistole Petri ad Gentes²; Iacobi³, Iohannis ad Parthos, epistole Pauli ad Romanos una, ad Chorotheos due, ad Galathas una, ad Philipenses una, ad Ephesios una⁴, ad Colossenses una, ad Hebreos una, ad Thessalonicenses due, ad Timotheum due, ad Titum una⁵, ad Philemonem una, Apocalipsin Iohannis . . . Translatio ueteris Testamenti in libris quadraginta quatuor continetur. Cui subiuncti⁶ sunt noui Testamenti libri uiginti sex, fiuntque simul libri septuaginta; in illo palmarum numero fortasse presagati quas in mansione Helim inuenit populus Hebreorum . . . nos omnia tria genera diuisionum iudicauimus affigenda ut inspecta diligenter atque tractata, non in pugnare sed inuicem se potius exponere uideantur. Unde licet

phetae id est Esaias, Hieremias, Ezechiel, Danihel, Osee, Amos, Micheas, Iohel, Abdias, Ionas, Naum, Ambacum, Sofonias, Aggeus, Zacharias, Malachim qui et Angelus, Iob, Tobis, Hester, Iudith, Esdrae libri duo, Machabeorum libri duo. Euangelia iiii id est Matheus, Marcus, Lucas, Iohannes, Actus Apostolorum, Epist. Petri ad Gentes, Iacobi, Iohannis ad Parthos, Epist. Pauli apost. id est ad Rom. i, ad Corint. ii, ad Galatas i, ad Philip. i, ad Colos. i, ad Ephesios i, ad Thessalonicenses ii, ad Timotheum ii, ad Titum i, ad Philemonem i, Apocalypsim Iohannis euangelistae.

Sic fiunt ueteris nouique Testamenti sicut diuidit sanctus Hilarius (Hilarius *m. p.*) Romanae urbis antistes et Epiphanius Cyprius, quem latino fecimus sermoni transferri Libri lxx in illo palmarum numerum fortasse praesagati quas in mansione Helim inuenit populus Hebreorum.

¹ Euangelium quatuor id est matheus βγδ; Post haec sequuntur euangelistae quatuor i. e. *m. edd.*; *deinde* marcus lucas iohannes βγδ *edd.* ² + iudae *edd.*

³ + ad duodecim tribus *edd.*

⁴ ad Ephesios duae δ; *om. edd.*

⁵ *tr.* ad Tit. una ad Tim. due β.

⁶ subiuncti βγδ.

multi patres, id est Sanctus Hy-larius Pictauensis urbis antistes, et Rufinus presbiter Aquilei-ensis, et Epiphanius episcopus Cipri, et sinodus Nicena uel [et *edd.*] Calcedonensis non contraria dixerunt sed diuersa; omnes ta-men per diuisiones suas libros diuinos sacramentis competenti-bus aptauerunt.

Cf. c. v. Epiphanius antistes Cyprius totum librum graeco sermone uno volumine sub bre-uitate complexus est. Hunc nos ut alios in Latinam linguam per amicum nostrum uirum diser-tissimum Epiphanium fecimus, Domino iuuante, transferri.

Fol. 7 b contains the Pentateuch circles described above (p. 16). In these circles is disposed the following writing:—

- 1st circle. Manifestissima est Genesis in qua de creatura mundi, de exordio humani generis, et gente usque ad Aegyptum scribitur Hebr.
- 2nd circle. Patet Exodus cum decem plagis, decalogo, cum mys-ticis Scripturis, diuinisque praeceptis.
- 3rd circle. In promptu est Leuiticus Lib. in quo singula sacrificia et uestes Aaron et totus ordo Leuiticus spirant caelestia sacram.
- 4th circle. Numeri uero nonne totius arithmeticae et mensura terrae, et xl duarum per heremum mansion. mysteria continent.
- 5th circle. Deuteronomium quoque secunda Lex et euangelicae legis praefiguratio, nonne sic ea habet quae propria sunt ut tamen noua sint omnia de ueteribus.

Fol. 8 contains the Augustinian division of Holy Scripture (under the Dove); here again we may compare with Cas-siodorus:

CASS. c. xiii.

AMIATINUS, p. 8.

Scriptura diuina secundum beatum Augustinum in Testamenta¹ duo ita diuiditur, id est in uetus et in nouum². In hystoria³ libri uiginti duo id est Moysy libri quinque, Iesu Naue liber unus, Iudicum liber unus, Ruth liber unus, Regum libri quatuor, Paralipomenon libri duo, Job liber unus, Tobi⁴ liber unus, Hester⁵ liber unus, Iudith liber unus, Ezre⁶ libri duo⁷, Machabeorum libri duo. In Prophetis libri uiginti duo, Dauid Psalterium⁸ liber unus, Salomon libri tres⁹, Iesu filii Sirach libri duo¹⁰, Prophete maiores quatuor, id est Ysayas, Iheremias, Daniel¹¹, Ezechiel; et minores duodecim, id est Osee, Iohel, Amos, Abdias, Ionas, Micheas, Naum, Abacuc, Sophonias, Zacharias, Aggeus, Malachim.

In epistolis Apostolorum¹² id est Pauli apostoli ad Romanos una, ad Corinthios due, ad Galathas una, ad Ephesios una, ad Philipenses una, ad Thessalonicenses due, ad Colosenses una, ad Timotheum due, ad Titum una, ad Philemonem una, ad Hebreos una, Petri due, Ioannis tres, Iude una, Iacobi una. In Euangelis quatuor, id est secundum Matheum,

Scriptura sancta diuiditur in uetus in nouum. In Historia libri N. xxii id est Mosi lib. v, Ihesu Naue lib. i, Iudic. lib. i, Ruth lib. i, Reg. lib. iiii, Paral. lib. ii, Iob lib. i, Tobi lib. i, Hester lib. i, Iudith lib. i, Esdrae lib. ii, Machabeor. lib. ii.

In prophetiam libri N. xxii, id est Dauid Psalm. lib. i, Sal. lib. iiii, Iesu filii Sirach lib. ii, Prophetarum id est Osee, Iohel, Amos, Abdiae, Ionae, Micheas, Naum, Habacuc, Sofon., Zach., Agg., Mal., Esaiae, Hier., Dan. et Hez. lib. N. xvi.

In euangelia quattuor secundum Mattheum, secundum Marcum, secundum Lucam, secundum Iohannem. In Epistolas Apostolorum xxi, id est Pauli Apost. ad Rom. i, ad Cor. ii, ad Gal. i, ad Efes. i, ad Phil. i, ad Thessal. ii, ad Col. i, ad Tim. ii, ad Tit. i, ad Fil. i, ad Heb. i, Petri duae, Ioh. iiii, Iudae i, Iac. i. In Actus Apostolorum lib. i. In Apocalypsin Iohan. lib. i.

¹ Testamentum β.² in uetus et nouum *edd.*³ + sunt *edd.*⁴ Tobiae *edd.*⁵ Esther *edd.*⁶ Esdre βγδ; Esdrae *edd.*⁷ liber

unus αβγδ.

⁸ psalmorum *edd.*⁹ quatuor *edd.*¹⁰ liber unus *edd.*¹¹ ezechiel daniel *edd.*¹² + uiginti una *edd.*

secundum Marcum, secundum Lucam, secundum Iohannem. In Actibus Apostolorum liber unus. In Apocalipsin¹ liber unus. Beatus igitur Augustinus secundum præfatos nouem codices, quos sancta meditatür Ecclesia, secundo libro de doctrina Christiana, Scripturas diuinas septuaginta unius librorum calculo comprehendit: quibus cum sancte Trinitatis addideris unitatem fit totius libre² competens et gloriosa perfectio.

Sic fiunt ueteris nouique Testamenti sicut pater Augustinus in Libris de doctrina christiana complexus est simul libri N. lxxi quibus adde unitatem diuinam per quam ista completa sunt fit totius Libræ competens et gloriosa perfectio; ipsa est enim rerum conditrix et uitalis omnium plenitudo uirtutum.

At the top of the page:—

Eloquium domini quaecumque uolumina pandunt

Spiritus hoc sancto fudit ab ore deus.

The reader will not fail to notice the striking similarity between the lists of Cassiodorus and those of the Amiatinus. In the Hieronymian division the differences are only of the smallest nature; Cassiodorus has *Iudicum Ruth* instead of *Iudicum et Ruth*, omits *Malachian* and *Danihel*, and in the New Testament places St. Peter's Epistles after, instead of before, St. Paul's; he obtains the required total of forty-nine then by counting *Iudicum* and *Ruth* as two books, while Amiatinus takes them as one; his real total however is forty-eight. Amiatinus, by the addition of *Danihel* and *Malachian*, obtains the full total of forty-nine. In both cases *Salom.* (whether *Salomon* or *Salomonis*) appears to be an introductory title, covering *Prov. Eccl. Cant.*

In the Augustinian division, which Cassiodorus tells us he took from the *De doctrina Christiana* ii. 13, he places the four greater prophets before, instead of after, the lesser (here the Amiatinus agrees with the order of the *De doctrina*); and in the New Testament he has the Evangelists after the Epistles.

In the third division, the Hilarian and Epiphanian of the Amiatinus, the *antiqua uersio* of Cassiodorus, the differ-

¹ apocalypsi *edd.*

² libri *edd.*

ences are more noticeable. Cassiodorus counts one, not five, books of the Psalms; and in the New Testament places Ephesians before Colossians, and inserts the Epistle to the Hebrews, which the Codex omits. Both the lists, Dr. Corssen notes, have *Iohannis ad Parthos*, without any intimation of the number of St. John's Epistles; and as in this list the numbers are usually added, where more than one Epistle is reckoned, it would seem probable that this canon included only one Epistle of St. John, especially as the expression *Epistula ad Parthos* is frequently used for the first Epistle, but does not seem known as a title for all three. Both lists emphasise the number seventy as the sum of the books of the Old and New Testaments, but we must add them up on different principles in each case, to obtain the required total. Cassiodorus gives us forty-four books in the Old Testament, counting the Psalms as one book; the remaining twenty-six in the New Testament being obtainable only by counting three epistles of St. John. Amiatinus, on the other hand, counts five books of the Psalms, making forty-eight books in the Old Testament; to bring the total down to seventy then we must reduce four books in the New; this can only be done by counting one Epistle of St. John, and one of St. Peter (*Epist. Petri ad Gentes* having no number added), which with the omission of the Hebrews enables us to obtain the required number. Cassiodorus indeed was aware of the five-fold division of the Psalter, as he states it was known to Jerome, though Epiphanius preferred to speak of the book of the Psalms as one¹.

Even more marked are the variations in the explanatory matter. The Amiatinus refers the list to the combined authority of Hilary and Epiphanius; Cassiodorus does not state his

¹ Cass. in *Psalterium* c. xii. Dr. Corssen notes that the reference is incorrect, for Jerome, *Praef. in Libr. Psalm. ad Sophronium*, rejects the five-fold division on the authority of the Hebrew, and of the Apostles, who in the New Testament speak of it as one book; similarly Hilary, *Prolog. in Libr. Psalm.*, mentions the five-fold division only to reject it: *Nos secundum apostolicam auctoritatem 'Librum Psalmorum' et nuncupamus et scribimus.*

source, and introduces the two fathers in a somewhat different connection, hinting that each had his own method of dividing the sacred books, though these were *non contraria sed diuersa*. The Amiatine citation of Hilary and Epiphanius again does not agree with its omission of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which Hilary held to be of Pauline authorship, nor would its *Psalmorum lib. v.*, commend itself to his views as to the Psalter¹; while Epiphanius adhered to the Canon of Athanasius, and in the order of books in the New Testament agreed with Jerome's list *ad Paulinum*².

What can be then the relation of these lists to each other? Their agreement shows it to be a close one, their variations would seem to prevent it being that of direct copying. But we have at any rate shown that Cassiodorus possessed a *Codex Grandior*, which must certainly have been a Latin Bible, for the whole context of c. xiv. of the *Institutio*³ shows this, and distinguishes it from the *Graecus Pandectes* mentioned later; this Latin *Codex Grandior* possessed three lists of the sacred books, and the *Codex Amiatinus* presents also three lists, almost, if not precisely, similar.

We have, however, to notice yet another mark of affinity between the two books. Folios 2 b and 3 of the Amiatinus contain a carefully-drawn view of the Tabernacle; Cassiodorus in the *Institutio*, c. v., mentions a certain blind man named Eusebius, who, as a compensation for his loss of sight, was gifted with a wonderfully retentive memory; this Eusebius *commonuit etiam tabernaculum templumque Domini ad instar caeli fuisse formatum quae depicta subtiliter lineamentis propriis in 'Pandecte Latino corporis grandioris' competenter aptauit*; so that Cassiodorus' *Codex Grandior* also contained a page with the Tabernacle, for it would seem to be almost certain that the Codex thus mentioned is identical with that in

¹ See note on last page.

² *Epiph. adv. Haeres.* iii. tom. i, haer. 76, conf. 5; Jerome, *Ep.* liii; cf. Westcott, *Canon*, pp. 554, 567 ff.

³ Dr. Hort in *Academy*, Feb. 26, 1887.

c. xiv¹. Here again another link between this book and the *Codex Amiatinus* is supplied us by Bede. Dr. Hort² quotes two passages from Bede's minor works; in his tract on the Tabernacle³: *Quomodo in pictura Cassiodori senatoris, cuius ipse in expositione Psalmorum meminit, expressum uidimus*; and again in his tract on Solomon's temple⁴: *Has uero porticus Cassiodorus senator in Pandectis, ut ipse Psalmorum expositione commemorat, triplici ordine distinxit*, adding below *Haec ut in pictura Cassiodori reperimus distincta*. Dr. Hort justly remarks that this is the language of a man who had seen with his own eyes the identical representation of the Tabernacle and the Temple which Cassiodorus inserted in his Pandect; and there is no evidence that Bede was ever in Italy, or indeed further south than York. The conclusion would therefore seem to follow that the *Codex Grandior* of Cassiodorus must have been brought to England and to the library of Wearmouth or of Jarrow, and there possibly have been placed on the same shelf with the *Codex Amiatinus*.

A still further supposition seemed at one time possible both to Dr. Hort and Dr. Corssen⁵; might not the first quaternion of the *Amiatinus* be not a transcript but actually a part of Cassiodorus' *Codex Grandior*? There is much which strikes one at first sight in favour of such a view; the parchment is not quite so tall as that of the other gatherings, and certainly seems somewhat darker and thicker; the gathering is not signed, and the second quaternion beginning the Bible is marked I; and the writing of the lists and prefatory matter is in a different hand from that of the body of the book. Further, there is only one other page in the book which contains pictorial representation; this is fol. 796*b*, the page which divides the Old from the New Testament, and the picture is that of our Lord with the Evangelists and

¹ Cf. *Expos. in Psalm. xiv*: *Dei tabernaculum . . . quod nos fecimus pingi et in pandectis maioris capite collocari*.

² *Academy*, Feb. 26, 1887.

³ ii. 12 (vii. 307 Giles).

⁴ c. 16 (viii. 314 f. Giles); the references are in the first instance from De Rossi.

⁵ *Academy*, June 11, 1887.

their symbols; this is in the judgment of Prof. Browne¹ quite different in style from those in the first quaternion, and looks like a late and poor copy of earlier work, the drawing being inferior and the colours bad. The ornamentation, too, of the first quaternion, and especially the Ezra picture, could not at any rate have been *designed* in England. If Dr. Hamann is sure from the general orthography of the MS. that it was copied directly from an Italian, not a North-British exemplar, Prof. Browne is equally convinced that the draughtsman of the Ezra picture shows in his peculiar ornamentation the immediate influence of Ravenna or Rome. 'It seems fairly certain,' he says, 'that the Ezra picture was drawn in Ravenna, the home of Cassiodorus for so many years;' and he suggests that a mosaic in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia supplied the features, the book-case, and the stool on which Ezra is sitting: 'it seems impossible to doubt that Ezra's book-case was copied from this.'

If we examine the contents of the Prologue also, and the Amiatine list of books, we find that here too they do not agree with the actual books of the Manuscript; the Prologue (p. 290) lays stress on the mystic number 70 as being the total of the books of the Bible, but the next page (3 *b*) begins the Amiatine division with *In hoc codice continentur ueteris et noui Testamenti Libri No. lxxi*; the list itself, if we count Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, and Esdras as two books each, gives us a total of 70, and in the Codex itself, which inserts the Second Epistle of Peter, omitted in the list, we have again 71²; thus the list and Prologue agree neither with themselves nor with the actual contents, and may well be as truly Cassiodorian as the other lists: Corssen, indeed, noted long ago³ that the Prologue seemed to have nothing to do with the present *Codex Amiatinus*, and might well be a piece of true Cassiodorian work, and the reference to

¹ *Academy*, April 30, 1887.

² Ranke, in *Theol. Literaturz.*, 1887, p. 272.

³ *Die Bibeln des Cass.* p. 625.

the palm-trees at Elim seems certainly to be a reference to the *Institutio*, c. xiv.

Here certainly is much which makes for the view that the first quaternion was bodily transferred from the *Codex Grandior* to its present place. The *Codex Grandior* was certainly in North Britain, for Bede saw it there. It may well have been the *Pandectes uetustae translationis* which Benedict Biscop or Ceolfrid brought from Rome; and it would be quite in keeping with the times had Ceolfrid, in presenting his magnificent new Pandect to the Holy See, tacked into it the quaternion, which had hitherto stood at the beginning of Cassiodorus' own Old-Latin Pandect.

Difficulties however meet us as we examine this hypothesis closely. The first indeed which suggested itself to Dr. Corssen was a chronological one; it was that Bede's language shows him to have seen the Cassiodorian Pandect himself, while the *Codex Amiatinus* left England in 715; but as Bede was born in 674, he would have had ample time to have seen the pictures in their original place and to have described them, before they left England. But the other arguments in favour of the identity are not really so strong as they seem; though the parchment of the first quaternion struck Prof. Browne¹ as looking somewhat darker and older than that of the rest of the MS., this, as Dr. Hort remarks², is but a trifling matter, and it can hardly be expected that in such a large MS. as this, it would be of the same quality throughout. The fact of the gathering being without a signature proves nothing, as in other MSS. the gatherings are sometimes without signatures for the prefatory matter³. A more important point is the difference of writing. That the handwriting in the first quaternion is different from the body of the work is certain; whether it be earlier is not quite so sure a point; and Dr. Corssen is of

¹ And also the present writer when he examined the MS. in May, 1887.

² *Academy*, Jan. 19, 1889.

³ As in the *Echternach Gospels*, Paris Lat. 9389, where the first signature is on f. 24 at the beginning of the Gospel, the prefatory matter being written on unsigned gatherings.

opinion that the three biblical lists resemble in their style the *writing of the corrections and marginal notes of the text*. Of course if they can be proved to be in the same hand the question is settled, and the preliminary quaternion may be later, or possibly contemporary, but certainly not earlier than the rest of the book; but on this point we still await the judgment of a skilled palaeographer.

The inferiority, again, of the picture in the middle of the book to those in the first quaternion is no argument for dating the latter a century earlier; it only suggests that two scribes were at work on the volume, and that the second, who may have been at work only a few months after the first, was a less skilful artist. The argument from the Italian character of the ornamentation is somewhat stronger, as British scribes were not often in the habit of slavishly copying foreign work; still a Roman scribe may have copied this ornamentation, as we saw reason above to suppose he may possibly have written the rest of the book (p. 285). At any rate all that the ornamentation proves is that it was *designed* in Italy; it may have been *copied* in England.

If we examine the contents of the quaternion, especially the Prologue and Amiatine list, we find that if they do not suit well with the actual present MS., neither would they suit the *Codex Grandior*. The first quaternion gives us, we must remember, *four* divisions of Scripture; Amiatine, Hieronymian, Hilarian and Epiphanian, and Augustinian; the *Codex Grandior*, according to the *Institutio*, c. xiv, would seem to have contained only three, and the actual books of the Bible followed the order of the *antiqua translatio*. In any case, then, the *Prologue* and *Amiatine list* must have been added later, and could not have formed part of the original *Codex Grandior*.

A still further difficulty awaits us as we examine Bede's words and those of Cassiodorus with regard to the Tabernacle and the Temple. Fols. 2 and 2*b* of the Amiatinus contain, as we saw, a carefully drawn bird's-eye view of the

Tabernacle, but there is no representation in the quaternion as we now have it of Solomon's Temple; Cassiodorus, however, in the *Institutio*, c. v, speaks very distinctly of the *Tabernaculum Templumque Domini*, though in the treatise on the Psalms he speaks only of the Tabernacle.

Bede, in describing (see above, p. 300) the Temple, referred to, as he says, in Cassiodorus' Exposition of the Psalms, mentions some features—the triple portico—which are not found in the Amiatine picture¹. De Rossi's explanation of this difference seems all that could be desired, but it proves, at any rate, that the first quaternion of the *Codex Amiatinus* cannot have been 'bodily transferred,' as was at first supposed, from the *Codex Grandior*. Bede, he supposes, is citing from memory, and so confuses together the two distinct passages of Cassiodorus, that in the *Institutio*, mentioning the Tabernacle and Temple, and that in the Psalms, mentioning only the Tabernacle. It would appear that the *Codex Grandior* originally possessed the two pictures; but what has become of the Temple sheet if, or when, it was transferred to the Amiatinus? The loss of such a valuable sheet is a serious difficulty in the way of the identity of the two quaternions. Bede's description of the Tabernacle, again (*De Tabernaculo*, c. xii), does not quite, though it does very nearly, suit the Amiatine picture. He says:—

'Erat contra arulam ostium in pariete altaris orientalis unde uel ligna ad alendum ignem immitti uel carbones et cineres possent egeri; quomodo in pictura Cassiodori Senatoris, cuius ipse in expositione psalmorem meminit, expressum uidimus (*or uidemus*); in qua etiam utrique altari, et holocausti uidelicet et incensi, pedes quattuor fecit. Quod utrumque eum, sicut et tabernaculi et templi positionem, a doctoribus Judaeorum didicisse putamus.'

Here, as De Rossi remarks, the description of Bede agrees with the Amiatine picture, with the exception of the *ostium* in the side of the altar, which is omitted in the picture.

¹ De Rossi, *La Bibbia Offerta*, etc., Roma 1887, p. 19 f., and *De Origine*, etc., *Bibl. Sedis Apost.* p. lxxviii.

This certainly is a difficulty, but we must remember that there may be two solutions of it: one, that the picture described by Bede was neither the Amiatine nor its immediate exemplar; another, that Bede was describing from memory in this passage, and consequently was not perfectly accurate. This is indeed likely if Bede was writing towards the end of his life, and the Codex with the picture of the Tabernacle had left England in 715; and it is just possible, as Prof. Browne suggests, that the missing *Temple* sheet was taken out of the quaternion in order to make room for the sheet with the Amiatine Prologue and list of contents, and remained at Wearmouth and Jarrow: there it would be often seen afterwards by Bede, and his curious difference of expression *reperimus distincta* of the Temple, *expressum uidimus* of the Tabernacle, would meet with an explanation¹. The language of Bede, then, would seem to leave us in doubt as to the identity of the Cassiodorian and Amiatine picture; the question must be solved on other grounds.

We now have to consider the last and most intricate point of all, the original order of leaves in the quaternion, though this again, however interesting as an exercise in reconstruction, cannot have, I venture to think, the decisive influence imagined by some writers, on its relation to the *Codex Grandior*. The order of leaves, as we saw (p. 288), has been twice disturbed. At present it is Fol. 1 blank, Fol. 1 *b* Dedication verses; 2 blank, 2 *b* and 3 Tabernacle picture; 3 *b* blank; 4 Prologue and 4 *b* contents (purple sheet); 5 Ezra picture, 5 *b* blank; 6 Hieronymian division (Lamb), 6 *b* blank; 7 Hilarian and Epiphanian division (Man), 7 *b* Pentateuch circles; 8 Augustinian division (Dove), 8 *b* blank². Fols. 1 and 8 are one piece; 2 and 3 are one piece, mounted

¹ Dr. Corssen (*Academy*, Apr. 7 and May 26, 1888) doubts the existence of the two pictures, and is convinced, from the language of Cassiodorus, that the Tabernacle and Temple are identical; I am bound to say, however, that De Rossi's explanation seems to me the more natural.

² *Academy*—Prof. Browne, Apr. 30, 1887, Dr. Hort, June 11, 1887, Dr. Corssen, April 7, 1888, Prof. Browne, May 5, 1888, Dr. Hort, Jan. 19, 1889.

on a guard not sewn in ; 4 is a single page on a guard with 7 mounted on the same guard and pasted on to the heel of 4 ; 5 and 6 are one piece, and the sewing is here ; 6 b has at one time stood next to 8, for part of the couplet on the top of 8, *Eloquium domini* etc., has been impressed backwards on 6 b ; as a consequence of this, 5 must have also come after 1 ; the Tabernacle sheet 2 and 3 must have stood 4 and 5, as the middle sheet of the quaternion is the only position in which the picture could have been seen. We are certain, then, of the exact position of fols. 2 and 3, and of the relative positions of 1 and 8, 5 and 6 ; and if 1 and 8 originally stood outside, as the condition of 8 b suggests, then 5 and 6 stood 2 and 7, and the remaining two leaves, separate but sewn together again, 4 and 7, must have stood 3 and 6. Such was the order proposed at first by Prof. Browne, and partly agreed to by Dr. Hort, who argued however that the Pentateuch circle (7 b) would have come more naturally after, not between, the lists, and that the Hilarian list (7) is placed last in Cassiodorus ; he then placed 4 and 7 at 1 and 8, and the present 1 and 8 at 2 and 7, 5 and 6 going 3 and 6, and 2 and 3 as before, at 4 and 5. He imagined the Pentateuch circles to be later than the rest of the quaternion, except of course the Donation verses and contents. Dr. Corssen, however, maintained the writing of the Prologue to be the same as that of the Contents, and the Pentateuch circles the same as that of the Hilarian division, founding on this an argument for the post-Cassiodorian origin of the whole quaternion ; for if 4 and 7 were originally the same sheet, cut in two and sewn together again, as he imagined, by the last binder of the book¹, it would follow that the writing of the Prologue, lists, and Pentateuch circles was the same as that of the contents, that is, not earlier than that of the rest of the MS. ; he agreed, however,

¹ Prof. Browne, in horror at the bare idea of such barbarism, exclaims, 'the modern binder *still lives*, and is still allowed to visit the Laurentiana !' (*Academy*, May 5, 1888.)

with Prof. Browne that 1 and 8 were probably still in their original places.

The final disquisition on the original order was given in the *Academy* of Jan. 18, 1889, by Dr. Hort, beyond which perhaps no one can attempt to go. We can hardly do more than give outlines of it in this Essay, which has already grown too long. Following a suggestion of Corssen's that the human head over the Hilarian division might be possibly intended for a representation of the first Person in the Trinity, he proposed to place that list first, the Hieronymian division with the Lamb, or symbol of the Second Person, coming next, and lastly, the Augustinian with the Dove, the symbol of the Holy Spirit: this will again make the order of the lists the same as that originally suggested by Prof. Browne; the difficulties of the Pentateuch circles on 7 *b*, and the single purple sheet 4 he would resolve by supposing that they were transposed by the North-British scribe when he copied the Cassiodorian MS. Prof. Browne's supposition here seems more probable, that 4 and 7 were *not* originally the same sheet, but two separate sheets sewn together, the purple sheet being substituted by Ceolfrid for the lost Temple sheet. Dr. Hort, however, thinks the arrangement to have been a deliberate transposition by Ceolfrid, when he was obtaining a direct copy (for such he would seem to think it) of the Cassiodorian matter for his own Bible. The Cassiodorian quaternion was as follows:— 1 and 1 *b* blank; 2 Ezra, 2 *b* blank; 3 Prologue, 3 *b* blank; 4 and 5 Tabernacle; 6 Hilarian list, 6 *b* blank; 7 Hieronymian list, 7 *b* blank; 8 Augustinian list, 8 *b* blank. Now Ceolfrid in a Vulgate Bible would naturally wish to place the Hieronymian list first, and in this endeavour would alter the arrangement as follows. The first row of numerals represent the present position of the leaves, the second their supposed original order:—

4 Prologue. (1)	1 blank. (2)
4 <i>b</i> Contents. (1 <i>b</i>)	1 <i>b</i> Donation verses. (2 <i>b</i>)

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5	Ezra. (3)	6	Hieronymian list. (6)
5b	blank. (3b)	6b	blank. (6b)
2	blank (4)	8	Augustinian list. (7)
2b	Tabernacle. (4b)	8b	blank. (7b)
3	Tabernacle. (5)	7	Hilarian list. (8)
3b	blank. (5b)	7b	Pentateuch Circles. (8b)

And with this arrangement we may rest satisfied. It seems to suggest that the first quaternion was at any rate a direct copy of the lost *Codex Grandior* of Cassiodorus; but the difficulties of the lost Temple sheet, and of the present state of fols. 4 and 7, do not seem entirely answered by it, and perhaps never can be.

APPENDIX

ON THE ITALIAN ORIGIN OF THE CODEX AMIATINUS AND THE LOCALIZING OF ITALIAN MSS.

[W. SANDAY.]

THE tests put forward by Dr. Hamann (p. 286 *supra*) in proof of the Italian origin of the *Codex Amiatinus* possess an importance which extends beyond the history of this particular MS. If they should be found to hold good, they would supply us with a welcome means of identifying other MSS. as Italian, and would so contribute to a process which is likely to be characteristic of the stage of textual criticism on which we are now entering.

It is coming to be realised more and more that in order to restore the text of an ancient document, especially of one with wide diffusion and attestation, much copied and therefore much corrupted, it is necessary first to know its history. And it is coming also to be realised that the external history of a text and its internal history must go hand in hand. They mutually strengthen and support each other. By pursuing both at once, relations are often suggested which would otherwise pass unperceived. Thus the first thing that we need to know about a MS. is when it was written, where it was written, and where its ancestors were written. Anything which helps us to find out this is of value.

We have several means at our command for ascertaining the birthplace of a MS. The most obvious is the occurrence of notes connecting it with a particular library or owner. These, however, far more often apply only to the later stages of its history, which are of less importance. A larger step is gained when an extant MS. can be identified with one of those in the ancient lists, e.g. in Becker's *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*. The palaeographical test is more delicate, and it is probable that as our knowledge of the different shades of handwriting increases, more use will be made of this than has been made hitherto. The last test is that

which is supplied by the occurrence of forms either of grammar or spelling which can be traced to some definite locality. This test, however, greatly needs more exact definition than it has yet received; and it is this which constitutes the interest of any fresh contribution to it.

These points of grammar and orthography are clearly a branch of the larger question of provincial Latin in general. In regard to this there may be said to be two schools: one, of which Schuchardt may be taken as the representative, admits indeed the distinction between literary Latin or the Latin of cultivated society and the vernacular Latin of common speech, but regards the latter as generally diffused throughout the whole of the Roman Empire, and not dialectically varied—or at least with no recognisable variations—in different localities¹; the other maintains and lays stress upon these peculiarities. The only book with which I am acquainted directly dealing with the subject, Sittl's *Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten der lateinischen Sprache* (Erlangen, 1882) takes this line.

It is much to have opened the subject and attacked it systematically, and Sittl deserves credit for bringing together a quantity of useful material; but any one who reads his book will, I think, rise from it with the sense that there is still a great deal to be done, and that stricter logic will have to be applied before assured conclusions can be arrived at.

The one great caution which seems to me to be most often forgotten is the difficulty of proving the negative side of the propositions involved. It is comparatively easy to prove that a certain usage existed in a certain locality; but then, before it can be said to be characteristic of that locality, it must be also proved that it did not exist or existed only sparingly in other localities. Nor is it enough simply to say that we have no evidence of it. That absence of evidence may be due to nothing more than the defects of our knowledge and scantiness of our materials. For instance, it is constantly asserted that such and such a usage is African because it occurs in Fronto or Apuleius or Tertullian or Cyprian or Arnobius. But how much of this turns upon a bare *argumentum ex silentio*, where the witnesses moreover are of necessity silent for the simple reason that they do not exist? For the two

¹ 'Dieses (das rustike Latein) erscheint auf den Denkmälern aller Gegenden eigentlich immer als ein und dasselbe' (*Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins*, i. 92; quoted by Sittl, p. 44).

centuries, roughly speaking, from the year 120 A. D. to the year 320 A. D., the great mass of the extant Latin literature is African. How easily might the balance be altered if we had as much literature from Italy or Gaul or Spain as we have from Africa! This is a consideration for which I do not think that nearly enough allowance is made.

On the other hand, there is a caution which must be observed on the opposite side. Isolated examples of a particular form or of a particular usage are consistent with the hypothesis that they are really foreign to the district in which they are found. To take a clear case: no inference can be drawn from the Latin inscriptions found in the East. These must proceed from travellers or immigrants who would bring with them the customs of their own homes; and, so far as we can tell, their homes might be anywhere in the Latin-speaking half of the Empire. So, too, there would be Italian settlers in Gaul or Spain, and African legionaries might find their way into Illyricum or Britain. In like manner we may know for certain that a MS. is Irish, English, or Merovingian, and yet it may contain forms which belong neither to France nor to any part of the British Islands, but which have been perpetuated from some other MS. of an altogether different and distant origin. The evidence is hedged about with drawbacks and qualifications of all kinds; and all that we can do is to bear these well in mind and discount our inferences accordingly.

The materials at our disposal are accumulating daily. First and foremost is the splendid *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, backed by other collections, such as those of Le Blant for Gaul and De Rossi for Christian Rome. Then come the critical editions with an apparatus ample enough for the purpose, such as would be preeminently the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* and the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. Many single works would of course have to be added—notably Ribbeck's *Virgil*—and a most important contribution to this side of the subject is made by the appearance of the first fasciculus of Bishop Wordsworth's *Vulgate*. Some relevant statements of value may be extracted from the grammarians, but these must not at once be assumed to be trustworthy, because the range of observation on which they depend was often limited. And lastly, the Romance scholar will have an important voice in the matter, because he will be able to determine from existing forms the older forms which must have preceded them.

I very much hope that the subject may be systematically taken up. It is one to which, as it seems to me, a young scholar might devote himself both with interest and profit. The result of his work would be to furnish criteria which would be useful in many directions, and in the process of forming them he would acquire a great variety of knowledge. On a subject which lies somewhat outside my own department I may perhaps be forgiven for going to the more accessible sources, and for collecting some of my data in a rather desultory fashion. I confine myself for the present to testing the points put forward by Dr. Hamann.

The points so put forward as proving that *Codex Amiatinus* was either itself written in Italy, or at least copied from an Italian exemplar, are as follows:—

S = X: homo senes, Jud. xix. 16, 17; senia (ξίνα), Ecclus. xx. 31.

N inserted: gigans, Job xvi. 15; optimantium, Jer. xxv. 36.

C inserted before X: anxius, Ps. cxlii. 4; unxit, 1 Reg. x. 1.

Sub assimilated before S: sussaltastis, Ps. cxiii. 6.

Ad assimilated before M: ammirata, Apoc. xiii. 3; quem-ammodum, Luc. viii. 47.

A = AU: agusto, 2 Par. xv. 16; ascultabant, Act. viii. 10.

O = AU: clodum, Matt. xviii. 8.

U = AU: cluserunt, 2 Par. xxix. 7.

A = E: adtractaverit, Gen. xxvii. 12.

E = I: redemet, Ps. liv. 19.

Vowel prefixed to S impure: histriatarum, 3 Reg. vii. 24.

S = EX: ? espendebat, Judith xiii. 8; scandescet, Sap. v. 23.

Vowel dropped before S impure: Spaniae, 1 Macc. viii. 3.

PH = P, DI = Z: tophadius (topazus), Ezech. xxviii. 13.

Dropping of final M: totum belli impetu, 2 Par. xxxii. 2; in tantum arrogantiae tumore, Esth. xvi. 12; incidemus in manu Dei et non in manus hominum, Ecclus. ii. 22.

We will take these points in order.

S = X. From Campania, Bruttium and Lucania there are three examples of *visit* (= *vixit*); from Calabria and the Eastern side of the peninsula four examples; from Latium four examples (two each of *visit* and *bisit*); from Cisalpine Gaul two examples, *coius* and *sestum*; from Sardinia three examples, *coius* twice and *visit*. From Spain we get only one extremely doubtful example of *es* (= *ex*); but from Gallia Narbonensis there are several, *coius*, *Santiypa*, *sesta* (from a Christian inscription ascribed by Le Blant

to the sixth century), *supples* (also Christian) *viset*, *bisit*. In Africa, too, there are six examples (two each of *conius* and *visit*), besides the proper name *Estricata* five times¹.

Turning to MSS. there are two or three examples in Ribbeck's MSS. of Virgil² which may be presumed to be Italian. There are also two examples (*senes* and *senis*), which appear to be original in the text of Jordanes, who wrote in Italy. Many MSS. of Sedulius, including the oldest, the famous Turin MS. in capitals of the seventh century (Zangemeister and Wattenbach, *Exemp. Codd. Lat.* pl. 16), in *Pasch. Carm.* iv. 2 read *maestum*, one MS. of the eighth century *mestum*. Huemer has printed *mixtum*, on much inferior authority, because of the parallel passage of Juvenecus; but it does not follow that because Juvenecus in Spain wrote *mixtus* before 337 A. D. therefore Sedulius may not have written *mistus* or *maestus* in a different region and more than a century later. Sedulius may be taken to represent Italian usage. One group of MSS. has a note to the effect that he taught philosophy in Italy, but wrote his heroics in Achaia: and there is more reason to believe than to doubt the first part of this statement. I have not been able to find another instance of this interchange in his works, but I will not say that there are none. The one writer of whom it seems clear that he habitually wrote *senes* or *senis* is Venantius Fortunatus. These forms occur no less than twelve times in his poetical works, with a strong preponderance of MS. authority. There is a more even balance between *senes* and *senis*, but *senes* throughout seems to have been rightly admitted into the text. If Venantius Fortunatus had stood alone there might have been a doubt whether the tradition which he represented was Italian or Gallican. He was born in North Italy, near Treviso, but spent the greater part of his life in a monastery at Poitiers. We have, however, already had the evidence of inscriptions for the neighbouring province of Gallia Narbonensis. There is also at least one well attested example of *senes* in Gregory of Tours; *senes*

¹ Corssen (*Aussprache*, i. 297) remarks on the tendency for the guttural element in *x* to be lost before *c* and *t*: *Estricatus* and *Estricata* are among his instances: he gives a number of others, most of which appear to be derived from Italy or Africa.

² The true Latin form is of course *Vergilius*, but in English it seems best to keep the familiar 'Virgil.' Besides the objections to innovating in such a matter, to write 'Vergil' would be to obscure the history of the name and to make it appear as if it had been introduced into our literature at a different period and by a different method from that by which it was really introduced into it.

also occurs in a French MS. of the Vulgate (*G*) at Luke i. 18 ; and the tenth century MS. *C* of the *Heptateuch* of Cyprian, bishop of Toulon, has three instances of *hesternus* for *externus*, and one of *sescentos* (ed. Mayor, p. xlviii). It does not appear that this poem ever passed through Italian hands. The *Codex Trivultianus* of Corippus, an African writer of the age of Justinian, has as many as seven examples. The MS. itself is of the fourteenth century, but it may very well have been made from an ancient archetype, as the work does not seem to have been much copied.

There is also decisive evidence for the writing of *s* for *x* in Spain. A ninth century MS. of Cassian, which Petschenig, the editor, calls 'Lombardic,' but which is really Visigothic from the monastery of Silos, near Burgos¹, is characterized by the forms *ansietas*, *ausilium*, *justa*, *senes*².

The Appendix to Probus³, among its directions as to orthography, says that *senes* is to be written and not *senis* (ed. Keil, iv. 198).

On the whole, though we have thus sufficient evidence of the prevalence of this corruption in Italy, there is also reason to think that it existed in Africa, and satisfactory proof of its existence in Gaul.

N inserted. We may dismiss the many instances of words in which the insertion of *n* is both correct in itself, and supported by a large amount of early authority, though it has dropped out of common use. Such would be *totiens*, *quotiens*, *vicensimus*, *conjunx*, and we might add also *formonsus*, which is spelt thus both in MSS. and inscriptions. Here the *n* appears to be etymologically right, and similar to that which has dropped out of *χάρις* (for *χαρίεως*)⁴. Not so correct in itself, though equally well attested by early and good MSS., is the form *thensaurus*: it is more assured in MSS. of the Old Latin than in those of the Vulgate. On much the same footing as this would be the form *occansio*, which has also a large amount of early attestation. It is found in *Codex*

¹ The MS. is described by M. Delisle in *Mélanges de Paléographie*, &c. p. 78 f.

² *Ioh. Cassiani Opp.* ed. Petschenig, p. xxxvii (Vienna, 1888). I was convinced from the orthography that this MS. was Visigothic, and had little difficulty in identifying it.

³ Sittl originally held that this was a compilation which did not represent any particular province (*Die lat. Verschied.* p. 35 n.), but he has recently expressed the opinion, on what seem to be good grounds, that it belongs to Africa (*Archiv f. lat. Lexikog.* vi. p. 557).

⁴ *Virosus* is said to = *vironsus*, from a root-form *viro-uensso* = *viro-uent-to* (V. Henry, *Précis de Grammaire comparée*, p. 169).

Vercellensis (a), which palaeography and tradition alike refer to the fourth century¹, and in *Codex Veronensis* (b), which is said to be not more than a century later. Both of these are probably Italian MSS. The form occurs no less than nine times in *Codex Fuldensis* of the Vulgate (Bp. Wordsworth's *F*), which we know to have been written in Campania just before the year 546. It occurs even more often in *Codex Claromontanus* (*D* Paul.), for which Dr. Corssen has recently claimed an Italian origin. This may very possibly be right, though the arguments made use of point rather against Africa than definitely for Italy as compared with other localities where a Graeco-Latin MS. might be written. The common view is that the companion MS., *Codex Bezae* (*D* Evv.), was written in Southern Gaul. The place of origin of these early Graeco-Latin MSS. is an interesting subject of enquiry that has not yet been brought to any settled conclusion. *Occansio* does not occur in the N. T. portion of *Codex Amiatinus*. It occurs in a v. l. of the French MS. *E* at Mat. xxvi. 16. It is found once, with three other instances of *n* inserted, though not before *s*, in *Jordanes*.

Some curious examples occur sporadically in the inscriptions: *herens* in Macedonia and Southern Gaul, *sciantis* (= *sciatis*) in Calabria, *supe stens* in proconsular Asia, *memoriens* = *memoriae* in Dalmatia, and the proper name *Crenscens*, which is found repeatedly, but, strange to say, is the only example except *coniunx* in Africa. Very remarkable is the form *Monse*, which is characteristic of the sole existing fragmentary MS. of the *Assumptio Moyseos* which is assigned to the sixth century, or possibly earlier (Fritzsche, *Libr. Apoc.* p. xxxiii., after Ceriani). The nearest parallel to this with which I am acquainted is *Heronde* in the Lichfield or St. Chad's Gospels (Bp. Wordsworth's *L*) in Matt. ii. 22. Less anomalous than these are the vernacular forms *finctus* (= *fictus*), which is found in Priscillian (ed. Schepss, p. 21. l. 16), and *finctiosus* (= *ficticius*), which is rightly restored by Miodónski in the text of the *De Aleatoribus*, c. 7. Also nearer to the beaten track are the two examples from *Cod. Amiatinus*, *gigans* and *optimans*. Plenty of parallels may be found for the first of these. The Calabrian inscriptions have *Atlans* and *Thoans*. *Atlans* is found generally in the MSS. of Virgil, while single MSS. have *Acragans*, *Pallans*: *superstens*, *increpitans* (for *increpitans*) and *flectens*, *praemens* as futures are also found. It is in this latter class that we must look for analogies to

¹ M. Berger questions this early date, but I believe it to be on the whole probable.

optimans. We note that *redundans* for *redundas* occurs in MSS. of Venantius Fortunatus (iii. 24. 15), though in a group which appears to avoid the form *senes*. In Gregory of Tours there are several examples of *n* inserted before *s* like *accensus* (= *accessus*), perhaps from confusion with *ascensus*. The only identical examples that I have found of *gigans* are quoted by Georges in his *Lex. d. lat. Wortformen*, both from the *Amplonian Glossaries*. These are important for the point directly at issue. So far there would seem to be a preponderance of evidence for Italy as the centre from which these forms had radiated. These glossaries, however, in the form in which they have come down to us, would seem to be widely removed from Italy. The MSS. of both glossaries are said to contain notes in Anglo-Saxon¹. Still, if we went far enough back, the forms might have come in upon Italian soil. With no great centre were the first English scholars in such frequent communication as with Rome. On the whole the view that this inserted *n* favours an Italian origin seems to me, if not proved, yet perhaps rather more probable than not.

CX=X. For this there are nine examples in Cisalpine Gaul, ten in the rest of Italy outside Rome; but the same number in Gallia Narbonensis, three in Sardinia, three in Spain, and many (about thirty-six) in Africa. The like phenomenon occurs several times in Jordanes and in the MSS. of Paulus' *Historia Langobardorum*, at least once in Orientius (Mr. Ellis prints *extincxit* in *Comm.* i. 356), once (*sancxit*) in Gregory of Tours, once, if not more, in an Anglo-Saxon MS. of Sedulius dating from the eighth century, and several times, not to say frequently, in the group of Irish MSS. published by Prof. T. K. Abbott (*Ev. Vers. Antehieron.* pp. vi, xxi). In Matt. xi. 17 *plancxisti* occurs in *R* (Irish), and *plancxistis* in *E* (French with Irish affinities). I imagine that the wide diffusion of this usage will not be disputed. There is hardly one of the Latin-speaking provinces from which there is not evidence for it.

Sub assimilated before S and Ad before M. The assimilation of prepositions is a subject on which it is dangerous to generalise. Each word must be taken by itself, because a writer will assimilate one word and not another which seems to be exactly analogous to it. Instances of the assimilation of *sub* before *s* are comparatively rare. Those that I have been able to find are all Italian: *suscriptione* from Tusculum, *suscripsi* from Cannae (both quoted by Sittl, p. 71), and *suscriptum* from

¹ Loewe, *Prodromus Glossariorum*, p. 114 f.

the Calabrian volume (*CIL*. ix. 5420). So far as it goes this evidence would favour Dr. Hamann's conclusion, but it is too slight to build an induction upon. The assimilation both of *sub* and *ad* before *m* is more common. Yet neither is found in the Campanian volume, and only *ammissus* in the Calabrian, along with numerous instances of non-assimilation. Non-assimilation appears to be also the rule in Latium: there are no examples of either *sub* or *ad* assimilated. In the province of Asia *in memoriam* occurs twice, in Dalmatia once, with *in bello*, *in praetorio*: in Africa there is one example of *amministrare* dating from the fourth century. In the MSS. of Virgil, where we should rather expect to find it, there is only one imperfect example of *ad* assimilated before *m*: A MORSÖ Cod. Med. Georg. ii. 379. Assimilation of *sub* and *in* before *m* is much more frequent (*ommutuit*, *summersum*, *summittere*, *summovere*, *in magnum*, *in mare*, *in me*, *in medium*, &c.). Similar assimilations appear to be characteristic of the Vatican MS. (*V*), which dates from the seventh century, of the *Excerpts* of Eugippius; and they are still more marked in two ninth century French MSS. *P* and *T* of the same author. They would, in fact, seem to be carried back, if not to Eugippius himself, to the original copy of the *Excerpts*. So large a work, consisting merely of extracts from St. Augustine, would probably not be written out by the abbot¹ himself, but by some of his monks. In the *Vita Severini*, which we may suppose that Eugippius would write with his own hand, there are no very striking examples until we come to Cod. *N*, a MS. of the tenth or eleventh century, which has *quemammodum* throughout. There is strong evidence for the usage in Victor Vitensis, where Petschenig reads *ammoneret*, *ammonere*, *ammissi*—in all six times. In Jordanes it occurs twelve times. In Sedulius it is probably not original but characteristic of two MSS. *M T*, both probably Italian. Arndt has admitted *amminiculo* once into the text of Gregory of Tours (p. 166. l. 4). Assimilation is common in Cod. *Casiniensis* (*A*¹) of this writer, a MS. of the eleventh or twelfth century in broken Lombardic, said to show signs of having been copied from a Merovingian exemplar. It is however probable that forms like *ammirabilis* are really Italian. Gregory adopts the commoner forms of assimilation, but he more often does not assimi-

¹ There is much to be said for the spelling 'abbat,' which has had a continuous existence in our literature from the twelfth century onwards ('abbad' occurs c. 889), but as 'abbot' is also perfectly legitimate (see Dr. Murray's *Dictionary* s. v.) the usage of the majority may decide.

late. Assimilation is rare in Alcimus Avitus and Venantius Fortunatus (there are no instances of *suss-* or *amm-*): it is very slight in the specimens of Visigothic writing: and, speaking generally, it may be said that it is avoided by the writers of the Caroline period as represented in the two volumes of *Poetae Medii Aevi*. The same would hold good for the two books of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which are all that has been critically edited of the works of Bede.

In the Vulgate *ammirabantur* seems to be assured in Matt. vii. 28: it occurs in eleven of Bishop Wordsworth's MSS. (in one case as a correction) of very varied origin: *summiserunt* is also decisively attested in Mark ii. 4. There is a division of authorities in Acts ix. 25, x. 11: in the first of these places the Campanian MS. *F* does not assimilate.

In the grammatical treatise of Cassiodorus assimilation is distinctly recognised: *ammonet* and *amminiculo* are given as examples, also *summovit* and *sumministrat* (ed. Keil, p. 162 f.). In this part of his treatise Cassiodorus is quoting from an earlier writer, Papirianus; but he himself wrote in the same manner (e.g. *ammonui*, p. 146).

Taking all the evidence together, a better case appears to be made out than we have as yet had. There is, I think, a presumption that the less usual forms of assimilation are Italian.

A = AU. Corssen would confine this usage during the early centuries to proper names (*Aussprache*, i. 663 f.) According to him it begins in Greek inscriptions of century I (ΚΛΑΔΙΟΥ, ΑΓΟΥΣΤΕ), then in Latin. It is found most frequently in De Rossi's Roman inscriptions; but it also occurs three times in Cisalpine Gaul, once at Puteoli, once in Sardinia; also twice in Spain (*Cladius*, *Glacus*), and three times for the name of the month (*id.* and *kal. Agust.*) in Africa. Besides *Agusto*, *atem* also occurs in *Codex Monacensis* (q), a Freising MS. of the seventh century, which is thought to have been written in the eastern half of the Merovingian dominions; and two instances of *agurior* for *auguror* are given by Caspari, *Hom. de Sacril.* p. 53 (Christiania, 1886). Knoell notes a single instance in the Vatican MS. (saec. vii) of the *Excerpts* of Eugippius. He remarks upon this (p. vii), as he says that the confusion is very common in some of his MSS. Unfortunately he does not tell us which; but we may infer from the specimen given on p. xxv. that *Q* was one of them. As a near ancestor of *Q* was written at Naples in the year 581, it is possible that the peculiarity may be Italian. When however we turn to the Vulgate of Luke ii. 1

we find that *agusto* is read in *DLQRTY*, of which *DQR* are Irish, *LY* English, and *T* Spanish. Not only *agusti*, *aguste*, but also *agures* (*bis*) occur in specimens of Visigothic writing of the eighth century (Ewald and Loewe, tabb. viii, xi). Similar forms appear both in French and English MSS. (Pal. Soc. ii. 35; *Cat. Anc. MSS.*, pp. 60, 61; Arndt, *Schrifttafeln*, tab. 16). *Agustus*, *Agustidunum* are the common forms in Gregory of Tours. The grammarian Caper lays down *auscultā non auscultā* (ed. Keil, vii. 108), which shows that both forms were current. And if turning to modern usage it is argued that the Italian form is 'Agostino,' it may be replied that the Spanish is also 'Agustin.'

O = AU. *Clodus* is no doubt the vernacular spelling. We are reminded of the story about Vespasian's pronunciation of *plaustra* as *plostra* (Sueton. *Vesp.* 22), which was apparently a provincialism derived from his Sabine birthplace. *Clodus* is widely attested in MSS. of the Old-Latin Version, in both its forms, African and European. This, however, would not be decisive, as the form which is called African need not have been African in its origin, circulated outside Africa, and is extant in MSS. which are probably not African. Yet there can be no doubt that *clodus* was really current in Africa: it has an assured place in the text of Cyprian. *Clodus* and *claudus* are found side by side in Irish MSS. of the seventh or eighth centuries. Gregory of Tours certainly wrote *clodus*: so too Venantius Fortunatus: the majority of the Vulgate MSS. have it in Matt. xv. 30, 31.

U = AU. The forms *clusi* for *clausi*, *elusum* for *clausum* are also very widely diffused. They are found in MSS. of all kinds, both of the Old Latin and of the Vulgate (e.g. Luke xiii. 25 *clausērit c f ff₂ δ*, *cluserit b d e i l q*; Matt. vi. 6 *clauso codd. plur.*; *cluso* PFOJL*MO*QRZ; Matt. xiii 15 *clausērunt BKM TVWYZ**, *cluserunt ACFHΘJMO*Y*). Examples like these show the presence of the *u*-forms in every region where the Bible was copied. They also occur in Apuleius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lucifer Calaritanus (several instances in each), also once in Salvian of Marseilles, though not apparently in Claudianus Mamertus, Eugippius, Orientius, or Sedulius.

A = E. Not uncommon in inscriptions in the word *consacrare*; but a more exact parallel to the *adtractaverit* of *Codex Amiatinus* is supplied by Gregory of Tours, where three of the oldest and best MSS. (two of the seventh century and one of the eighth) read *contractans*. I see too that Mr. Ellis reads *detractans* in Avienus,

xxviii. 19, with Jeep in Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* i. 156, observing that *retractare* is invariable. We might also point to Cyprian, *Ep.* lxvii. 9, where all Hartel's MSS. have *detractores* or *detractatores*.

E = I. The single example of this *redemet* (= *redimet*) need not detain us. Numbers of such cases might be quoted from the inscriptions or MSS. of every region. It is so frequent in the British MSS. of the Vulgate as almost to be regarded as a characteristic of these islands; but it is too clearly attested elsewhere. I pass over for the same reason the aspirate in *hostium*.

Vowel prefixed to S impure. More interesting than the last examples is the form *histriatarum* (= *striatarum* in 3 Reg. vii. 24). The prefixing of a vowel to *s* impure is of course not rare in the Romance countries. In the Spanish inscriptions there are four examples like *Ischolasticus*; in Africa four examples, and many proper names; in Calabria one example of *i* prefixed and two of *e* (*espiritum, explendidus*). Le Blant quotes a number of examples (*Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule*, p. cxviii). Jordanes has *expectaculum* (which is also found in Priscillian) and *expoliata*; and there are similar examples in Gregory of Tours. Some curious forms occur in the single extant MS. of Arnobius, *Codex Parisinus*, saec. ix. in., copied from a Lombardic (? Merovingian) original, where *a* is prefixed in this way (e.g. *aspiritu, ascauros, adscribuntur* for *scribuntur*; ed. Reifferscheid, p. x), and what I suppose is still more peculiar, *instructum* for *structum*, *inscientia* for *scientia*, *inspecuali* for *spectaculi*, &c., in all five examples, and yet others. Nearer to the particular form in question would be *hispatii*, which occurs on p. 53 of the *Peregrinatio ad Loca Sancta*¹, which is thought to be work of an Aquitanian lady named Sylvia, and appears to have been written in 385-388 A. D. The MS. in which the form occurs is Lombardic of the tenth century. We have, however, a still more exact parallel in the form *histriaturis* for *striaturis*, which is common to all the six leading MSS. of Apollinaris Sidonius (*Ep.* iv. ix. 4; p. 60. l. 6, ed. Luetjohann). It would thus go back at least to the archetype of these MSS., and perhaps even to Sidonius himself or the scribe whom he employed. In any case the form must have been in use in Gaul as well as in Italy.

The converse case of *Spania* for *Hispania*, on which Dr. Hamann also tries to base an argument, is of frequent occurrence.

¹ Ed. Gamurrini; cf. Wölfflin, *Archiv f. lat. Lexikog.* iv. 260.

It is found in Spanish inscriptions, and in the specimens of Visigothic writing (Ewald and Loewe, tab. xiv): it occurs in the Muratorian Fragment (which is probably Italian) and in the MS. of Arnobius (once): it is well authenticated in Gregory of Tours and is the constant spelling (thirty-six times) in Jordanes.

S=EX. I hardly know whether we need seek a parallel for *espendebat* which Dr. Hamann quotes from Judith xiii. 8. In the MS. both the intrusive letters are marked for omission. They might possibly represent a reading *expēdebat*. The Clementine text has *pendebat*, which is doubtless right.

The form *scandescet* for *excandescet* in Sap. v. 23 has many analogies in that remarkable MS. *Cod. Bezae* (*D* Evv.). The forms which occur so frequently as to be characteristic of this MS., *sconspectu*, *scoruscatio*, *scoruscus*, appear to mark a still further stage of development. They must, I suppose, have arisen from *ex conspectu*, *excoruscatio*, though the preposition has entirely lost its force (the reading in Acts vii. 46 is in *sconspectuū*). It were much to be wished that we knew where *Cod. Bezae* itself was written. The common view, as we have seen, assigns it to the South of France. In favour of this would be the curious form *sonium* (= *μῆρυμα*, Luke xxi. 34), which is naturally compared with 'soin'.

PH=P, and DI=Z. The spelling *tophadius* is another interesting point. The aspiration of *p* is not very common and does not seem, so far as I can judge, to be local. The spelling *topadium* occurs in the leading MS. (*M*) of the genuine *Speculum* of St. Augustine (ed. Wehrich, p. iii): this MS. is of the ninth century and came from St. Emmeran's at Ratisbon. *Cod. Bobiensis* (*k*) of the Old Latin has *baptidiator* in Matt. xi. 11 (*baptiziator* five times elsewhere). Mr. Maunde Thompson believes that *k* was written in Italy; but, however this may be, *baptidiare* occurs four times in the *Peregrinatio* (Wölfflin, *Archiv*, iv. 260), and we have also *rabidiare* (Ronsch, *It. u. V.* p. 171), *exorcidiare* (ib. p. 458), *catomidiare* (Georges). And even though we should suppose, what would be difficult to prove, that all the MSS. in which these forms occurred were Italian, there would still remain other instances which could not be thus accounted for. The corresponding change of *z* for *di* (especially in the form *zabulus*) is very widely distributed

¹ See, however, especially Ducange s. v. 'soniare,' which appears to be found in glossaries on the *Leges Langobardorum*, but was also current in France. Ducange's glossaries have *sonnium*, *φροντῖς*, *ιδιωτικῶς*: *sonnior*, *μεμηνῶ*.

—from Comodian (in Palestine?) to the Irish Books of Kells and Durrow.

The dropping of *M* is the last of Dr. Hamann's instances. It is, however, too common to furnish any criterion. There are many examples in the Spanish and African inscriptions besides those in Italy; and instances similar to those quoted from *Cod. Amiatinus* are plentiful enough in other MSS.

To sum up. The results of this enquiry must be confessed to be disappointing; they are for the most part negative rather than positive. Many of the points which we have been discussing (*c* inserted before *x*, *u*=*au*, *a*=*e*, *e*=*i*, *ph*=*h*, dropping of final *m*) hardly seem to have even a *prima facie* case in their favour. We should add to these *o*=*au* in *clodus*, but for the story about Vespasian. It is possible that this form may have been Italian in its origin, but at least from the third century onwards it is common in other provinces. Perhaps the same may be said of *a*=*au* in *Agustinus*, &c. This too may have come originally from Italy, but it is also firmly established in Spain and found its way frequently into the North. The accretion or suppression of vowels before *s* impure, and the substitution of *s* for *x* are not so much characteristic of Italy as of the Romance countries in general. There remain the epenthesis of *n*, as in *gigans*, assimilation of prepositions, and *di*=*z*. In regard to these, the evidence collected has been of course far from exhaustive: its proportions might easily be altered by wider enquiry: there is also some uncertainty as to the localities to which the different items of evidence are to be referred. It is a delicate question of the weighing of evidence on which I am by no means sure that my own impression is right: still I am inclined to think that there is some ground for Dr. Hamann's contention, and that the examples are strewn more thickly as we approach Italian soil.

It must not be thought that all the branches of this kind of enquiry are equally inconclusive. The type of Visigothic writing stands out very distinctly. Extreme examples of it may be seen in *Cod. Cavensis* (*C*) of the Vulgate, and in the Paris MS. (*O*) above referred to of Ioh. Cassianus. More normal examples would be the common readings of *CTΘ* in the Vulgate, and some of the specimens of writing in Ewald and Loewe's collection. Nowhere but in Spanish MSS. have I found *mici*=*mihī*, and the substitution of *qu* for *c* (as in *quur*) is more common than elsewhere.

Some characteristics also come out in the Irish MSS. Extreme examples of these would be the *Book of Armagh* and Dr. T. K. Abbott's *Cod. Usserianus II*, more normal examples the Books of Kells and Durrow and the Rushworth Gospels. There is a very common tendency in Irish MSS. to the doubling especially of *s* in forms like *possitus*, *nissi*. Nowhere but in the *Book of Armagh* have I found the curious form *anguelus* (= *angelus*): forms like *diciens*, *vidiens* are marked in *Cod. Usserianus*, and it is a curious coincidence that *diciens* occurs also in *Cod. Bobiensis* (*k*), which, although it belonged to St. Columban's monastery, is possibly older than St. Columban himself, and at least not Irish (*O. L. B. T.* ii. pp. clxi, clxv.). The Visigothic MS. of Cassian, however, has *concupiscientia*, *inpudens*.

I rather believe that the doubling of consonants in the penultimate, as in *obtullit*, is characteristic of Northern France, including the Valley of the Loire.

A few more facts of some interest may be adduced in regard to the assimilation of *d* before *m*. This is not original in the writings of Cassian. The form *quemadmodum* occurs frequently in both the Institutions and the Conferences without variant. Assimilation is characteristic of a particular MS. *N* (Cod. 483 of the Arsenal at Paris of the 10th or 11th century) of the treatise *Contra Nestorium*. It is equally characteristic of the archetype of all the extant MSS. of Sidonius (cf. the preface by Leo to Luetjohann's edition, p. xxxi). This archetype appears to have been written in the eighth century (*ibid.* p. xxvii). It does not follow that Sidonius himself assimilated, and to judge from his text the editor appears to think that he did not. Arguing from Cassian on the one hand, and from Gregory of Tours on the other, the presumption might be thought to be in this direction; but we might, on the other hand, suppose that Sidonius derived a tendency to assimilate from his Italian connexions. An interesting MS. of Primasius on the Apocalypse (Bodl. Douce 140) repeatedly has *quemammumodum*. This MS. was probably written in England in the eighth or ninth century, but there is some reason to think that it was copied from a Merovingian exemplar. It is possible that Primasius him-

self may have written *quemammodum*. If so, his evidence would hold good for Africa in the time of Justinian. The practice of assimilating in this way might have been brought over from Italy. But the instances just quoted might suggest the conclusion that it was introduced into some French centre not later than the eighth century. I believe that *quemammodum* is a good test word, and that a fairly clear generalisation might be made out about it ; but more material must be collected.



THE END.

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PREFACE.

OF the Essays now published Nos. I, II, VI were in type when the last volume of *Studia Biblica* was issued, and were originally intended for that volume. The delay in the appearance of the present instalment has been chiefly caused by the opportunity, of which we gladly availed ourselves, to make the fifth Essay still more complete by the addition of the matter contained in the Appendices. The fullest collection of materials was in this case especially desirable, because the thorough discussion of the text of any one set of Canons would determine the lines to be followed in reconstituting the text of others, and the way would thus be prepared for a critical edition of the Early Councils generally—a task on which two of the Essayists are already engaged and with which they have made some progress. The enterprise and research which Mr. Rackham has shown in obtaining his collations, and the clearness which he has succeeded in imparting to a mass of details, will meet, we think, with deserved recognition.

An impression which appears to prevail in some quarters ought perhaps to be corrected. The volumes of *Studia Biblica* which have so far appeared are not part of a regular series which could be calculated upon beforehand. That they have appeared at all is due to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, to whom we desire to make our grateful acknowledgments. But it rests with the public rather than with ourselves to decide whether the series can be continued.

S. R. DRIVER.
T. K. CHEYNE.
W. SANDAY.

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R. E. BRÜNNOW *Frontispiece.*



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THE INTRODUCTION OF THE SQUARE CHARACTERS IN BIBLICAL MSS. AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE EARLIEST MSS. OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

[AD. NEUBAUER.]

It is not our intention to discuss here the origin of the alphabet in general, or the development of the so-called 'Hebrew square characters' from an earlier Phoenician or Aramaic alphabet. Our object is to propound an opinion respecting the introduction of the square character into the copies of the Hebrew scriptures in the place of the Phoenician or the archaic Hebrew ones. Let us state at once that it is now generally believed that the Phoenician alphabet is derived from the Hieroglyphics, and that many other forms of alphabet, especially the Greek as well as the Semitic, are taken from the Phoenician¹, which gradually underwent such modification, that at last all visible similarity to the early Phoenician characters disappeared.

The relation of the archaic characters used by the Israelites to the present square characters, will be found explained in the principal Hebrew grammars, from W. Gesenius² to B. Stade³, to which we must refer our readers. As to the substitution of the one alphabet for the other in copying the books of the Old Testament, we have to mention two special essays by the late Dr. L. Herzfeld⁴ and Professor

¹ See Fr. Lenormant, *Essai sur la propagation de l'alphabet phénicien dans l'ancien monde*, t. i. p. 88 sqq. ; also the Table of Alphabets, Plate 101 of the *London Palaeographical Society*, 2nd series.

² *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift* (Leipzig, 1815), p. 137 sqq.

³ *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 22 sqq.

⁴ *Geschichte des Volkes Israel, etc.*, 2nd ed., 2nd vol., pp. 76 to 91.

H. Graetz¹, which are inserted as excursuses to their histories of the people of Israel. The former, who wrote his important work in 1863, is necessarily not abreast of the present day as to palaeography, but he mentions all the documents relating to the subject in the Talmudic and patristic literature, and offers also valuable suggestions as to the alphabet in which the text used by the LXX must have been written, judging from the variations which their translation presents from the Massoretic text. In 1863, the Phœnician inscription dedicated to Baal Lebanon², that of the Moabite stele³, and of the Siloam Pool⁴, were not yet discovered. For the Aramaic, Dr. Herzfeld could only base his argument on the characters found in the Carpentras inscription and the Turin Papyrus⁵. And above all, he could have had no knowledge of the early inscriptions in square characters, viz. of the Bene Hezir⁶, and in the synagogue of Kefr Ber'em⁷, and some others. He therefore stands in the infancy of palaeographical science, speaking with Ewald of an alphabet brought from Egypt by the Hyksos, and maintaining with Saalschütz that the Phœnicians cannot be the inventors of the alphabet, because the original names of the letters presuppose an agricultural tribe, and not a maritime nation, such as the Phœnicians are known to have been. But, in spite of these unavoidable defects, Dr. Herzfeld's essay is still worth studying, and we can only admire the sagacity brought to bear by him upon the subject, even with the imperfect knowledge

¹ *Geschichte der Juden*, II. ii. (Leipzig, 1876), p. 400 sqq.

² See *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (Paris, 1881), part i. No. 5 (p. 22 sqq.), and our table of the alphabets.

³ See *Records of the Past*, new series (London, 1889), ii. p. 194, and our table, which is the work of the talented Semitic scholar, Prof. Rudolf E. Brünnow.

⁴ *Ibidem*, i. p. 168, and our table.

⁵ See *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, part ii. pp. 143-148, and our table.

⁶ See below, p. 17.

⁷ See *Corpus Inscriptionum Hebraicarum, etc.*, von D. Chwolson (St. Petersburg, 1882), p. 87. To this important work Professor Euting of Strasbourg has added facsimiles and an extended table of the various Semitic alphabets, which our readers may consult with great benefit.

of the development of the Phoenician alphabet which was then possessed.

Dr. Graetz, who wrote in 1876, of course availed himself of the discoveries which had then been made in the field of Semitic inscriptions, and although the Baal Lebanon Phoenician inscription as well as the Teima¹ Aramaic one was not at his disposal, he follows the right path concerning the development of the Hebrew square characters from the Aramaic.

We must not forget to mention Dr. A. Geiger's² 'Introduction to the Biblical Books,' which contains a few valuable notes on our subject.

Before proceeding with our views on the introduction of the Hebrew square characters, it may perhaps be useful to state how far the Israelites were acquainted with the art of writing before the Babylonian captivity. Whatever date may be assigned to the Biblical documents, it cannot be doubted that the Israelites were acquainted with the art of writing from an early period of their social life. It is not altogether certain whether books were originally meant by the word ספר, and whether the word כתב expressed always writing with a pen³, for it seems that there is a difference between the expressions כתב על ספר and כתב בספר. The first means writing *upon* a *Sepher*, a tablet most likely, and the second writing *in* a *Sepher*, implying a collection of writings, whether of tablets or of other material. No substantive of the root כתב is employed for a book, whether in early or later Hebrew, or to denote a professional writer, as is the case with the root ספר. In a section of the book of Judges⁴

¹ See *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, part ii. p. 110, and *Studia Biblica*, i. p. 211. For the Panammu Aramaic inscription, recently noticed by Professor A. H. Sayce (*Academy*, 7th September, 1889, p. 157), see at the end of the essay.

² *Nachgelassene Schriften*, iv. (Berlin, 1876), p. 42 sqq.

³ See Professor Georg Hoffmann's article, *Lexikalisches*, in the *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, edited by Prof. B. Stade, i. p. 335.

⁴ Judges viii. 14.

which is indisputably of early origin, we find that 'Gideon caught a young man of the men of Succoth, and enquired of him: and *wrote down* for him the princes of Succoth and the elders thereof.' Thus writing was current even amongst other classes than professional men. In the time of Samuel books were already written. We read there¹, 'Then Samuel told the people the manner of the kingdom, and wrote *it* in the book and laid *it* up before the Lord.' At the court of David the offices of a recorder and a scribe are mentioned as existing². We are not willing to enter upon a discussion about the date of the composition of the Pentateuch and of the book of Joshua, but the mention in these of the *written* books of 'Jashar'³ and 'the Wars of the Lord'⁴ is sufficient for our purpose. One has only to open a Hebrew concordance of the Bible at the word כתב 'to write,' in order to see how frequently this word occurs in Scripture, from which the conclusion may be drawn that the art of writing was freely practised by the Israelites, at least amongst the higher class of them.

We may perhaps be allowed to quote a verse of the prophet Hosea, which seems not to be preserved in its original form. He says, in the name of God⁵, according to the A.V.: 'I have written to him the great things of my law, *but* they were counted as a strange thing.' The R.V. translates, 'Though I write for him my law in ten thousand *precepts*,' and on the margin, 'I wrote for him the ten thousand things of my law,' following the Q'ri רבו instead of רב. The LXX translates as follows: καταγράψω αὐτῷ πᾶν ἄρθρον, καὶ τὰ νόμιμα αὐτοῦ. The Targum and the Syriac version have both 'a multitude.' We believe that if an emendation has to be made, it ought to be that proposed by eminent scholars, such as Newcome, Graf, Kuenen, and M. J. Halévy⁶, viz. דברי instead of רבי, 'words of my law,' words having the meaning

¹ 1 Sam. x. 25.² 2 Sam. xx. 24, 25.³ Joshua x. 13.⁴ Numbers xxi. 14.⁵ Hosea viii. 12.⁶ See the various readings in the *Variorum Bible* (2nd ed.), *a. l.*

here of 'commandments,' which are called elsewhere דברים 'words'.¹ But for our purpose it will prove in any case that something of the law was written down for the nation in the time of Hosea.

We know that the neighbouring nations were at the time of David far advanced in the art of writing. The Phoenicians had already disseminated their alphabet throughout the greater part of the world, the Assyrian libraries were already filled with brick tablets and cylinders on which all kinds of records were written down in the cuneiform characters, in which a large correspondence was discovered lately at Tel el-Amarna, written about 1400 B.C., and in which reference is made to Palestinian cities². Moreover, the kings of Aram sent letters to the kings of Israel³. King Mesha's inscription⁴ of thirty-four lines shows clearly that in the ninth century B.C. the Moabites were acquainted with the art of writing. This inscription is written in characters slightly differing from those employed by the Phoenicians in the Baal Lebanon fragment⁵; they must have been in use amongst the Moabites some time before the ninth century, for a people scarcely begins writing with a text of thirty-four lines.

That the Israelites, so familiar with the art of writing, also used a kind of Phoenician script, at least as early as the time of David, was generally admitted⁶, chiefly because of the resemblance of the Phoenician alphabet to that found on the Maccabean coins. This has now been confirmed by the discovery of the Siloam inscription⁷, the first deciphering of which we owe to Professor Sayce. The letters of the Siloam text are much nearer those of the Phoenician alphabet

¹ Exodus xx. 1; Deuteronomy v. 19.

² See Professor Sayce's article in the *Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, Annual Address, 1889.

³ 2 Kings v. 5, 6.

⁴ See note 3 on p. 2.

⁵ See our table.

⁶ See Gesenius (note 2 on p. 1), p. 139 sqq.

⁷ See above, p. 2; also Guthe in the *Zeitschrift der deutsch. morg. Gesellschaft*, 1882, p. 725.

than those of the Jewish coins of the second Temple. It is a curious fact, however, that among the monuments of the Phoenicians (the supposed inventors of the earliest alphabet), which we possess, there is none older than 1000-900 B.C., while of Jewish monuments the Siloam inscription remains unique. The Siloam characters are already more cursive than those of the Moabite stele¹, and in characters similar to them, but perhaps still more cursive, we have to suppose that the book found in the Temple, and those carried away by the exiles (if they did so) would have been written.

The Phoenician characters, with more or less modifications, were evidently current, for commercial purposes at least, about the year 700 B.C., and were used from Egypt to the Mediterranean lands, and extending as far as Assyria. The latter country, where the cuneiform system of writing continued to be employed up to the date of the fall of Nineveh, while in Babylonia it was used even so late as the reign of Domitian, was obliged to carry on its official correspondence in Aramaic characters, a modification of the Phoenician script, when it became master of Aram (Mesopotamia), Damascus, Arabia, Palestine, and Egypt. On Assyrian weights of 700 B.C. we find Phoenician characters², and Rabshakeh was asked by Eliakim, Shebna and Joash to speak Aramaic, which they understood, and not in *Yehudith* or Hebrew, the language of the common people³. Some letters on these Assyrian weights have already undergone important modifications from the Baal Lebanon characters in the direction of a cursive form. For instance, the *daleth* is already open at the top, like that of the later Aramaic monuments in Egypt; the *heth* is more simple, having only one horizontal stroke, and thus approaches the Hebrew square character; the *yod* is the smallest letter; the *lamed* is simply cursive; and the *ain* is also open. Unfortunately there is a gap in the Aramaic monuments, between the Assyrian

¹ See the table.

² *Ibidem*, col. 6.

³ Isaiah xxxvi. 11.

weights and the stele of Saqqarah in Egypt, the date of which is only 482 B.C., fifty-four years after the return of the exiles from Babylonia. Here the *beth* and the *resh* are already open; the *he* inclined already to the Hebrew square form; the *shin* is but the square form in an undeveloped state; the *aleph*, although nearer to the old Phoenician form, inclines towards that of the Siloam inscription. We can see from this short description of the gradual modification of the Phoenician letters, according to time and locality, how possible it was that in the countries where the Jewish exiles were settled, the Phoenician characters might have already reached a cursive stage, approaching the so-called square character. The letters of the Palmyrene inscriptions, which date from 9 B.C., as far as they have been at present discovered, though they differ in details, are in all essential respects similar to the Hebrew square characters¹. Of course there must be earlier inscriptions in Palmyra, which we hope may soon come to light.

Let us now turn to the Jews after their return from exile in Babylonia, where they had remained for more than two generations. If this space of time was not sufficient to extinguish entirely their language, two generations are more than enough for the adoption of the writing of a country, in which business was to be carried on. If the Aramaic language had partly modified the Hebrew of the exiles, it is certain that the Aramaic writing, which was so similar to the Old Hebrew of the Siloam inscription, must have done so. When the Jews returned to Jerusalem there was a correspondence with the court of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, and the writing of the letters was in Aramaic characters and interpreted in the Aramaic tongue², (A.V. has in the Syrian tongue, which comes to the same thing.) This is, however, no proof that the Jews had forgotten altogether their old writing, but from this passage it is evident that the official

¹ See the table; also De Vogué, *Syrie Centrale*, p. 3.

² Ezra iv. 7.

correspondence with the Persian court was carried on in the Aramaic tongue and in Aramaic characters; and many of those who returned from exile may have known both. The book of the Law, out of which Ezra read before the congregation¹, and from which copies were made, might consequently have been written: 1st, either in the old Hebrew letters, similar to those found on the Maccabean coins; 2nd, or in Aramaic characters, which the exiles brought back with them from Babylonia; 3rd, or in both forms of writing, for the benefit alike of the Babylonian Jews, a great number of whom settled in the country, as well as of the Jews who had remained in Palestine and could only read the old Hebrew script. We incline to the last hypothesis, for it is certain that the Jews who remained in Babylonia must have needed a copy of the Law in their own mode of writing, if they had to read it in their synagogues, and interpret it in their schools. And Ezra or his immediate successors must surely have taken care that the Law should not be neglected out of the Holy Land.

The Talmudic tradition, to which, however, we cannot always allow a historical value, declares that the change of characters in writing the text of scripture was made by Ezra.

On this point we find the following statement in various parts of the Talmud²:

אמר מר זוטרא ואיתימא מר עוקבא בתחילה ניתנה תורה לישראל בכתב עברי ולשון הקודש חזרה וניתנה להם בימי עזרא בכתב אשורית ולשון ארמי ביררו להן לישראל כתב אשורית ולשון הקודש והניחו להדיוטות כתב עברית ולשון ארמי. מאן הדיוטות א"ר חסדא כותאי מאי כתב עברית א"ר חסדא כתב ליבונאה. תנא ר' יוסי אומר ראוי היה עזרא שתינתן תורה ע"י ישראל אילמלא לא קדמו משה במשה הוא אומר ומשה עלה אל האלהים בעזרא הוא אומר הוא עזרא עלה מבבל מה עלייה האמור כאן תורה אף עלייה האמור להלן תורה במשה הוא אומר ואותי צוה יי בעת ההיא ללמד

¹ Nehemiah viii. 3.

² *Bab. Talmud*, Sanhedrin, ff. 21^b and 22^a, of which we give the text, being the completest. Compare, *Tosiftha*, Sanhedrin, iv. 7 (ed. Zuckermann), pp. 421 and 422; *Palestinian* (or Jerusalem) *Talmud*, Megillah, i. 9 (fol. 7^b and ^c), and partly Sotah, vii. 2 (fol. 21^c). It is useless to give variations, since they do not bear upon our thesis.

אתכם חקים ומשפטים בעזרא הוא אומר כי עזרא הכין לבבו לדרוש את תורת יי אלהיו ולעשות וללמד לישראל חוק ומשפט ואע"פ שלא ניתנה תורה על ידו נשתנה על ידו הכתב שנאמר וכתב הנשתון כתוב ארמית ומתרגם ארמית . . . למה נקרא אשורית שעלה עמהם מאשור תניא ר' אומר בתחלה בכתב זה ניתנה תורה לישראל כיון שחטאו נהפך להן לרועץ כיון שחזרו בהן החזירו להם . . . למה נקרא שמה אשורית שמאשרת בכתב רש"ב אומר משום ר"א בן פרמא שאמר משום ר"א המודעי כתב זה לא נשתנה כל עיקר :

'Mar Zutra (a Babylonian doctor of the fourth century) says, and others report it in the name of Mar Uqba (of the same date): "The law was in the first instance given to Israel in *Ibri* characters and in the holy language; in the time of Ezra the law was given a second time in Assyrian characters, and in the Aramaic language. Israel chose then the Assyrian characters, with the holy language, and left to the *Idiotes* the *Ibri* writing with the Aramaic language." Who are the Idiotes? R. Hisda (a Babylonian doctor of the fourth century) says: the *Kuthim*, or the Samaritans. What is the *Ibri* writing? The *Libunah*¹ characters.' This passage of the Bab. Talmud is continued in the following manner: 'R. Jose (who lived in the third century) says, "Ezra was worthy that the law should have been given through him, if Moses had not done it before. In fact, in the case of both the expression עלה 'to ascend' is employed. It is said²: 'And Moses went up unto God,' and it is said³, 'This Ezra went up from Babylon.' As the going up of Moses was for the sake of the law, so it was in the case of Ezra. Indeed it is said of Moses⁴, 'And the Lord commanded me at that time to teach you statutes and judgments.' And it is equally said of Ezra⁵, 'For Ezra had prepared his heart to seek the law of the Lord, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments.' Although the law was not given through Ezra, the writing was changed by him, as it is written⁶, 'The writing of the letter was written in Aramaic and with Ara-

¹ See below, p. 11.

² Exodus xix. 3.

³ Ezra vii. 6.

⁴ Deut. iv. 14.

⁵ Ezra vii. 10.

⁶ Ezra iv. 7.

maic characters¹. . . The passage continues: "Why is the writing called *Ashurith*? Because it came up with them from *Ashur* (Assyria)." Rabbi [Jehudah] (the compiler of the Mishnah, who lived 180 A.D.) said: "In the first instance the law was given to Israel in Assyrian characters. After they had sinned, the characters were changed into Roatz², and when they repented the original characters were given back to them . . . Why is it called *Ashurith*? Because it is a straight character, אֲשׁר signifying *straight*." R. Eleazar, son of Prata, said in the name of R. Eleazar, of Modein (who lived at the beginning of the second century), the present writing has not been changed at all . . .'

In another passage³, the following saying is reported in the name of R. Eliezer, son of Jacob; he said that three prophets went with the exiles to the Holy Land. The one gave witness as to the place where the altar stood, and how it was shaped; the second gave witness that sacrifices are offered even when the Temple is not yet built; and the third affirmed that the law will be written in Assyrian script.

תנא ר"א בן יעקב אומר שלשה נביאים עלו עמם מן הגולה. אחד שהעיד להם על המזבח ועל מקום המזבח ואחד שהעיד להם שמקריבין אף על פי שאין בית ואחד שהעיד להם על התורה שתכתב אשורית:

In the Mishnah⁴ the Assurith is considered holy and the Ibri profane. From these passages it follows that tradition was aware of a change undergone by the writing at a remote date, and unknown to the rabbis, on account of which they attributed it to Ezra. And we shall see that they were partially right in their opinion. Of course the sayings of Rabbi [Jehudah] and R. Eleazar have no historical value, since they only tried to save the antiquity of the Assyrian characters, for the sake of orthodoxy. Philo even says that the Assyrian characters date from Moses. Origen and Jerome further

¹ The . . . are in the place of the Biblical verses which are adduced in the Talmud, and explained in an Agadic manner for the purpose.

² See below, p. 11.

³ *Bab. Talmud*, Z'bahim, fol. 62a.

⁴ *Zabim*, iv. 7.

mention that the new characters were introduced by Ezra. Finally, the Samaritan chronicle of Abul-Fatah (written in the eleventh century) states that Ezra changed the Ibri characters, and introduced twenty-seven letters, which means that it attributes to Ezra the five final forms of כ, נ, ג, ע, and ז¹. We have seen² that the Palestinian doctors call the old Ibri writing קרע, and the Babylonian Hisdai calls it לִבְנֵי. The derivation of these two terms remains at present doubtful. But we shall not trouble our readers with all the possible interpretations of these two words proposed by scholars. We believe, with Dr. Hoffmann³, that the right reading of the first word is קרע, a variation mentioned by R. Hananel (who lived in the tenth century), in his commentary on the Talmud⁴. This reading is perhaps confirmed by Epiphanius, who says in his treatise on the twelve stones of the ephod (preserved in Latin only), that Ezra brought the Pentateuch, which was formerly written 'forma Hebraei *decession*, quod interpretatur "insculptum".' The root קרע, in Syriac and Aramaic, means *to fix in*, and hence might not unnaturally be used in the sense of *engrave*; and the old Ibri writing was known to the Palestinian doctors of the third century by coins alone, since they had little communication with the Samaritans, and after all the Samaritan characters had already assumed calligraphic forms, introduced by scribes. It is most likely that the Babylonian rabbi knew the old Ibri characters from inscriptions on bricks, and therefore called it *Libonai*, which means on brick⁵. We have seen from the Talmud that the square characters are called 'Assyrian' because the Jews brought them from Assyria. The name of Assyria was employed for a long time after the

¹ See Herzfeld, *op. cit.* (note 4 on p. 1), p. 77.

² See above, p. 9.

³ *Op. cit.* (note 3 on p. 3), p. 335.

⁴ See *Beiträge zur hebräischen Grammatik im Talmud und Midrasch*, von Dr. A. Berliner (Berlin, 1879), p. 8.

⁵ We do not believe that the Babylonian Hisdai knew much about the locality לִבְנֵי (Judges xxi. 19), from which Dr. Hoffmann seeks to explain Libnai, *op. cit.* (note 3 on p. 3), p. 338.

fall of the Assyrian empire, in order to denote Mesopotamia. Even the King of Persia is called¹ King of Assur. In Greek writers² Assyria is often employed for Aramaic countries, which were later called Syria. In fact the name of Syria is derived from the name Assyria. Even the system of vowel-points employed in the eighth century A. D. in some Eastern schools, which are placed above the letters, is termed the Assyrian punctuation, whilst the system used by the Western school is called the Palestinian punctuation, or that of Tiberias. Those rabbis who did not like the idea of the introduction of foreign characters into the Bible, explained the traditional phrase 'Assyrian writing' by the word אֲשֶׁר 'straight.' Epiphanius, in the above-mentioned passage³, says of the new writing, 'haec igitur forma, quam nunc tenent Judaei, vocatur *Somahirenus*.' There is clearly here a corruption of the text, which can be cleared up only by an examination of the MSS.

We must now refer to two other statements in the Talmud, which have reference to the new species of writing introduced by Ezra. R. Levi (a Palestinian rabbi of the third century) says⁴, in reference to the tables of the Law, that 'if they were written in old lbrī characters, the ץ must have stood there by a miracle, and if they were written in Assyrian, the ם must have stood there by a miracle.' This has to be explained in the following way. The Biblical passage, where it is said that 'the tables were written on both their sides, on the one side and on the other were they written' (Exodus xxxii. 15), is interpreted to mean that the letters when engraved were cut through the whole thickness of the stone. Consequently the ץ, which forms on the Maccabean coins a circle or triangle, and the ם, which has a circular form in later Aramaic, and in the Hebrew square writing, when cut through the whole thickness of the monument, must have stood in their place by

¹ Ezra vi. 22.

² See for the passages Herzfeld, *op. cit.* (note 4 on p. 1), p. 90. The Syrian Tatian is called an Assyrian.

³ See above, p. 11.

⁴ *Jer. Talmud*, Megillah, i. 9 מעשה עין החורה לרועץ נחנה החורה עין מעשה א"ר לוי מאן דא' לרועץ נחנה החורה עין מעשה נסים. נסים. מאן דא' אשורי נחנה החורה סמך מעשה נסים.

a miracle. R. Hisda makes a similar statement¹, saying, that if the tables were written in 'Assyrian' writing, the final **ד** and the **ד** stood there by a miracle. From the last statement we must conclude that the final form of the **ד**, or perhaps of all the five letters **ב**, **ד**, **ג**, **ה**, and **ז**, was established in the third century A.D. We shall, however, find two of these final letters on a monument of the first century B.C.²

The tradition is thus pretty general that a new form of writing was introduced after the exile for copying scripture, and the early tradition attributed it to Ezra. Now there is no reason why we should not agree with this tradition of the rabbis and the early Christian fathers. There is in fact nothing else possible, but to admit that the Pentateuch, (for this book was the first to be multiplied by copies,) was simultaneously written in the old *Ibri* and in the Aramaic characters, before either of them was declared sacred. The one once being declared sacred, the other would not have been accepted by the schools without prolonged discussion; and there is no trace of such discussions in the early or later schools. To say that the old *Ibri* characters developed gradually into the Aramaic³, a process which would have required scores of years, if not centuries, implies an ignorance of the character of the Jews after their return from exile. They would not have exchanged the one form of writing for the other when its sanctity had once impressed itself on the mind of the nation through its use in transcribing scripture. A clear proof of human obstinacy in adhering to a particular form of characters when once declared sacred, is that the Samaritans, who must surely have been in contact with Aramaic writing, still kept to the old characters which long use had made them consider sacred, after the modified Aramaic characters were already in general use, not only amongst the Jews, but amongst the populations of Egypt, Syria, and the

¹ *Bab. Talmud*, Shabbath, fol. 104^a אמר רב חסדא סם וסמך שנילווחו בנס יהי עומדין.

² See p. 17.

³ A. Geiger, *op. cit.* (note 2 on p. 3), p. 43.



Mediterranean coast. It is therefore very probable that the two forms of script were employed simultaneously in the Pentateuch until the Maccabean wars, when nearly all the copies of it were probably destroyed, and scripture could only be restored by means of copies from Mesopotamia and Babylonia which were written in the Aramaic characters, used at the time in these countries and also in Egypt. These characters already closely resemble the so-called square letters, though in a still undeveloped state, as can be seen from the Egyptian papyri of the third and second century, several of which bear marks of Hebrew¹. The Jews of the better class were now generally acquainted with the Aramaic mode of writing, and there was consequently no difficulty in introducing it into the synagogues and schools. The Samaritans, however, retained their old writing which had become holy by long use, and have not admitted a change of characters down to our own days.

As for the other biblical books, we believe that they were written in Aramaic characters solely from the beginning, since no early use was made of them in the service of the Temple, and they were not the object of exegesis in the schools of the priests. Most likely the Psalms were recited in the Temple, and the lessons from the Prophets were delivered from memory by professional men. This seems to us to be the reason why the Samaritans accepted no book of Holy Scripture except the Pentateuch, which alone was written both in old *Ibri* and in Aramaic characters. This fact, however, would not exclude the possibility that parts of the earlier Prophets, of the Psalms and of other records, may have been preserved in the old *Ibri* characters in private hands. It is also possible that many apocryphal books were not received into the Canon because they were written in old *Ibri* letters; what other reason² could there have been

¹ *Corpus Inscr. Sem.*, part ii. pp. 137 and 148 sqq., and our table. See also Nöldeke in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed., vol. xxi. p. 647.

² The reason given, that it was rejected because it bore the name of the author, does not seem plausible.

for rejecting the book of Sirach, for instance, which is of as early a date as 200 B. C., and contains nothing but ethical aphorisms, which are not at variance with any Biblical record? An early Greek translation of it was made by the grandson of the author in Egypt, because the Egyptian Jews not only knew imperfectly the Hebrew tongue, but perhaps also because they could not read the old Ibri character. Thus, instead of transcribing it into Aramaic characters, it was thought preferable to make a Greek translation of it for more general use.

We are inclined to believe that the Septuagint version was made from a copy or copies of the Pentateuch, written in Aramaic characters as far developed in the direction of the square forms as in the Egyptian papyri of 300 to 100 B. C., or in the Hebrew inscription of Gezer about 200 B. C.¹ We shall not insist upon the frequent confusion between *vaw* and *yod*, the forms of both being nearly the same, as may be seen from the name of יהוה, written on the margins of the Greek translation ΠΙΠΙΙ². Indeed, although it is evident from the passage in Matthew³ that the *yod* was the smallest letter in the time of Christ, and although it is in this form that we find it on the Aramaic papyri of Egypt, 100 B. C., as well as in the epitaph of the family Hezir, in Jerusalem, about the same date, and constantly in the Palmyrene inscriptions of 9 B. C.⁴, it is nevertheless almost identical with the *vaw* on the inscription of the synagogue of Kefr Ber'em in Galilee, of the second century A. D. And from the rule, which we find in the Talmud as late as the fifth century A. D., that the professional scribes of the Pentateuch scrolls must take care not to write *yod* like *vaw*, it is plain that these two letters were still liable to be confused at a very late date⁵.

¹ See our table of alphabets.

² Jerome says erroneously that it was written in archaic characters. See Gesenius, *op. cit.* (note 3 on p. 1), p. 176.

³ Mat. v. 18.

⁴ See for all these inscriptions the table of alphabets.

⁵ Prof. Graetz, *op. cit.* (note 2 on p. 1), p. 407, concludes that the Gospel of St. Matthew must be later than the Kefr Ber'em inscription, which is scarcely admissible.

We shall pass over the confusion of letters occurring in proper names in the Hebrew text and in the Septuagint. But when we find, in Gen. xlix. 22, what follows according to the A. V. in agreement with the Hebrew text: 'Joseph is a fruitful bough (Heb. son), *even* a fruitful bough (son) by a well; whose branches (Heb. daughters) run over the wall;' translated in the LXX: *Υἱὸς γηρῆμένος Ἰωσήφ, υἱὸς γηρῆμένος μου ζηλωτός, υἱὸς μου νεώτατος πρὸς με ἀνάστρεψον*, we have to suppose the following text for the latter part of the verse (we have not been able to hit upon one for *μου ζηλωτός*): *בנות צעדה (צעדו) עלי שור* instead of *בני הצערי עלי שוב*. Now the confusion between ה and ת and between ב and ר can only be explained by the help of advanced Aramaic, as in the papyri. In verse 14 where the A. V. renders by 'Issachar is a strong ass,' the LXX translate *Ἰσάχαρ τὸ καλὸν ἐπεθύμησεν*, which would represent in Hebrew *יִשְׁשַׁכַּר חֲמֹד נָרַם*, and if so, as the confusion between ט and ס is only possible in the same advanced Aramaic characters, it points to the same conclusion. An investigation into the various forms of characters in which scripture lay before the Greek translators by the reconstruction of the text according to their translation would certainly clear up many doubts. But any one who would undertake this laborious task must bear in mind, that the Greek translators, like the Targumists, sometimes followed the interpretation current in the schools of the time, so that a different translation does not always imply a different text, more especially in prophetic passages.

Of course we must not suppose that the earliest copies with square characters were specimens of calligraphic art, such as are to be found in our present MSS. We have only to look at the following scanty inscriptions which exist written in Hebrew square characters; they are (1) that of Araq-el-Emir¹ consisting of five letters, which according to a photograph read *עריביה* or *עריכיה*, and which we believe is of

¹ Chwolson, *op. cit.* (note 7 on p. 2), p. 55, reproduced more exactly from a photograph in Dr. Driver's *Notes on Samuel*, p. xxii.

a much later date than 350 B. C. as originally supposed. The *yod* has still the ancient form as in the stele of Saqqarah. (2) That of Gezer¹, probably of the second century B. C., in which we read תחמונר 'limit of Gezer,' i. e. a Sabbath day's journey². (3) On the porta triplex at Jerusalem³, containing most probably the following words: כָּלֵב בֶּן יוֹסֵף בֶּן יוֹחָנָן 'Caleb son of Joseph son of Johanan,' of doubtful date, but certainly not earlier than the first century B. C. (4) The epitaph of the family of Hezir⁴, discovered at the entrance to the so-called tomb of St. James, containing the following words: זֶה הוּא קֶבֶר הַחֹמֶשׁ [כ] לְאֵלְעָזָר חֲנִיָּה יוֹעֵזֶר יְהוּדָה שִׁמְעוֹן יוֹחָנָן בְּנֵי יוֹסֵף בֶּן ב סָפּ וְאֵלְעָזָר בֶּן חֲנִיָּה מִבְּנֵי חוּזִיר 'this tomb and resting-place is of Eleazar, Hanayah, Yoezer, Judah, Simeon, Johanan son of Joseph son . . . sph and Eleazar sons of Hanayah of the sons of Hezir.' The date is supposed to be between the first century B. C. and the first half of the first century A. D., probably about the first year of the Christian era. Here we find the final forms of the *nun* and *pe*. (5) The inscription of a royal sarcophagus⁵ found in the tombs of the kings, having a Syriac inscription with the following words: צֶדֶן מַלְכֻתָּא, *Zdn*, the queen, and a Hebrew one צֶדָה מַלְכֻתָּא, *Zdh*, the queen; the date assigned to it is the first century A. D. It is perhaps the sarcophagus of the queen of Adiabene. (6) An inscription discovered near Jerusalem⁶, on a road leading to the so-called tomb of the Judges or the Prophets, probably of the first century A. D., in which we read the words הַמְשַׁכֵּב הוּא שֶׁל חַסְדִּיָּה [דִּי] 'this resting-place of Has[diyah].'

It is useless to proceed to later texts and to mention the inscriptions of the catacombs of Rome, the inscriptions of the synagogue of Kefr Ber'em in Galilee, the epitaphs of Venosa, and the Babylonian vases, which are all in Hebrew characters more or less cursive. But we must not omit to

¹ Chwolson, *ibidem*, p. 58.

² Acts i. 12.

³ Chwolson, *ibidem*, p. 62.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 64, or Dr. Driver's *Notes on Samuel*, p. xxiii.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 72.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 74.

state that the dates of the epitaphs found in the Crimea, the earliest of which is dated 6 A. D., are all forgeries, and that none of them is earlier than 1250¹; we shall see subsequently that this is the case as regards the dates of some Pentateuch scrolls, one of which bears the date of 489 A. D.

We have seen that the undeveloped forms of the 'square' letters are to be found in the papyri of 400 B. C., and more distinctly on the stele of Saqqarah 482 B. C. In the lately discovered Aramaic inscriptions of Teima, which are at the latest of the fourth century B. C., the square form of the ן is already met with². Thus the new Aramaic writing may safely be attributed to Ezra or his immediate successors, and be considered as having been simultaneously used along with the old Ibrī letters, passing out of use after the triumph of the Maccabees—except among the Samaritans—for Biblical texts. It was at that time when the MSS. of the Pentateuch became rare that new copies exclusively in Aramaic characters were introduced among the Jews.

We have a vague statement in the Talmud which refers generally to that epoch. It is said³ that three books (Pentateuchs) were found in the Temple (Azarah), by the majority of which variations of reading were settled. We learn from this how the men who fixed the text of scripture must have gone to work. And the fact that the introduction of the new writing is not mentioned, indicates that it must have been almost universal at the time. The MSS. referred to in the passage were destroyed (or had long since perished), and their places were taken by new ones. No doubt, the same was the case with all MSS. of later date, the new ones causing the older ones to disappear. The result of printing the Talmud is a striking illustration of this. There is now only one complete MS. of it at Munich, and this of com-

¹ See Dr. Harkavy's essay, *Altjüdische Denkmäler aus der Krim*, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, vii^e série, t. xxiv, No. 1 (1876), p. 168 sqq.

² *Corp. Inscr. Sem.*, part ii. t. i. p. 107 sqq.

³ *Palest. Talmud*, Ta'anith, iv. 2.

paratively late date. Yet it is certain that at least each school belonging to various congregations had a copy of the Talmud, while there were also many in private hands.

After the destruction of the second Temple in the time of the Mishnah, there were many copies of the Old Testament in existence; we find, for instance, the mention of glosses in a copy made by R. Meir¹, a great doctor and a professional scribe. Curiously enough some of these glosses or various readings have been lately discovered in a Midrash, compiled before 1280 A. D.², where it is said that they were taken from a scroll carried away by the Romans after the capture of Jerusalem³. This is the earliest MS. known of the Law or the Pentateuch, though lost like many others, but out of which not less than thirty-two variations from our Massoretic text are preserved. Josephus, in his description of the triumph which Vespasian held at Rome after his capture of Jerusalem, says amongst other things⁴: 'But for those that were taken in the Temple of Jerusalem, they made the greatest figure of them all: that is the golden table, of the weight of many talents; the candlestick also, that was made of gold, . . . and last of all the spoils was carried the law of the Jews.' Towards the end of the same chapter he says, that whilst Vespasian laid up in the Temple of Peace, as ensigns of his glory, those golden vessels and instruments that were taken from the Jewish Temple, he gave orders that they should deposit their law, and the purple veils of the holy place, in the royal palace itself, and keep them there. What was the reason that the great conqueror took such care to carry with him a copy of the Law, and assign to it such an honourable place,

¹ See the Rev. Isidore Harris's essay, *The Rise and the Development of the Massorah*, in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. i. p. 134.

² The Midrash is quoted very often by Raymundus Martini in his *Pugio fidei*, composed in 1278. See *The Expositor*, 1888 (vol. 7), p. 100 sqq.

³ See the essay of Herr A. Epstein, *Ein von Titus nach Rom gebrachter Pentateuch-Codez und seine Varianten*, in the *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1885, p. 338 sqq. Also 1886, p. 274 sqq.

⁴ *Wars*, VII. v. 7.

whilst Titus, as Josephus mentions¹, presented him with many other codices captured by him, and whilst on the other hand, as the Talmud relates² in a legend, they were destroyed and profaned by him and his soldiers? No doubt it must have been a precious copy of the Law to which the Temple authorities attached special value, and this copy reached Rome about 70 A. D. Of course this precious scroll was destroyed with many other treasures of the city of the world together with the vessels of the Jerusalem Temple. This precious MS., however, did not always remain in the imperial palace, for it was handed over to a synagogue after 220 A. D. In a Midrash³, attributed to Rabbi Moses, the preacher, at Narbonne, thirty-two variants are mentioned in the Pentateuch, found in the copy of the Law which was taken from Jerusalem to Rome and preserved in the synagogue of Asverus. (The Aramaic wording of this sentence may claim to be authentic.) Before mentioning a few of the most important variations, the synagogue of Asverus has to be identified. This has been done ingeniously by Herr A. Epstein⁴ in a German essay of which we shall reproduce the substance. Asverus according to Oriental spelling represents the name of Severus. Now there might have been a synagogue at Rome built by a proselyte named Severus, although this is improbable, since the proselytes received usually Hebrew names. Besides, by what influence could a private person obtain a treasure laid up in the imperial palace? But let us see if we cannot find traces of an emperor Severus who was friendly to the Jews as Julian was. The Palestinian Talmud⁵ relates that Antoninus obtained information at the school of Rabbi (the editor of the Mishnah) about the building of an altar and about preparing incense, a fact from which we may conclude that this emperor intended to build for the Jews of Rome a place of worship similar to that of Jerusalem. This Antoninus has been iden-

¹ *Vita*, 75.

² *Bab. Talmud*, Gittin, fol. 66^b.

³ See above, p. 19, note 2.

⁴ See above, p. 19, note 3.

⁵ Megillah, i. 11.

tified with very good reason by the eminent historian of the Jews, Prof. Graetz¹, with Antoninus Alexander Severus. On the other hand we may infer from Lampridius² that Severus was considered a friend of the Jews. Lampridius relates that Severus was called at a public feast by men of Alexandria and Antiochia 'Archisynagogus and high-priest.' This is perhaps a direct allusion to the synagogue built by him with a kind of altar in it. To this synagogue the emperor probably transferred the precious scroll, out of which the compiler of the Midrash reports thirty-two variations, which are now published according to two MSS.³ We shall only mention a few striking ones; some of them are corrupt in the MSS. and not intelligible as yet. In Genesis xviii. 21, 22 we read, 'And the Lord said, Because the cry of Sodom and Gomorrah is great, and because their sin is very grievous, I will go down now, and see whether they have done altogether according to the cry of it, which is come unto me.' The Asverus MS. reads הכצעקתם 'their cry,' which is parallel to 'their sin' in the previous verse. Indeed the Septuagint translates *κραυγὴν αὐτῶν* and so also the Aramaic translations, הכקבילתהון. In Gen. xxiv. 7 'The Lord God of heaven, which took me from my father's house, and from the land of my kindred,' lit. from the land of my birth. The A. V. by translating 'of my kindred' avoided the difficulty, that Abraham was born at Ur Kasdim, whilst his family settled at Haran. The Asverus scroll has 'from my father's house and from my land' (ומארצו). Gen. xlviii. 7 'And I buried her (Rachel) in the way of Ephrath, the same is Bethlehem.' This is in the first instance a geographical difficulty. Besides, according to 1 Samuel x. 2 and Jeremiah xxxi. 15, Rachel's grave was in the land of Benjamin, and not in Judah. The Asverus scroll has only 'And I buried her on the way.' R. Meir also says distinctly, according to the Siphre, that Rachel died in the territory of

¹ *Monatsschrift*, etc. (note 3 on p. 19), 1852, p. 430 sqq.

² *Ad Alexandrum Severum*, Cap. 28.

³ See *Monatsschrift*, etc. (note 3 on p. 19), 1887, p. 508, where we find the reading of ראסירוס instead of ראסירוס.

Benjamin¹. This scroll omits the two names of the towns Adma and Zeboim after Sodom and Gomorrah in Deut. xxix. 22 (23). Indeed the four cities are nowhere else mentioned together. Some of the variations to be found in the Asverus scroll are also quoted in the Midrash² from a MS. written by R. Meir. That the variations in this MS. are not an invention of the Talmudists may be seen from Jerome, who says in his commentary on Isaiah xxi. 11: 'The burden of Dumah, that some Jews read *Rumah* for *Dumah*, which means to say that they apply this prophecy to Rome. And the Talmud states that in the MS. of R. Meir, *Rumah* stood in the place of *Dumah* ³.' One fact is clear from the Asverus MS., viz. that although the text of the Pentateuch was in constant use in the synagogues from an early time and therefore better fixed than that of the other Biblical books, still there were not less than thirty-two variations from the Massoretic text, a fact which ought to be taken into consideration by the adversaries of Biblical criticism.

It cannot be doubted that the Jews, when dispersed over the world, were provided with copies of the Pentateuch, from the Babylonian and the Palestinian schools, besides the lessons of the Prophets, or the *Haftaroth*, the Psalms, the five 'Megilloth,' and the book of Job, which were all used in the synagogues on the sabbath, festivals, and fast days. Not a leaf of these copies is known at present to exist. We may ask where are the copies without vowel-points, which were certainly not introduced before the sixth century at the earliest? Did they all perish in the frequent persecutions of the Jews, or were they destroyed when the vowel-points were introduced, or do fragments of them still exist in some old synagogue, hidden away in remote corners? We hope that the last suggestion may prove to be the correct one, and that after thorough searching in the East, some of these

¹ See Herr Epstein's discussion on this point in the *Monatsschrift*, etc. (note 3 on p. 19), 1887, p. 345.

² *B'reshith Rabba*, chaps. ix, xx.

³ *Palest. Talmud*, Ta'anith, i. 1.

fragments may be brought to light, as was the case with the MS. of A. D. 916, now at St. Petersburg. Many MSS., now lost, are indeed mentioned in the Massorah as well as in early commentators and in Hebrew chronicles. In the first instance, we may mention the famous codex Hilleli, attributed by some to Hillel the elder—which it is unnecessary to prove cannot be the case. Abraham Zakkuth (in his chronicle, composed about 1500) states that on the 28th of Ab, of the year 4957 A. M. = 14th of August, 1197 A. D., there was a great persecution at Leon, in Spain. At that time the famous and very correct codex, which was written 600 years before that time, viz. about 600 A. D., by Hillel¹, and therefore called Hilleli, was carried away from Leon, and was used for the collation and correction of existing MSS. 'I saw of it', says Zakkuth, 'the parts containing the Prophets, written in large and carefully executed characters, at Bugia, in Africa, whither it was brought by the exiles from Portugal.' According to David Qamhi's statement in his grammar, the Pentateuch of this famous MS. was some time at Toledo. A newly acquired MS. in the Bodleian Library², written at Cairo, 1564, reads more correctly, 'written by Hillel son of Moses son of Hillel,' and thus the name of Hilleli is justified³. We know a scribe named Moses ben Hillel, who

¹ So in ed. princeps (3 E, 1^b) and other editions according to it. Ed. Filipowski (according to the MS. of Oxford, No. 2202 of our catalogue) has (fol. 220*) Moses ben Hillel (see the article of Prof. H. L. Strack, in the *Zeitschrift für Lutherische Theologie*, 1875, p. 599).

² We read in the MS. Hebr. d. 16, of the Bodleian Library, the following: בשנת: חתקל [1.15*] ביום זה לירח אב היה שמר גדול במלכות ליאון משני מלכים שבאו עליהם במצור אחר ואו הוציאו משם הלז ספרים שהיו כתובים קורם לכן כמו שש מאות שנה שכתב אותם ר' הלל בן משה בן הלל ועל שמו נקרא ההלילי שהיו מרויקות ומהם מגיהים כל הספרים ואני ראיתי השני מקראות נביאים ראשונים ואחרונים מכתבת אותיות גדולות ומדוייקות שהביאו מגרוש פורשגאל [] בגוגיאה באפריקה ושם הם שיש עתה מ' מאות שנה שנכתבו והקמחי בחלק הדקדוק קודם שדבר על הדקדוק למען תזכור אומ' כי החומש מן ההלילי היה בשולישלה.

³ Consequently our suggestion (*Jewish Chronicle*, 1886, fol. 12*, 22 January, where a part of this paper is printed), that the Hilleli may have been written at Hillah, near Bagdad, and therefore called Hillali, must be abandoned.

* See Graetz, *Gesch. der Juden*, t. vi. p. 212, where we read 9 Ab instead of 28.

copied a MS. of the Hagiographa, now in St. Petersburg, in the year 994 A.D.¹ Whether our Hillel is the son of this Moses, or an ancestor, is difficult to decide, for the date which Zakkuth gives cannot be exact. The Hilleli codex is at present lost, but lists of the variations in it are to be found in a number of MSS., some of which have been published in Dr. Ginsburg's edition of the Massorah. Variations from a great number of standard codices are also mentioned. There are the Eastern and Western codices, the variations of the schools of Surâ and Nehardea in Babylonia, the Zambuqi (probably of the locality Zambuk, on the Tigris), the codex of Bagdad (called also *Sharqi* (Eastern), and Babli, and probably identical with the Eastern codex mentioned above), the codices of Erfurt, of Jerusalem, of Jericho (Lunel), of Lombard (Lombardy), of Sinai (Rothenburg?), of Tiberias, of Würzburg, the revised codices (מדייק, מונה, or מונה קרמן), codices of Ezra², of R. Gershom (of Metz), R. Jacob (of Ramerupt?), the Great *Mahzorâ*, and many others, the titles of which are doubtful³.

The most numerous and widely-copied variations (chiefly bearing on vowel-points) are from the two Massoretes called Aaron ben-Asher and Mosheh ben-Naphtali. The codex of the latter is lost, unless the colophon of a Petersburg MS. is genuine, which states the following: 'I, Moses the scribe, son of R. David son of R. Naphtali, have carefully arranged according to . . . in the year 1234 as we count at Aleppo (i. e. the era of the Seleucidae), or 853 years after the destruction of the second Temple, or 4682 A. M. (which gives the year 922 A.D.)⁴.' The codex of Aaron (Abu Said) ben-Asher was believed to be at the great synagogue at Aleppo, but it has been proved by Dr. Wickes⁵, with whom others agree⁶, that this cannot be

¹ Strack, *l. c.* (note 1 on p. 23).

² See *Revue des Études juives*, t. xix. p. 242, note 2.

³ See Dr. Ginsburg's edition of the Massorah, i. fol. 604 sqq.

⁴ Strack, *op. cit.* (note 1 on p. 23), p. 617.

⁵ See *A Treatise on the Accentuation of the Twenty-one so-called Prose Books of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1887, p. vii sqq.

⁶ See *Revue des Études juives*, t. xv. p. 316.

the case; in fact, according to the facsimile of a page which is given in his excellent book, the MS. seems to be of the eleventh century, if not of a later date. The MS. of the Prophets belonging to the Karaitic synagogue at Cairo was written¹, according to the colophon (at the end of the Minor Prophets) which we shall reproduce later on, by Moses ben-Asher in the year 827 of the destruction of the second Temple = 895 A. D. This MS. would consequently contain the oldest text of the Hebrew Bible known at present. But from the mode of accentuation in this MS., Drs. S. Baer and Wickes both concluded that it could not have been pointed by a Massorete of the Ben-Asher school, the accentuation being against the rules laid down by Ben-Asher. In facsimile No. 1, which we have obtained, together with No. 2, through the kindness of Dr. Lansing, of Cairo², containing 1 Samuel iv. 15 to v. 8, the lighter metheg is omitted in the words וַאֲנִי (iv. 16, col. 1, line 5), וַאֲרִן (iv. 17, col. 1, l. 12), בִּי זָקֵן (v. 18, col. 1, l. 18), and in other places, which would not be the case in a Ben-Asher codex. Sometimes the metheg is in the wrong place, for instance, in בִּי קֶשֶׁתָּה (v. 6, col. 3, l. 16) and מִה נִעְשָׂה (v. 7, col. 3, l. 20), not in conformity with the rules of Ben-Asher. The colophon of facsimile No. 2 must either have been copied from another codex, as is the case with the Aleppo MS.³, or it is a forgery altogether; indeed the style of it would justify our taking it as such. Both MSS. seem to be written, if not by the same scribe, at all events by the same school of copyists. This codex is, to judge from the facsimiles, of the eleventh and perhaps even of the beginning of the twelfth century. Dr. Harkavy, who had the opportunity of examining this MS. three years ago, when on a literary tour in the East, informs us that he is of the same opinion concerning the date of this MS.

¹ According to Miss M. Wall between 4to and folio, as the MS. is as near square as possible, measuring 20 × 18 inches, 3 cols. of 23 lines each.

² Miss Wall, of Southport, has favoured us with four other photographs of this MS., but they are unfortunately not in a state to be used for our purpose.

³ See above, p. 24.

The colophon reads as follows¹ :

Col. 1.

אני משה בן אשר כתבתי זה המחזור
שלמקרא על פי כיד אלהי הטובה עלי
באר היטב במדינת מעוזה טבריה
העיר ההוללה כשהבינו עדת נביאים
בחורי יי קדוש אלהינו המבינים כל
נסתרות והמשפירים סוד חכמה אילי
הצדק אנשי אמנה לא כיחדו דבר ממה
שניתן להם ולא הוסיפו מאמר על מה
שנימסר להם והעצימו והגדילו המק
עשרים וארבעה ספרים וייסדום
באמנתם בטעמי שכל בפירוש דיבור
בחיך סתוק ביופי מאמר יהי רצון
מלפני יוצרנו שיאיר עינינו ויניה לבנו
בתורתו ללמד וללמד ולעשות בלב שלם
ובנפש חפצה ולכל ישראל אמן

נכתב לקץ שמונה מאות שנה ועשרים
ושבע שנים לחורבן הבית השני שיאמר
יוצר נשמות וישוב עליו ברחמים ויבנהו
באבני אקדה וספיר וכדכר בנין שלם בנין
מקויים בנין שלא יתש ולא יחרם ולא ינתץ
לעולם ולעולמי עולמים במהרה בימינו
ובימי כל ישראל אמן

Col. 2.

וכל המשנה מן המחזור
הזה או מן הנשתתן הזה
דבר או מוחק ממנו אות
או קורע ממנו דף אלא אם
כן יבין וידע שיש בו דבר
ששנינו בו בכתב או בניקוד
או במסרת או בחסר או
ביתר אל יהי לו לא מחילה
ולא סליחה ואל יחזה בנעם

¹ See *Eben Sappir*, i. (Lyck, 1866; Saphir on the title-page of ii, Mainz, 1874), p. 14^b, and *Monatsschrift*, etc. (note 3 on p. 19), 1871, p. 4.

י' ולא יראה בטוב הצפון
 ליראיו ויהיה כאשה נדה
 וכמצורע מוסגר לכתת
 אבריו ולשבור גאון עזו
 ולכלות בשרו מראי ולשפות
 עצמותיו שלא יראו אמן

הקורא ישמע
 והשומע יבין
 והרואה ישכיל
 שלום

The late Rabbi Jacob Sappir¹ and Dr. S. Baer² are of opinion that the characters with which the MS. is written are Sefaradic or Spanish; to us it seems to have been written in the East, and most likely in Syria. The characters are indeed different from those found in the facsimile of the Cambridge MS.³, which is executed in Spanish characters.

Thus the codex *Babylonicus* of the later Prophets, dated 1227 Sel., which is 916 A. D., remains the oldest MS. known now. The old codices, viz. the *Hilleli* (according to *Zakuth's* description), the codex *Babylonicus*, the *Cairo* and *Aleppo* MSS. are written in large characters, and so are, if we are not mistaken by a hurried glance at those at St. Petersburg in 1877, the codices of the earliest dates, viz. from 922 to 1051 A. D.

We have said that the codex *Babylonicus* of 916 is the oldest Hebrew Biblical MS. known at present. In order to justify this date, it must in the first place be pointed out that the colophon of the famous *Pentateuch* scroll at St. Petersburg, which gives the date of 489 A. D., is simply a forgery⁴. But there is the MS. No. 12 at the University Library, Cambridge, written by Jacob Levi and finished the seventh of the month

¹ *Eben Sappir*, i. p. 14^b.

² Private communication, dated July 1890.

³ See facsimiles, Nos. 3 and 4.

⁴ See the Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg (in German), i. ii, by A. Harkavy and H. L. Strack, 1875, p. 12 sqq.

of Adar 616 A.M., or 208 of the construction of the Temple, which makes 18th of February, 856 A.D.; this date, which has not been accepted by any scholar who has discussed the subject, was firmly believed by the author of the first part of the catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. in the University Library at Cambridge, which appeared in 1876, to be genuine¹. We propose to mention first what has been said by others about the date of this MS. before giving our own opinion. Kennicott in 1753², after having given a short description of the MS., writes as follows: 'This MS. was writ by *Jacob Levi*, and is dated *ה'תצ"ח לצירא*,' without explaining or translating this date. He omitted the second date, which refers to the year of the construction of the Temple. In the *variae lectiones*, Kennicott gives many variations of this MS., which seem to amount to 12,000. He was taken to task for this incomplete description by an anonymous Abbé³ in 1771, who reproaches him rightly for not having given the second date as well, and for not explaining both, for, says the Abbé, The date from the construction of the Temple could refer to the first, second, or third (Herodian) Temple. We omit the dates proposed by the Abbé, which would not add much to our subject. As to the variations given from this MS., the Abbé divided them into various classes.

1. Variations which represent no language at all; for instance: Gen. xxx. 22, the MS. reads *אלהים* instead of *אליה* *אלהים*; Lev. xxvii. 11 *לחם* instead of *ליחם*; Deut. i. 25 *וורדו* instead of *ויורדו*; Joshua [מריחו instead of *מיריו*] xvi. 10 *הנעני* instead of *הכנעני*, and xxiv. 11 *יהאמרי* instead of *האמרי*; Judges ix. 1 *לאמר* instead of *לאמר*.

¹ *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts preserved in the University Library, Cambridge*, by the late Dr. S. M. Schiller-Szinessy, vol. i. (all that has appeared), containing Sections i. The Holy Scriptures; ii. Commentaries on the Bible, Cambridge, 1876, No. 12 (p. 12 sqq.).

² *The State of the Printed Hebrew Text of the Old Testament considered. A dissertation in two parts*, Oxford, 1753, p. 342.

³ *Lettres de M. l'Abbé de . . . ex-professeur en hébreu en l'université de . . . au Sr. Kennicott anglois*, Rome, 1771, p. 24 sqq.

2. Variations which, although representing good Hebrew, give no sense in the respective passages where they occur. For instance: Exodus xxxii. 26 אלִי for אֱלֹהֵי; Lev. iv. 35 אחָה instead of אחָת; Numbers xxi. 7 וַיֹּאמֶר instead of וַיִּמְצְאוּ; Deut. xxi. 2 העִיר instead of העָרִים; Joshua v. 14 לוֹ instead of לָא; Judges ix. 51 וַיַּעַל instead of וַיַּעֲלוּ; 1 Sam. xvi. 13 רֹחַ אֱלֹהִים instead of רֹחַ יְהוָה.

3. Confusion of ב and כ, נ and ג, ד and ר, ה and ח, and ם and ס. For instance: 1 Sam. xxv. 16 חֹמָה instead of חֹמָה; 2 Sam. xxi. 18 בָּנוֹב instead of בָּנוֹב; 1 Kings iii. 6 בָּיִם הוּא instead of בָּיִם הוּא; 1 Kings xvii. 20 מַחְתָּר instead of מַחְתָּר; Prov. vi. 3 הַחֲרָפָה instead of הַחֲרָפָה. The Abbé adds rightly that similar mistakes are to be found in other MSS., written by either inexperienced or ignorant copyists, but which no one would expect from an early MS. [and still less of such an early date as 856]. The Abbé adds that of these three kinds of mistakes he could produce at least 1400 variations.

4. Original mistakes, which are corrected by a later hand. For instance: Gen. xxxviii. 28 בָּרְלָחָה corrected into בָּלְדָרְחָה; Ex. ii. 16 לִקְשָׁקוֹת into לִהְשָׁקוֹת; Lev. vi. 13 חֲמִיד into חֲמִיד. Of this kind of mistake there are at least 234 instances.

5. Additional words by the original scribe which yield no sense whatever. For instance: Gen. ii. 9 הֵנָּה [וּמִשָּׁם], xxxvii. 17, וַיֹּאמֶר [וַיִּלְךָ יוֹסֵף הָאִישׁ נֹסֵעַ]; Ex. xviii. 24 מִן[מִשָּׁה], xxv. 1 מִשָּׁה [יְהוָה] אֵל; וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֵל; Num. xi. 1 בְּאוֹנֵי יְהוָה; Deut. ii. 31 וְאַחַר אֲרָצוֹ. There are at least 330 additions of this kind in the MS.

6. There are more than 300 erasures. For instance: Gen. ii. 22 הַצֶּלַע, where the צ is written on an erasure; vi. 21 לֶךְ וְלָחֶם, between these two words are three or four letters erased.

7. There are more than 630 omissions, among them eleven entire verses, omissions which naturally destroy the sense of the passages. For instance: Gen. i. 26 הָרִמָּשׁ is missing, iii. 15 the words וַיִּרְעַךְ וּבִין are absent.

¹ The words in [] are the additional ones.

8. Nearly 450 words or letters are doubtful; no example is given here.

9. There are nearly 120 repetitions, amongst them three verses, viz. Gen. xxxi. 12; Ex. vi. 17; Isaiah xi. 10. For repetitions of words the following instances are given: Gen. xiii. 2 וַאֲבָרָם, xvii. 8 מַטְרִיךְ אֶת כָּל הָאָרֶץ, xxviii. 6 אֵל לֶבֶן בֶּן בְּתוּאֵל, הארמי אחי רבקה אם יעקב ועשו.

10. Transpositions. For instance: Jer. xli. 10 לִיהוָה לֵאדָרְנִי; Judges x. 6 וַאֲתָ אֱלֹהֵי מֹרָא וַאֲתָ אֱלֹהֵי צִיָּאָדָן צִידוֹן. The Abbé consequently laughs at Kennicott for his producing 12,000 variations from this MS.

Many of these blunders are corrected either on the margin or above the corresponding words.

In the letter to a friend, 1772¹, in defence of Kennicott and against the *Abbé*, not much is said concerning our MS., except that the variation Joshua v. 14 is excellent, which is to be compared with the Greek and Syriac versions, and 'with the context.' We think that the context requires לֹא.

In the *Dissertatio generalis*, cod. 89², Kennicott gives a fuller description of the MS., discussing the two dates, and the state of some of the letters in it; and comes finally to the following result: 'Eadem mecum in sententia est Cl. Brunnus, scil. codicem hunc non esse antiquiorem seculo 13.' De Rossi³ accepts Kennicott's conclusion. The late Dr. Zunz⁴ has ingeniously explained the concordance of the two dates, viz. 616 of the creation and 208 of the construction of the Temple, in the following way. The Jewish chronology places the construction of the second Temple in the year 3408 A.M., and the interval between 4616 A.M. and 3408 A.M. makes 1208, which is expressed by the second

¹ Letter to a Friend occasioned by a French Pamphlet lately published against Doctor Kennicott and his Collation of the Hebrew MSS., London (Oxford), 1772.

² *Dissertatio generalis in Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum*, etc., fol. (Oxford, 1771, as a preface to the *Variae Lectiones*) 78; 8vo. (with Brun's notes, Brunovici, 1785), p. 374 sqq.

³ *Variae Lectiones V. T.*, etc., Parma, 1784, p. lxiii^b.

⁴ *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur*, i. p. 214.

date 208 omitting the thousand. He adds that 'the date of 856 A.D. is however an evident falsification, since the MS. is much later.' Had Dr. Zunz seen the MS.? We must suppose so from his words. We may sum up the opinion of modern scholars thus. Drs. Steinschneider¹, Wickes², and Ginsburg³, all three (who have the greatest experience in Hebrew palaeography) agree in the date of the thirteenth century, and the late Professor W. Wright, as editor of the Oriental series of the London Palaeographical Society, did not produce a specimen page of this MS. as a dated and early Hebrew MS., for the reason that he did not believe the dates genuine. During all this time we heard that Dr. Schiller-Szinessy firmly believed that the text of this MS. was really finished in 856, and scholars interested in the palaeography of Biblical MSS. were eagerly expecting the issue of the first part of the catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. at Cambridge, in order to see what his arguments might be. At last the long expected work saw the light in 1876, where we read⁴ that the 'bare text' (written by a different hand from that of the pointer and accentuator, who is himself again different from the writer of the Massorah, to which comes a fourth hand for the ornaments, and a fifth and sixth for minor points) is in a fine *Sephardic* handwriting, dated Adar 616 (18 February, 856). Further on⁵, Dr. Schiller-Szinessy says that the text must have been executed in Palestine, although not in Jerusalem, and as to the date of the copy 'a minute and careful examination of the MS. shows that the reasons which have hitherto been alleged are wholly insufficient to condemn it as a forgery.' For further details the reader is referred

¹ *Hebräische Bibliographie*, xix (1879), p. 70. Dr. Steinschneider thinks that Jacob Levi's rhymes in the colophon seem to be written by an untrained Ashkenazi (German Jew), but that is not the case, as can be seen from the photographic reproduction of the two pages, where the characters are distinctly of the Hispanico-Portuguese school.

² See *A Treatise on the Accentuation* (note 5 on p. 24), p. ix.

³ From personal communication.

⁴ *Catalogue, etc.* (note 1 on p. 28), p. 12 sqq.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 14.

to Excursus I at the end of the catalogue. This excursus was promised as early as 1872¹, but nothing has been heard of it, and perhaps we shall not be far from the truth when we say that nothing could have been heard of it, for the simple reason that the author of the catalogue had no proofs of the antiquity of the MS. Had he some reasonable ones in store, he would not have attempted to refute Dr. Wickes some years ago² by saying that he has the dullest understanding, that a man must be a born palaeographer to judge of the age of Hebrew MSS., and finally by referring to a private MS. without giving a single fact concerning it. These are not arguments, and if he had no others for his excursus it is certainly as well that it has never seen the light.

We have learnt³ how ignorant and incompetent the copyist of this MS. must have been from the Abbé's letter, the statements of which we have duly collated and found exact; besides, Kennicott himself did not contradict them. Is it indeed possible that a scribe who wrote long before the great Massorete Ben-Asher⁴, at a time when the greatest care was bestowed on copying, should have made such blunders as those mentioned above; and that too in Palestine, the cradle of the Western punctuation? But what is Dr. Schiller-Szinessy's argument for his suggestion that the copyist wrote in Palestine? He gives us a fragment of his Excursus *in spe*; and says that 'it will be seen from the words *קבון עמנו שבער נהרה* (comp. Josh. xxiv. 2, etc., and Is. vii. 20), which occur in the colophon⁵, where Jacob Levi says "the voice of the messenger may be heard soon for the gathering of our nation on the other side of the river."' Dr. Schiller-Szinessy thought that 'the other side of the river' means Mesopotamia, and supposes accordingly that the scribe lived in Palestine, whereas 'the other side of the river' in the middle ages means the lost

¹ See his paper on the Prideaux scroll, in the *Transactions of the Society of Bibl. Archaeology*, 1872, p. 265.

² *The Academy*, 5 November, 1887, p. 304.

³ See above, p. 28 sqq.

⁴ See above, p. 24.

⁵ See the facsimile, No. 4, line 10, and below, p. 35.

tribes on the other side of the river called 'Sambatyon'.¹ Indeed, there is no instance in Jewish liturgy or poetry of special notice being taken of the Babylonian Jews; there was a prayer for the schools of Babylonia which flourished from 300-900, but not for the Jewish nation in general. And what an anachronism there is in Dr. Schiller-Szinessy's statement when he says that the MS. is written by a *Sephardic* (Spanish) hand, at a time when the Spanish Jews were still in utter ignorance of the Talmud, and much more of the rules of copying Biblical texts. In fact a *Sephardic* writing did not exist in 856, at least as far as can be judged from the absence of all Jewish writing in Spain at that time². How can a Bible be copied with the view of adding later the Massorah on the margins, at a time when such a thing as a Massorah in a compendious form scarcely existed?

¹ Dr. Steinschneider says in *H. B.* (note 1 on p. 31) that this expression seems to refer to the Jews on the other side of the Sambatyon, if it means anything.

² It is curious to mention that the Rev. W. H. Lowe, in his book *The Fragment of Talmud Babli Pesachim of the Ninth or Tenth Century in the University Library, Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1879, p. xv. note 2, says the following: 'The development of distinct schools of writing is, of course, a very gradual process, extending over centuries. We may, however, say that the Ashkenazic and Sephardic (Spanish and German) schools in writing *had begun* to become distinguished at least as early as 800 A.D.' We suppose that Mr. Lowe's statement is based on oral tradition, since we have not a line of Hebrew writing of the eighth century (except perhaps in the Fayyum Papyri; see Dr. Steinschneider's article in the *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, viii (1879), p. 96, and *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus des Erzherzog Rainer*, i-ii (Wien, 1886), p. 45), and very little genuine writing of the ninth century, and at all events, nothing in Sephardic or Ashkenazic forms. We believe that the fragment of which Mr. Lowe gives a photographic page was written in a Greek-speaking country; and from these forms the Ashkenazic is derived, whilst the Sephardic square characters are derived from those which we find in MSS. written in Syria. These Cambridge fragments are at the earliest of the eleventh century. Indeed, none of the seven arguments which Mr. Lowe gives (pp. xv and xvi) for an older date will stand a critical test. The script much resembles that of plate xc of the London Palaeographical Society (Oriental part), which is dated 1073. Dr. Schiller-Szinessy gives the following Kabbalistical description of it: 'The writing, which is between the ruled lines, is a firm French Ashkenazi. Consequently, the scribe must either have been himself a Jew from the North (East?) of France, or have been trained by one. Judging from the way it is dated, the volume was most probably written in Greece.' *Credo quia absurdum.*

On the other hand, there is no instance of a MS. waiting for centuries to be completed by the addition of vowel-points and accents, and the Massorah. He who believes that may also hear the grass growing.

Now let us say a word about the date. We find MSS. dated by the era of the Seleucidae, by that of the creation, by the era of the destruction of the two Temples, by that of the building of the *first* Temple, by that of the Exodus from Egypt¹, but never by the building of the *second* Temple, which is meant in the colophon of Jacob Levi. And why so? only in order to give more weight by the double era to his falsified date, and for that he is obliged to omit in both dates the thousands, viz. [4]616 A. M. and [1]208² of the building of the Temple. Or did Dr. Schiller-Szinessy think that the copyist means the building of the first Temple? If so, how could he make the two dates agree? Indeed it is astonishing that in a catalogue which is worked out so minutely (half of its contents being simply a repetition of what has already been said concerning the MSS.), that no attempt should be made to say a word about the agreement of the two dates, which could be done in two lines. We know that MSS. have falsified dates in order to make them older, and fetch a higher price. Such is the case with the MSS. at the Vatican, Nos. 4, 5, 6, 9, 29, 31, 38, and Urb. 2; Paris, No. 4, cod. 75; Copenhagen, No. 5; Kennicott, Nos. 186, 193, 195, 516, and 559 of the *Dissertatio generalis*. Jacob Levi did the same, and accordingly uses the strange word חקק, and for the rhyme of his colophon he takes the irregular words חריר and חריר, and the Aramaic words צפרה, רמשא, and נהרה. A peculiarity of his is also the word חתמתי, 'I have concluded,' for which is usually found the words סיימתי or נמרתי, and in Yemen MSS. נבצע.

¹ See the MS. of the Bodleian, No. 1452 in the new catalogue; the usual date in earlier MSS. written in the East is the era of the Seleucidae; later on with the addition of the era of the creation; sometimes we find the era of the destruction of the Temple, mostly in MSS. written by Greek Jews; in Western countries the era of the creation is predominant. We have chosen a MS. which gives all possible dates together.

² See above, p. 30.

סופר instead of הסופר does not speak for the copyist's grammar. Dr. Schiller-Szinessy speaks¹ of various readings in this MS. as 'a source of which, though important, but little notice has hitherto been taken in collating MSS.' Had he ever seen the Abbé's letter which could have informed him what these variations are? We suppose he had not, for he does not quote it in his catalogue, which he must have done in describing a MS., if he had known it, although he was not very fond of quoting. We were told at Cambridge that there are observations in MS. by Dr. Schiller-Szinessy relating to this MS., but the Librarian hesitated to communicate them to us, although they are the property of the Library. The emendation of חסתריו (Zeph. ii. 3) into תמחריו, not mentioned by Kennicott, is not of early origin, as Dr. Schiller-Szinessy thought², and is after all a poor emendation.

In order to enable those who are acquainted with the palaeography of the Hebrew square characters—although not 'born palaeographers'—to form an opinion respecting the age of this MS., we give two photographic facsimiles of it, viz. Gen. xxi. 19 to xxii. 8 and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13 to the end, with the colophon which reads as follows:—

אני יעקב הלוי סופר
 חתמתי זה הספר
 י' לחדש י"ב הוא אדר
 באותיות וכתב הדר
 שנת ה'תצ"ר'ה ליצירה
 ח'ק'ק לבנין בית הבחירה
 י זכני ה' להנות בו תדירה
 ע רב ובוקר רמשא וצפרה
 ק ול מבשר ישמע מהרה
 ב קבץ עמנו דבעבר נהרה
 ד שב הנור והעמרה
 ל בית דוד התפארה
 ו בית לוי לשיר חמרה
 י שימו כהנים באפך קמורה

¹ *Catalogue, etc.*, p. 14 (§ 2).

² *Ibidem*.

We shall be prepared to retract our views concerning this MS. if one of Dr. Schiller-Szinessy's disciples or some one else will bring forward plausible arguments for the antiquity of it. Jacob Levi is not known as a copyist of any other MS.; perhaps he is the father of Nethanel the scribe, son of Jacob Levi, who copied at Narbonne, Shebat 5042=1281 or 1282, Maimonides' *Mischnah Torah* for Joseph, son of Abraham, son of David, a MS. preserved in the Talmud Torah school at Amsterdam¹.

For completeness sake we shall mention fragments of MS. scrolls in the possession of private gentlemen at Kertsch, in Russia, written in peculiar Hebrew characters. They contain fragments of Isaiah, the Minor Prophets, Proverbs, Lamentations, Esther, and Daniel, without vowel-points and accents. Are they genuine or not? Dr. Harkavy has discussed the matter fully, but has not come to any definite conclusion. He only says that the characters in the MS. seem to be old. Facsimiles of some of the fragments are to be found in Dr. Harkavy's essay², as well as in the *Palaeographical Atlas* to the Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. in the Bodleian Library, No. 39.

¹ Nethanel says in the colophon *כתיבה אחת וספרה אחת קצב אחר לכולם*, which is not usually found in colophons.

² *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, vii^e série, t. xxxii, No. 8 (1885).

[This essay has been in type since the 20th September, 1889, and was intended for *Studia Biblica* ii.]

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

To page 3, note 1. Professor Sayce kindly informs us that the characters of the Panammu inscription (of about 730 B. C.) are of the Phœnician type, like those of the Aramaic docketts on the contract-tablets of Nineveh (see p. 6, note 2). They have not yet developed into strictly Aramaic forms, and consequently have no bearing upon our argument.

To page 11, note 5. M. Joseph Halévy proposes the reading *נבלימי* instead of *לבונימי*, explaining it by the writing of Nablûs, i. e. in Samaritan characters. Nablûs, however, is expressed in the Talmudic literature by *ניסוליים* (!ניסוליים) and *בסולין*. See *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 169, notes 1 and 2.

It is not possible to reduce our views concerning this
manuscript to the slender Szinessy's description or, worse, one
of the many other equally plausible arguments for the authenticity
of the manuscript. It is not known as a copy of any other
manuscript, and the father of No. 1 of the scriber, son
of the author, is copied at No. 1, round sheet 2, 5042 = 1285.
The scriber, round sheet No. 1 and 2, is Joseph, son of
Joseph, a Jew, residing in No. 8, present in the Talmud Torah
school in Amsterdam.¹

For completeness, we should mention fragments of MS. 100, in the possession of private gentlemen at Kertsch, in the Crimea, which contain peculiar Uigur characters. They contain fragments of the 22 Prophets, the 12 Apostles, the 12 Patriarchs, and the 12 Vowels, with their vowel-points and accents.

Dr. Harkavy has discussed the evidence as to any definite connection. The characters in the MSS. seem to be old, and the fragments are to be found in the same places as well as in the Palaeographical Atlas to the new MSS. in the Bodleian Library.

found in colophons.

Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg, vii. série.
1855).

which was taken on the 25th September 1889, and was

NECESSARY NOTES.

It may be fairly inferred that the characters of the tablet 730 B.C. are of the Phoenician type. Like the characters on the contract tablet of Nitich (see p. 6, note 1), they have developed into strictly Aramaic forms, and consequently are not of the same date.

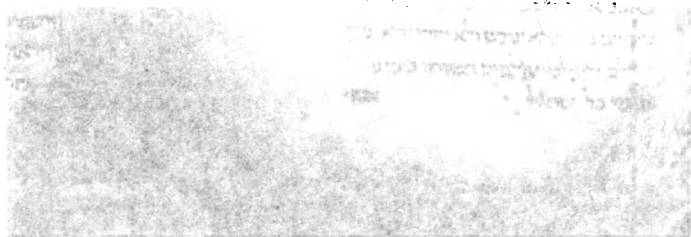
¹ The Sanskrit word *śāstra* proposes the reading 'Śāstrī' instead of 'Śāstriya'. In the original Naṭyaśāstra, i.e. in Saurāṣṭrian characters, it was written as शास्त्री. It has been transliterated in the French edition by Śāstrīya (शास्त्रीया).



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I. CAIRO MS. I SAM. IV. 15—v. 8.



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II. CAIRO MS. COLOPHON.





II.

THE ARGUMENT OF ROMANS IX-XI¹.

[C. GORE.]

It would be impossible to deny that these chapters contain 'some things hard to be understood, which the ignorant and unstedfast,' and not only they, have 'wrested' to conclusions as disastrous, as they are alien to St. Paul's mind. If an exacter interpretation of St. Paul's language is to bring out sounder results, there are certain general considerations as to his method which must be kept in mind.

1. St. Paul, unlike St. John, is an argumentative writer. His thought is exhibited to us in process. It is moving from point to point. Each particular stage in the argument 'looks before and after:' it has its meaning only with reference to the whole. To isolate it is to rob it of its true force. Thus, St. Paul, less than almost any other author, admits of being used as a repertory of detached texts.

2. His method may be called abstract or ideal: that is to say, he makes abstraction of the particular aspect of a subject with which he is immediately dealing, and—apparently indifferent to being misunderstood—treats it in isolation; giving, perhaps, another aspect of the same subject in equal abstraction in a different place. He does not guard himself or correlate his different points of view like a modern writer. For instance, writing of 'the law,' he mostly treats it ideally, that is, according to its governing idea or characteristic function, not as a complex historical fact. Thus, when he comes to state the principle of faith, as opposed

¹ The substance of this paper was read before a Meeting at the house of the Rev. the Professor of Hebrew, on Dec. 6, 1886.

to the principle of the law (Rom. x. 6-8), he finds no difficulty in taking his illustration of faith out of the books of the law¹. The books of Moses are, in fact, *characterized* by the principle of law, but they *contain* other elements². And St. Paul deals with them in general simply according to their characteristic idea. Once again: he deals with the history of the development of sin, as if it represented the whole history of fallen man, in Romans i: and then, in Rom. ii. 14-16, he gives us a glimpse of another principle which had been at work all the time, viz. the rectifying action of the natural conscience.

3. St. Paul argues mostly 'ad hominem,' like Augustine. Thus, he is only understood rightly when we keep constantly before us a clear idea of the opponent's position which he is combating. This is a caution especially necessary in the chapters we are now to review. St. Paul in these chapters is popularly supposed to be justifying the ways of God to men, by asserting His absolute rights, as against any power on man's part to control his own destiny. 'It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy.' 'Hath not the potter power over the clay?' Such a conception of God's absolute sovereignty annihilates human freedom and responsibility, and thus, in fact, St. Paul has constantly been regarded, by those within and those without the Church, as really denying these bases of moral action. This has resulted, practically, in a misuse of St. Paul by those who were prepared to be 'Calvinistic,' and an equally serious disuse of his teaching by those who were not. But in fact this popular supposition as to St. Paul's meaning, is an error due to his (ideal) opponent in this argument not having been kept steadily enough in view. The opponent whom St. Paul has in mind is a Jew, or one

¹ Deut. xxx. 11-14.

² 'Grace, already existing in the Jewish theocracy, was the fruitful germ deposited under the surface, which was one day to burst forth and become the peculiar character of the new covenant.' Godet *in loc.*

representing the Jewish case, who pleads that God had pledged Himself to the Jews as such: He had committed Himself to them as the chosen people: it was enough for them to say, 'We have Abraham to our father;' 'The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are we.' Thus, any view of God's dealings which, like St. Paul's, involved the conclusion that a catholic Church and not the Jewish race constituted under present circumstances the elect body, on a basis of faith and not of the law, stood self-condemned. Now such a plea as the Jew is here supposed to urge, carries with it the supposition that God had tied His hands in choosing Israel. However Israel might behave, God was committed to it. As against such a position,—a position really destructive of all moral responsibility—St. Paul asserts the Divine freedom. He asserts that God never tied His hands by committing Himself to the material limits of a race, in such a way as that men could rest indolently on the covenant. Thus the whole point of his argument is to *emphasize* the sense of responsibility by making it plain that God's election is a challenge to faith, not a substitute for it.

Two points, then, must be kept in view in considering this argument more in detail.

(a) The 'election' St. Paul is here speaking of is not (primarily) the election of individuals to eternal salvation, but the election of a race or Church to bear God's Name in the world and be His people—the election of a chosen body to special conditions of knowledge and responsibility.

(b) The objector he has in view represents a Jewish plea that God had committed Himself to the race of Abraham simply and unconditionally.

Now let us consider the argument, the dialectical force of which may be best brought out by expressing it in dialogue form. Afterwards we will direct our attention to a few special points.

Chapter VIII has culminated in a psalm of triumph of the elect in Christ. At its conclusion St. Paul's thought

reverts to the miserable fact that his own people, the people of the old covenant, are, speaking generally, outside this elect body, rejectors of the Christ. He turns to deplore this miserable contrast between the glories of their vocation in the old covenant and their present reprobation¹. Then there presents itself to his mind the objection which could be urged on their behalf—which, no doubt, St. Paul had heard urged often enough; and this objection we may make more vivid by putting it into the mouth of a Jewish interlocutor.

Jew. But if your conclusion is the right one, the fact is God's promise has failed, for He pledged Himself to Israel².

St. Paul. No, not to Israel physically considered: not to all the sons of Abraham. There was from the first an element of inscrutable selectiveness in God's dealings within the race of Abraham. Ishmael was rejected, Isaac chosen: Esau was rejected and Jacob chosen, antecedently to all moral conduct, though both were of the same father and mother. Such selectiveness ought at least to have prevented the Jews from resting their claim simply on having 'Abraham to their father³.'

Jew. But then this arbitrary selectiveness is unfair⁴.

St. Paul. No. God always revealed Himself as retaining His liberty of choice, as refusing to tie Himself, as selecting the historic examples of His hardening judgment and His compassionate good will, so as to baffle all attempts on our part to create His vocations by our own efforts, or anticipate the persons whom He will use for His purposes of mercy or of judgment⁵.

Jew. Then, at any rate, if God's arbitrary selectiveness is a fact, He must choose or exclude whom He pleases, but at least He cannot complain of us. The choice is not ours⁶.

St. Paul. How foolish is this critical, complaining attitude towards God! The first condition of understanding God's method is to recognize His sovereignty. Humanity lies under

¹ *vv.* 1-5.

² *v.* 6.

³ *vv.* 6-13.

⁴ *v.* 14.

⁵ *vv.* 15-18.

⁶ *v.* 19.

His hand, as clay under the hand of the potter. His is the choice what sort of vessels He needs—one for a higher use, another for a lower¹. Who shall complain if vessels which, whatever high uses they were destined for, are in fact only fit to be thrown away, are at last, after fullest, patientest trial, rejected, and others taken in their place which, though hitherto kept in the background, had been fashioned before for glorious ends? Your own prophets constantly warned you that God's choice would fall on those who were 'not His people,' and that the true Israel was to be looked for only in 'the remnant'².

What is the result, then? That the nation which had 'righteousness' for its end and aim, failed of its goal, while Gentiles, whose national life involved no such quest, have succeeded in obtaining what they were not expecting. And why? Because the 'righteous nation' intent on external conformity to an outward law, on which they prided themselves, failed in faith—that is, in correspondence to the purpose of God. Thus the Christ, who should have been the goal of all their effort, became only the occasion of their rejection³.

But this rejection is not final. It still leaves room for prayer. Israel has mistaken the method of serving God. They took pride in their law, and offered to God the righteousness of their own choice, while all the time they were quite out of touch with God's fuller purposes and blind to the righteousness which He was asking for. The righteousness of the law is conformity, the righteousness which God wants is faith—the simple loyalty to the plain message of God manifest in the heart of man⁴, which resolves itself now into the open profession of the Lordship of Jesus and the cordial belief in His Resurrection. This faith, which finds its object in

¹ For the meaning of 'a vessel to dishonour,' cf. 2 Tim. ii. 20, 1 Cor. xii. 23-25. It is a vessel adapted to mean uses, and is quite distinct from 'a vessel of wrath,' i. e. one which will not serve its end, and is only 'fit to be destroyed.'

² vv. 20-29.

³ vv. 30-33.

⁴ Deut. xxx. 11-14.

Christ, is open to all: the promises are free to all: the faculty of believing belongs to all, Jew and Greek alike, when once the blessed message has been conveyed to them. This necessitates nothing more than an authoritative ambassador for Christ—the apostolate to the nations, which is our glory ¹.

Jew. But Israel should have had their chance—should have known their danger ².

St. Paul. They did hear: they did know it. But they would not heed. The result is as the prophet anticipated. The out-cast world, the ‘sinners of the Gentiles,’ have in the faith of Christ taken the place of the chosen people ³.

Jew. Well, then, Israel is rejected, and there is an end of it ⁴.

St. Paul. God forbid. There is a remnant, a faithful Israel, as in Elijah’s time, larger perhaps than you suppose, still among the elect of God’s love, by His free gift ⁵. If the rest have fallen into a blindness which is God’s judgment on them, according to the warnings of prophet and the imprecations of psalmist, yet this judgment is not final or irreversible. The substitution of the Gentiles for the ancient people is meant to stimulate them by jealousy to accept God’s love ⁶.

On the one hand, as the present election of the Gentiles is meant to minister to the salvation of the Jews, so in itself and for them it is no ground of boasting, but an appeal to faith. God’s vocation can only fulfil itself, in their case as in that of the Jews, through faith, through moral correspondence. On the other hand, the rejection of Israel only waits for their faith in order to be reversed ⁷.

The end to which God works through the vicissitudes of His elections and His judgments is that all should be saved. The rejection of the Jews ministers to the salvation of the Gentiles, and the salvation of the Gentiles to the resuscitation of the Jews. God still sees in the ancient people the stamp of an imperishable vocation. Their rejection of God, like the old

¹ x. 1-15.

² See vv. 18, 19.

³ vv. 16-21.

⁴ xi. 1.

⁵ vv. 1-6.

⁶ vv. 7-12.

⁷ vv. 13-24.

rejection of Him by the Gentiles in the days of their disobedience, is only a stage in the process which has for its aim that all should find mercy. Let us come together in a fresh access of adoration, as we contemplate together the unsearchable ways of God: let us recognize our utter incapacity to suggest or control His counsels.

* * * * *

This attempt to render St. Paul's argument is not by any means of verbal exactness, but it is hoped that it is a sufficient clue to the course of the thoughts. It will now be apparent that all the way through the argument St. Paul is thinking of 'election' as God's choice of men in bodies to peculiar conditions of privilege and responsibility. The Jews were, in Athanasius' language, 'the sacred school of the knowledge of God and of the spiritual life to all nations.' When they converted the trust committed to them into an occasion for boasting and an irresponsible prerogative right to God's favour, so that they became an obstacle in God's way, instead of an instrument to His hands, they were rejected, and their place was taken by the catholic Church, but their rejection was only a new stage in the process of God's education, in order to reduce them to that state of humility in which again, in company with 'their sisters Sodom and Samaria'¹ they might become grateful recipients of the Divine compassion on a basis of faith. The end of St. Paul's argument thus shows unmistakably what sort of election is in his mind. With this in view we shall follow more easily its earlier stages.

Thus in chapter ix he is asserting the freedom of God to choose His instruments as against any claim on man's part, either (1) to create or dictate his own vocation; or (2) to retain it when he fails to correspond with its conditions.

(1) Man cannot create or dictate his own vocation. Viewed externally, one class or nation has an infinitely higher and wider sphere of opportunity than another. Viewed internally,

¹ Ez. xvi. 44-63.

as a matter of individual relation to God, there is doubtless no respect of persons. Each man is dealt with equally in view of his opportunities. There are first in privilege who shall be last in acceptance, and last in privilege who shall be first in acceptance. But viewed externally, as a matter of external privilege, one class is dealt with differently from another. One is high, another is low. And the selection of men for the various degrees of privilege, for the various parts they play in the drama of the world, lies absolutely in the inscrutable choice of God.

(2) Thus man's responsibility does not lie in the sphere of determining his duties and responsibilities, but in *corresponding to them*. As he cannot claim to create a vocation, so he cannot claim to retain it if he fails to correspond with it. Man's whole duty is summed up in the correspondence of faith with the vocation of God, in whatever sphere the Divine Wisdom assign to him.

Now to refer to certain details:

ix. 11-17. The absolute election of Jacob,—the 'loving' of Jacob and the 'hating' of Esau,—has reference simply to the election of one to higher privileges as head of the chosen race, than the other. It has nothing to do with their eternal salvation. In the original, to which St. Paul is referring¹, Esau is simply a synonym for Edom.

ix. 17. 'It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth,' i. e. we cannot create or produce our vocations. The initiative lies far behind us in the Divine choice. (What we can do is to correspond.)

ix. 17. The 'raising up' of Pharaoh is his introduction on the stage of history, cp. Is. xli. 2 'who hath *raised up* one from the east' (ἐξήγειρεν, cf. v. 25 ἐγὼ δὲ ἤγειρα τὸν ἀπὸ βορρᾶ). The reason why Pharaoh is chosen as an example of judicial hardening lies in the Divine will, and we cannot determine it. (But we have every reason to know that it is disobedience alone which is the condition of hardening. No man is

¹ Mal. i. 2, 4.

created to be hardened, though his secret disobedience may lead to his being made a public example of God's judgment.)

ix. 20. The metaphor of the clay and the potter does suggest God's absolute right to create men in view of His purposes for higher or lower vocations, and also His right to reject those who show themselves unfit for the vocations assigned to them. The unfitness, however, lies in the fact that man offers to God a moral material which will not mould to His purposes. Our vocation, our capacity, is created of God, but our malleability to His purposes is of our faith. There is no contradiction between the use of the metaphor here and in 2 Tim. ii. 20, 21. Cf. (for its original use) Jer. xviii. 6.

ix. 30. All the argument from this point onward goes to emphasize that the cause of Israel's rejection was lack of faith, failure of correspondence. The argument taken together leaves us 'without excuse' in maintaining either a partiality in God's eternal regard of men¹, or an arbitrariness in His rejection of men from the temporal or partial 'elections' by which He gradually works out His universal purpose².

¹ See xi. 32.

² See xi. 20.

III.

THE MATERIALS FOR THE CRITICISM OF
THE PESHITTO NEW TESTAMENT, WITH
SPECIMENS OF THE SYRIAC MASSORAH.

[G. H. Gwilliam.]

'In orientalium ecclesiarum laudibus,' says J. Gildemeister¹, 'ponenda est assidua ac varia quam per medium aevum de librorum biblicorum verbis et forma adhibuerunt cura, eadem aetate qua per occidentem critica studia prorsus iacebant.' But long before the days of Bar-Hebraeus, or even of the Syriac Massoretes, the science of preserving accurate texts of the Scriptures had reached a high standard of perfection. Many beautiful specimens from the Syrian libraries have survived to modern times; descriptions of these may be read in various Catalogues; the witness they bear to the Canon of the Syriac Church has been noted; references may occasionally be found to their readings in the critical editions of the Greek Testament; but hitherto no systematic and extensive use has been made of them towards the solution of problems connected with the text of the Syriac Version of the Holy Scriptures, its origin, and its history. And yet it is freely admitted that the *Syriac* is an important element in our *Apparatus Criticus*.

The principles which will be laid down in the following pages apply as much to the case of the Old Testament as they do to that of the New. It will, however, be best to treat the two cases separately, for the two Testaments in the Peshitto² Version possibly stand in somewhat different relations to the

¹ *De Evang. in Arab. e Simp. Syr. transs. Comment. Academica*, 1865.

² This name does not occur in the titles or colophons of our old codices. By the earlier scholars it was written Peshito, and that form is adopted by

The arguments which were long ago stated and have been often repeated in proof of the early date of the Syriac New Testament, have still as much, and perhaps as little, force as they had in the times of Mill and of Michaelis². Demonstration of the existence of the Peshitto at a period long anterior to Ephraim and Aphraates cannot indeed be given; but the reasons alleged by the late Bishop of Durham³ for accepting the antiquity of the Egyptian Versions apply in

¹ See J. A. Dathe's reply to S. R. Semler in *Psalterium Syriacum*, 1768, Praef., p. xi seq., and for more recent views Tregelles' article in *Bible Dict.*, *Encycl. Brit.* (W. R. Smith) xi. 600-1, 9th ed.

³ In Scrivener's *Introduction*, pp. 371-3, ed. 1883. In comparing the Egyptian, the Latin, and the Syriac Versions (see Additional Note by W. S. in *Studia Biblica*, ii. p. 272), account should be taken of the character of

principle to the Syriac also. The doubts felt by certain critics are not about the existence of a Syriac vernacular before the days of Ephraim, but about the form of that ancient text. On this we shall have more to say as we proceed. Nor would any one now seriously contend for what some once supposed, that the Syriac was otherwise derived than directly from the Greek archetype¹.

One hundred years ago Adler wrote as follows:—‘Optandum esset ut tum hic [i. e. the *Vatican Tetraevangelium*] tum alii versionis Syriacæ codices antiqui diligentius conferrentur, et novus deinde accuratiorque ederetur contextus Syriacus².’ This ‘contextus Syriacus’ is practically the same as that which Widmanstadt first printed³, although many variants were collected by Schaaf⁴. Forty years ago Wichelhaus⁵ laid down the principles which should be adopted in a revision of the Peshitto; but he was acquainted with only a tithe of the materials which are now available. Indeed these are so numerous that a description of all the Peshitto New Testament MSS. which are preserved in English and foreign libraries would far exceed the limits of this essay.

the available texts, and the condition of the MSS., as well as of the origin and literary history of each version. If the number and the antiquity of the MSS. of the *Peshitto*, and the certainty of the text, be compared with the diplomatic evidence for the *Egyptian*, the age of the MSS., the state of the text, as shown in the admirable catalogue and selection of readings in *Nov. Test. Oxon.* 1889, Append. III (A. C. Headlam), pp. 182–90, the result will be found to be striking and suggestive. The condition of the *Old Latin* is well known to scholars. The critical value of the ancient versions is not in the nineteenth century (as it might once have been) uniform, when each is ‘seen in connexion with a wider range of phenomena.’

¹ E. g. Bengel thought the Syriac and the Coptic were influenced by the Latin. *Michaelis, op. cit.*, ii. p. 550.

² *Versiones Syriacæ*, p. 10.

³ *Studia Biblica*, 1885, p. 151.

⁴ *Nov. Test. Syr.*, Leusden et Schaaf, 1708, p. 649 sqq. Many of those which he collected from editions are of little value. The readings quoted from Rapheleng (who used Cod. Col., cf. p. 88, n. 3), Gutbir and Tremellius are of Jacobite type. The earlier pages of the Syriac, Mt. i. 1—Lk. xviii. 26 are pointed in Chaldean fashion, as Schaaf explains in his *Preface*.

⁵ *De Nov. Test. Vers. Syr. Antiqua*, 1850, pp. 230–5.

I.

A. Of first rank among the authorities for settling the text of the Peshitto New Testament are old dated copies of the various books, according to the Syriac Canon. Some of the most interesting of these MSS. are the following :—

i. An *Apostolus*. This MS. contains all the Epistles of St. Paul, in the familiar order, including the *Hebrews*, and is one of the famous collection from the Nitrian desert, with which the British Museum was enriched more than forty years ago. A note *a prima manu* states that it was written at Urhoi¹ in Mesopotamia, in the year 845—that is, of the ‘Seleucid’ or ‘Greek’ era; in our era, 534. It is therefore one of the earliest of dated Biblical MSS.² The name of the convent for which it was written seems to have been purposely effaced, and at a later period it was in the hands of a Nestorian, who added many vowel marks and other signs. Another, a Jacobite no doubt, has affixed a few of the Greek vowels used by the Western Syrians. Thus this book shared the fate of many other Syriac MSS., and passed from one sect to another by purchase—possibly by plunder. But such exchanges are evidence that either sect regarded the other as possessing a vernacular Bible, which was substantially the

¹ ܐܘܪܝܐ, the usual name in Syriac for *Edessa*—see *Theo. Syr.*, col. 93; *Euphrates Expedition* (W. F. Ainsworth, 1888), i. p. 197 f.

² In the British Museum there are also *Codd. Add.* 14,425 (*Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy*, in the Peshitto), A.D. 464, and *Add.* 14,445 (*Daniel*, in the Peshitto), A.D. 532, besides still earlier dated secular MSS., such as the famous *Add.* 12,150—see *Catalogue*, vol. ii. p. 631.

Michaelis feared that the dates of Syr. MSS. are unreliable, as they may have been copied, along with the text, by later scribes. But since his time (cf. *Introduction*, ed. Marsh, 1802, ii. part i. pp. 21, 22) the materials for determining the age of Syriac documents have been largely augmented. The style changed from century to century, and it may be affirmed that an inconsistent date would not impose on experts in Syriac palaeography. Adler (who himself had doubts about the age of the Florentine Tetraevangelium) has supplied in his facsimiles good evidence of the changes in Syriac writing. Of deliberate imitation in later centuries there do not seem to be many well-authenticated instances. In the case of *Cod. Barber. Massoreticus*, Wiseman (*Horae Syr.*, p. 198) contends that the date in the colophon (A. G. E. 1404 = A. D. 1093) is doubtful, because the language lacks the marks of genuineness.

same as his own, and any emendations which were made were almost invariably confined to those differences of pronunciation which distinguish the Eastern, or Nestorian Syriac, from that of the West¹.

[*Catalogue of Syriac MSS. in British Museum*, Pt. i. p. 86, *Cod. Add.* 14,479.]

ii. This MS. contains only *SS. Luke and John*². It was written, in an Edessene hand, in the year 840, i. e. A. D. 530, the last word of the date being illegible. It may therefore be older than the last MS. by a year or two. *St. Luke* i. 1 begins on the *verso*, while *St. John* is finished on the *recto*, leaving blank pages to form the outsides of the book. The colophon is:—*Here endeth the writing in this book, the two Evangelists, Luke, John.*

[*Brit. Mus. Cod. Add.* 14,459, foll. 67–169; see *Catalogue*, pp. 67–8; *Studia Biblica*, Oxford, 1885, No. VIII, p. 155.]

iii. A *Tetraevangelium*, in the Vatican Library. Adler in *Versiones Syriacae* gives the colophon (with a specimen facsimile) as follows:—‘*Absolutus est liber mense Thamuz (Julio) anno 859 (Christi 548) in urbe Mesopotamiae Edessa. Exaravit autem hunc codicem suis sumptibus et gratia Dei,*

¹ This very ancient authority confirms the Peshitto rendering in Rom. ix. 5—*Christus secundum carnem, qui est Deus supra omnes*—only reading ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ, which does not affect the sense. In 1 Cor. v. 8 it has the remarkable variation from all Greek copies, ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ = sed in fermento puritatis, etc. This Schaaf notices, but adopts ܕܥܡܢܐ = in azymo. In 1 Tim. iii. 16 it confirms the well-known reading of the Peshitto, omitting ܕܥܡܢܐ and proceeding ܕܥܡܢܐ, which gives either ܕܫ or ܕ. In Heb. ii. 9 it has the *ipse enim Deus per gratiam suam*.

² It is not, however, the latter half of a *Tetraevangelium*, as the colophon quoted in the text shows; and thus perhaps, by way of distinction, arose the not infrequent use of the term *Tetraevangelium* (ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ, vid. *Theo. Syr.*, col. 1457) when the four Evangelists were collected into one volume. Some Greek Evangelia contain only three, or even two books—e. g. Evan. 300 *Mt*, *Mk*, *Lk*, Evan. 304 and 146 *Mt*, *Mk*, Evan. 306 *Mt*, *Jh*, Evan. 145 *Lk*, *Jh*, Evan. 243 *Mt*, *Lk*.

Did the scribe of Cureton's codex only intend to write *Matthew, Mark, John*, and afterwards add *Luke*, time and vellum allowing a larger work? The order seems to be unique—cf. *Nov. Test. Tisch. Proleg.* 137–8.

quae ipsi adfuit, Frater Mar Eusebius Aramaeus pro sancto coenobio Thomae diebus coenarchiae Sergii, rel.’

[S. E. Assemani, *Bib. Vat. Cat.*, P. i. t. 2, p. 27 seq.; *Studia Biblica*, 1890, No. VI, p. 250, and frontispiece.]

iv. A *Tetraevangelium* in the Laurentian Library, Florence, dated A. GR. 897—i. e. A. D. 586. In a former paper I have quoted the opinion of Dr. Ceriani, that there are no grounds for thinking, as did Adler, that the colophon, which gives the date, is not by the first hand.

[Assemani, *Cat. Biblioth. Mediceae*; *Studia Biblica*, 1890, p. 251; Adler, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 12.]

v. The above-named codices are products of the Monophysite branch of the Syriac Church: our next is a Nestorian codex, containing the four Gospels, written in what is known as *Nestorian Estrangela*, at Tel-Dinawar (where was a Nestorian college), in the district of Naarda¹, an episcopal city on the Euphrates, west of Bagdad, in the year A. D. 600.

[*Cat. Syr. MSS. in Brit. Mus.*, Pt. i. pp. 52, 53; *Thesaurus Syriacus* (P. Smith), col. 490; Wiltzsch, *Handbook of the Geography and Statistics of the Church* (tr. by J. Leitch) vol. i. p. 487, for the Nestorian see of Naarda; p. 498, for the Jacobite.]

vi. Another Nestorian MS. of the Gospels, written at Nisibis in A. D. 615, when Mar Mattai was head of the Nestorian college which had succeeded the earlier and now extinct school at Edessa.

[*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, pp. 53, 54; see also Etheridge’s *Syrian Churches*, p. 43; Wichelhaus, *op. cit.*, p. 128 seq.]

vii. The *Cod. Guelpherbytanus*, which became the property of the Duke of Brunswick in 1662, and was deposited in the library at Wolfenbüttel, where, a century afterwards, it was

¹ Also called Nearda, Nehardea, and Nahardeir (Cellarii, *Notitiae Orbis Antiqui*, ii. 439; Vaux in *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*, s. v.; Ainsworth, *op. cit.*, i. ch. 21, and App. 16), and identified with Beth Nuhadra, but wrongly, according to Wright in *Cat. Syr. MSS. Brit. Mus.* i. 53 n. At Nehardea (נהרדיא) was an ancient Jewish colony and a famous school of Hebrew critics; see Dr. A. Neubauer’s *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 350, and the same writer’s paper in this volume, p. 24.

examined by P. J. Bruns. It was written in the convent of Beth Chela¹, near Damascus, in the time of John, the Monophysite Patriarch, and finished on 24th Dec., A.D. 634.

[*Annales Literarii*, 1782, vol. ii; *Repert. für Biblische u. Morgenländische Litt.* xv, xvi, 1784-5; *Cat. Codd. Orientt. Bib. Dres. et Guelph.* (Fleischer et Ebert) pp. 76, 77; *Hist. Bib. Guelph.* (Burckhard) ii. 3, pp. 236-7.]

viii. The *Cod. Add.* 14,448, a Nestorian MS., containing the whole of the New Testament as received in the ancient Syriac Church². The colophon is not quite distinct, but Dr. Wright interpreted the date as 'the year one thousand and twelve, in the well-known era of the Greeks, which is of the Arabs eighty;' and this would give A.D. 699-700.

[*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Pt. i. pp. 41, 42.]

ix. The *Nestorian New Testament*, *Cod. Add.* 7157, dated A.D. 768.

[*Cat. MSS. Orient. Mus. Brit.*, 1838, P. I; *Studia Biblica*, 1890, p. 252.]

B. The age of each of the foregoing MSS. is known, and, in the case of most, the origin and history also: some of those which follow are certainly older³, although the particular decade in which they were written cannot be determined.

x. *Cod. Additionalis* 14,459, foll. 1-66, containing SS. Matt. and Mark, was probably written about A.D. 450.

[*Studia Biblica*, 1885, No. VIII.]

¹ See *Thes. Syr.* (quoting Assemani), col. 485, where it is spelled ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ. George, Abbot of Beth Chela, was one of the many who signed the *Reply of the Abbots of Arabia to the Orthodox Bishops*, extant in *Add.* 14,602, a MS. not much, if at all, younger than *Cod. Guelph.* Cf. *Adler*, p. 14, nn. 15, 16.

² The twenty-two books of the Syriac Canon were divided into three sets: A. The Holy Gospels; B. The Acts, to which were appended the three Epistles, 1 Peter, James, 1 John; C. The fourteen Epistles of St. Paul, often called ܐܡܬܘܠܐ = Apostolus. In A and C the usual order prevails. In the Nestorian Massorah the sets are arranged as above, but in the Jacobite we find B, C, A. In *Add.* 14,470 the order is A, C, B.

On the *Antilegomena* see *Transactions of Royal Irish Academy* (J. Gwynn), vol. xxvii, 1886.

³ Cf. p. 50, n. 2, above. The many documents of which the age is indisputable afford criteria for judging of others.

xi. *Cod. Add.* 17,117, is apparently about as old, and contains the same Gospels.

The next four may also be of the fifth century, but possibly belong to the early part of the sixth.

xii. *Cod. Add.* 14,470: a MS. of singular interest, because it contains the whole of the Peshitto New Testament. There are others of later date which include as much; this, from its antiquity, is perhaps unique. It is one of our chief authorities for the pericope which will be exhibited with annotations on a later page. The following readings are also worthy of note:—in Acts xx. 28 it has the ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ = Ecclesiam Christi; in Rom. ix. 5, 1 Cor. v. 8, and 1 Tim. iii. 16, it supports the readings of *Add.* 14,479; in Heb. ii. 9 the words ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ = [*ipse*] enim Deus per gratiam suam pro are written over an erasure.

xiii. *Cod. Add.* 14,453: a Tetraevangelium.

xiv. *Cod. Add.* 14,476: an Apostolus—i.e. the Fourteen Epistles of St. Paul.

xv. *Cod. Add.* 14,480: another Apostolus.

[For x—xv see respective descriptions in *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, 1870, Pt. i. pp. 40–85.]

xvi. *Cod. Crawfordianus I.* This, with *Crawf. II*¹, were purchased by the late Earl of Crawford and Balcarres in London, but it is not now known whence, and under what

¹ *Cod. Crawf. II* (No. 12), while of comparatively little value towards the settlement of the text of the Peshitto, is, from another point of view, of peculiar interest, because it contains the *whole New Testament* in Syriac—not only the books recognized in the Canon of the Peshitto, but also the Antilegomena. After a first examination, I was inclined to assign it to the same period as *Add.* 12,139, which was written at Antioch, A. D. 1000. An earlier date was suggested by Dr. Neubauer, M. Duval, and Professor Guidi; the two latter have only seen a photograph of the MS. Subsequently it was very carefully compared with several codices in the British Museum, of which the dates are known, by Dr. Gwynn, who also took the opinion of experts on the staff of the Museum. He is convinced that it is of the twelfth century, and is about to publish in full the version of the Apocalypse contained in it, which is distinct from the one usually printed in Syriac New Testaments. More about this MS. will be found in *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxviii. A selection of its readings in the four Minor Catholic Epistles has been published by Dr. Gwynn in *Hermathena* for 1890.

circumstances, they were brought thither. *Crawf. I* is without any indication of date or locality, but there can be no doubt that it is of the sixth century. It is a very handsome Tetraevangelium, and in excellent preservation. [*Studia Biblica*, 1890, p. 251.]

It would be easy to double or treble the above list by adding other MSS. which, if somewhat younger and less precious, are yet not inferior to those on which the text of many ancient authors now depends. The British Museum contains more than eighty copies of parts of the Peshitto New Testament, besides MSS. of the Old Testament and Psalters. In the Bodleian are the Jacobite *Cod. Dawkinsianus III*, which is assigned to the ninth century, but may well be older¹, and the Nestorian *Dawk. XXVII*, which appears to be of the tenth century. Berlin has been enriched with a collection², which yet awaits the fuller description promised by Professor Sachau. It is almost certain that the convents of the East contain many treasures besides those which they have already yielded to the scholars of the West; but it is most improbable that any research will discover copies of greater antiquity than the oldest of those with which we are already acquainted.

C. In connection with MSS. account should also be taken of the editions of the Peshitto published by the American Bible Society. The materials were collected by Dr. Justin Perkins, during his residence as a missionary amongst the (so called) Nestorian Christians of Persia³. The first edition was printed at Urumiah, Nestorian Estrangela was used, and the Nestorian vowel system. Some of the readings which were adopted are now confirmed not only, as might be expected, by the Nestorian Massorah, which we are about to describe, but also by our early Jacobite MSS. of which Perkins could have known nothing. The American

¹ *Studia Biblica*, 1890, p. 251; for both MSS., *Cat. Cod. Bod.* (R. P. Smith) pars VI.

² *Kurzes Verzeichniss der Sachau'schen Sammlung syrischer Handschriften*, von E. Sachau, 1885.

³ See *Eight Years in Persia*, J. Perkins, 1843; and note on next page.

editors had access to ancient and valuable Nestorian evidence, and their work may occupy in our *apparatus criticus* the place of a good Nestorian codex. In fact, it really represents the testimony of many codices of that class ¹.

II.

What has been called ² the *Karkaphensian Syriac* is neither a distinct Version, as the *Jerusalem*, nor a revision of the Peshitto as the *Philoxenian* and its *Heracleian* modification, nor a codex, like the *Curetonian*, with remarkable affinities to the Peshitto, and at the same time many divergences from it; but is a kind of *Massorah*—the attempt to preserve the best traditions

¹ At the request of the Rev. E. W. Gilman, Corresponding Secretary of the American Bible Society, Dr. Isaac H. Hall has kindly noted some facts connected with the publication of the Syriac Bibles of that Society. From his communication I extract the following:—'It is impossible now to tell just what MSS. were used in constructing the text of the Ancient Syriac New Testament of the American Bible Society. After having (through the kindness of Rev. H. M. Perkins, son of the late Rev. Justin Perkins, D.D.) looked through a number of sources not in print, I am fully of the opinion that no more information can be had with exactness than is conveyed in Dr. Perkins' *Eight Years in Persia*. . . . It is absolutely certain that [the Editors] made the MSS. they found in the region the controlling element in settling the text. Of these there were many as old as the twelfth century—scarcely any younger; and here and there one very much older. One was reported to be 1500 years old, which was used, but could not be borrowed. . . . One of [Dr. Perkins' MSS.], that now in Boston, is of the twelfth century, but was obtained, I believe, by Dr. Asahel Grant. It is in Estrangela, like all the old Nestorian MSS., and the Nestorian vowels in it are by a later hand. . . . Dr. Perkins yielded as much to native custom as purity permitted, yet with an eye to progress, as a comparison of the Psalter of 1841 with the New Testament five years or so later will show. . . . It is easy to account for Dr. Perkins' silence as to the particular sources of his text, as also with respect to its peculiarities. It would not have done, at that time, for a man to have given any public prominence to text critical matters. . . . These remarks apply to the whole Oromiah Bible in Ancient Syriac, though the Old Testament was not printed till some years after the New. . . . The New York New Testament of 1874 was intended to be a *reprint* of the Ancient Syriac of that Oromiah New Testament [in Ancient and Modern Syriac, 1846], changing only in case of misprints. 21 Jan., 1888.'

² With Dr. Scrivener's description (3 ed., pp. 333-4) should be read Wright's remarks in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. 22, ed. 1887, p. 826 and n. Adler (*op. cit.*, p. 33) suspected the truth forty years before the researches of Wiseman—*haec Carcufensis nobis non versio diversa, sed codex quidam vulgatae versionis fuisse videtur*.

of the orthography and pronunciation of the more important or difficult words of the Syriac vernacular Bible. Some variations of reading are noticed by the compilers, and the text which they have transcribed may be regarded as that which obtained their highest approbation; but none of the MSS. which have survived with the records of their labours contain complete transcripts of the sacred books. The two specimens appended to this paper will show what may be gained by a study of the MSS. produced by the Syriac Massoretes. These MSS. are evidence for the Canon of Holy Scripture which was recognized in the Syriac schools¹, and for the type of text which was prevalent; but the usefulness of these works is rather for the philologist and grammarian than for the textual critic.

The Syriac Massoretic MSS. are these:—

i. *Cod. Add.* 12,138. It was written, according to a note appended apparently by the original scribe, at Harran, in the convent of St. Gabriel, also known as that of the Confessors, in the year 1210, i.e. A.D. 899. It is a Nestorian work, in the handwriting of, and with the vowel points and accents employed by, Nestorian scribes, and includes the Old and New Testaments.

[*Cat. Syr. MSS. Brit. Mus.*, Pt. i. pp. 101–108. Wiltzsch, *op. cit.*, i. pp. 241, 497, for the Jacobite see of Harran; p. 494, for the Nestorian; cf. Ainsworth's *Expedition*, i. 204–5.]

¹ For the New Testament the Massorah confirms the limitations of the Peshitto Canon. For the Old Testament the evidence is less satisfactory. The Canon almost coincides with that of the Hebrew Massoretes, but includes some of the Apocrypha, and in additions and omissions there are differences between the Nestorian and the Jacobite Massorahs: compare contents of (1) *Add.* 12,138, with (2) those of *Add.* 12,178, with which *Codd. Vat.* and *Barber.* nearly agree, as described by Wright (B. M. Cat.) and by Wiseman, who justly remarks, 'Omittuntur varii libri [Canonici et Deuterocanonici] fortasse quia voces nullae in ipsis occurrunt quae illustratione egeant' (*op. cit.*, p. 217). *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah* seem to have been neglected by both schools, but, as Wiseman says, 'omnes certe sunt in Canone,' and for the first we have *Add.* 17,104, which contains 1, 2 Chron. only, in a sixth century hand, a few leaves being lost.

For the Syriac Apocrypha see *Libri Vet. Test. Apoc.* (P. de Lagarde), edited from Walton with Brit. Mus. MSS.

ii. The *Cod. Vaticanus* 152. This is the MS. which was so fully described by Wiseman in his *Horae Syriacae*, p. 151 f. An epigraph states that it was written in the monastery of Mar Aaron, in Mount Shigara¹, in the year 1291, i.e. A.D. 980. The text is furnished with the Greek vowels employed by the Jacobite scribes, and the work represents the Western Syriac Massorah, as *Add.* 12,138 the Eastern.

iii. *Add.* 12,178. A Jacobite work, in all respects resembling the Vatican Massoretic codex. It includes the Old and New Testaments in the Peshitto, with the New Testament in the Heracleian, and is of the ninth or tenth century.

[*Cat. Brit. Mus.*, Pt. i. pp. 108–111.]

iv. The *Cod. Barberinus* is another and similar work of the same school. It was described by Bianchini in *Evangeliarium Quadruplex*, 1748, and afterwards more fully and accurately by Wiseman in *op. cit.*, pp. 194–202. An epigraph states that the book belonged to the priest *Daniel*, of *Beth-Sachre*², who was also its scribe. It is somewhat doubtful whether the date is 1400 = A.D. 1089, or 1404 = A.D. 1093. Wiseman, as we have seen, (p. 50, n. 2), thought this epigraph was not a *prima manu*, and adds, ‘potius antiquiorem codicem crederem, praesertim si litterarum formas spectare velimus.’


v. *Add.* 7183 is also a Jacobite Massoretic work, and includes some ecclesiastical writings, as well as the books of the Bible. It seems to be of the early part of the twelfth century, and is very fully described in *Catalogus Codd. Orientt. Mus. Brit.* i. (Rosen & Forshall), pp. 64–71.

¹ Or Sigara, or Singara (رد سڀرڀا), the name of a city and its district, now Sinjar, east of the Mygdonius. Smith's *Dict. Greek and Roman Geography*; Wiltzsch, *Atlas sacer* (Gothae, 1843), Tab. iv. Like other sees already named, it was at one time under Jacobite, at another under Nestorian rule. See Wiltzsch, *Statistics*, i. § 153 and note, and § 334 and note.

² So Wiseman transliterates ܒܝܬܫܚܪܝܐ, and (p. 198, n.) identifies it with a place near Nineveh, doubtless the same as the Beth Sacheraye in *Thes. Syr.*, col. 491, a place mentioned in a note dated A.D. 1272, appended to *Cod. Add.* 21,210, a MS. which was in A.D. 1242 in the Church of St. Thomas at Mosul, and contains, *inter alia*, a discourse by Rabban Daniel on the distinction between the Chrism and the Eucharist. *Cat. B. M.*, ii. pp. 879, 881–2.

[*Cat. des MSS. Syr. de la Bib. Nat. (H. Zotenberg), N^o. 64.*]

[Critique Textuelle du N. T., Partie Théorique, p. 291.]

The extracts which are appended to this essay are fair specimens of the text of the Syriac Massorah. Besides the marginal notes of grammar and pronunciation which are there exhibited, readings are sometimes quoted in the *Vatican* and *Barberini MSS.*, and in *Add.* 12,178, under references which are undoubtedly to certain eminent critics. Of such men Sergius, Philoxenus, and others are quoted by name; also one Sabba, whom we may identify with Deacon Sabba of Espekli² (the convent *Specula* near Reshaina), the famous scribe 'who did not make a blotted  in the whole Testament.' He copied MSS. in the first half of the eighth century³, and, as M. Duval has shown⁴, his name is associated with the scribe Tubhana Santa (ܬܘܒܗܢܐ), or, if the strange form be not an error, Satana—

² **سوقدس**. There are several forms of the name (*Theo. Syr.*, col. 2706). The editor of *Cat. Brit. Mus.* (iii. p. 1263) writes 'the Specula or Watch-tower' but the Syriac, no doubt, represents the Latin word, or some Grecized form of it. So *Land*, quoted in *Theo. Syr.*, col. 316.

³ *E.g. Add. 14,430* (1 Kings, *Pesh.*), A.G.R. 1035 = A.D. 724, *Add. 12,135* (pt. of Ezekiel, *Pesh.*), A.G.R. 1037. To the latter is appended a note, which shows that the codex was originally the last of a complete Testament, and contains the above-quoted boast, ܐܠܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ [ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ].

⁴ *Journal Asiatique*, 1884, p. 560, arguing from a passage in *Bar Bahlulī Lex. Syro-Arab.*, which is quoted (from the MS.) in *Thes. Syr.*, col. 2677. See also Stade's *Zeitsch. f. d. Alt. Wissensch.* (G. Hoffmann), 1881, p. 159; *Syr. Lit.* (Wright) in *Encyclop. Brit.*, 9th ed., p. 826.

ܬܒܗܢܐ. To this scribe, or to some other Tubhana, must the references be which are made under the term ܬܒܗܢܐ, or its abbreviation ܬܒ. Wiseman¹ thought that ܬܒܗܢܐ referred to the Peshitto, but his conclusion was drawn from mere coincidences between the quotations and the form of Peshitto text which he employed. While these coincidences are indisputable, there remains the difficulty that no evidence has been adduced that the Peshitto was known as the Tubhana.

On the margin of *Add.* 12,178 there are some references in this form, ܬܒܢܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܐ, one of the Karkaphayee used to say. The same proper name occurs in the adjectival form ܡܥܬܐ in the titles of *Codd. Vatic.* 152 and *Add.* 7183. Hence the well-known designation of this form of text², but it really belongs to one of the sources of the Massorah, and does not connote the whole class of Massoretic MSS. Müller's³ explanation was:—'Carcufense exemplar nomen habet ab oppido Carcuf, quod Syri ܕܥܪܥܘܬ, Arabes قرقوب vocabant. Erat Mesopotamiae urbs.' Adler refers to Herbelot⁴ *s. v.* *Carcub*, as though he would identify the town with one of which the name is also spelled Corcub, and Carcoub, in the province of Ahwaz⁵. This district was not without literary fame in other departments, but is too far eastwards to have been the home of the Syriac Massorah. Even the Nestorian Massoretic codex (*Add.* 12,138) was written at Harran. Müller's derivation from a proper name is nearer the truth than Assemani's translation *Montana*, as though it were the Version peculiar to the Highlanders. Castell adopts the

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 158 n. 14, 224. ܬܒܢܐ = beatus, and is often used as a mere title; cf. our *gallant*, *learned*. In *Thes. Syr.*, col. 1439, are many examples of its use for all classes of people, but none of its use to designate writings.

² *Versio Karkaphensis* has been repeated by subsequent writers from J. S. Assemani (*Bib. Orient.* ii. 283), who quotes from Bar-Hebraeus; see *Wiseman, op. cit.*, p. 149.

³ *Andreae Mulleri Dissertationes*, 1673, p. 40, referring to scholia of Bar-Hebraeus on Pss. 107. 23, 136. 1.

⁴ Barth. d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, i. pp. 130, 506; cf. *Aufsedae Tabulae Geographicae* (H. F. Wüstenfeld), pp. 26, 27.

⁵ See *Géographie Universelle* (V. de Saint Martin), i. 40; Herbelot, *op. cit.*, i. 131.

same rendering, but this meaning is very doubtful¹. The adjective occurs in Matthew xxvii. 33, and the parallel passages, as a translation of *κράβον*, and this seems to be its proper meaning². It would be analogous to other names of monasteries³ that there should be one called 'the Skull' from its situation on a skull-shaped hill-top, and then *ܡܢܬܐ ܕܠܝܠܐ*, *Karkaphensian*, would indicate the form of text which was favoured in the Scriptorium of the Skull. Assemani in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol. ii. p. 78, alluding to a MS.⁴ of Petrus Junior of Antioch, which contains part of his *Adv. Damianum*, says that this copy was written for 'the Monks of Karkapheta of the Magdalayee,' which, however, he translates *Montis Magdalorum*. Magdal is mentioned by Bar Hebraeus⁵ in connection with certain transactions in the year of the Arabs 577 (= A.D. 1181-2), 'Araban and Magdal and other places of [the district of] the Chaboura⁶,' which flows by Reshaina⁷. Another allusion to the Skull Convent is found in a note, dated A.D. 839, in a fragment of a Philosophical

¹ *Assemani, l. c.*; *Ed. Castelli Lex. Syr.*, 1788, p. 835.

² *Cf. Buxtorfi Lex. Chald. et Rabb.*, s. v. ܡܢܬܐ, i. e. caput, col. 2151.

³ *Cf. Specula Convent*, p. 59 above. There may have been a village *Karkaphata*, as there was an *Eagle's Nest Convent* (*cf. Add. 14,726*, fol. 59), and a town of the same name—*ܡܢܬܐ ܕܠܝܠܐ*, *Add. 14,591*, fol. 139. Near Tella was *Quarry Convent*, *Thes. Syr.*, col. 3190. *Ladder Convent* is mentioned in *Add. 18,295* (*cf. Thes. Syr.*, col. 2504), no doubt deriving its name from the mode of access to it, and in *Add. 14,602* (fol. 82 a), *ܡܢܬܐ ܕܠܝܠܐ* = *Domus Umbrarum*. In *Add. 17,110*, fol. 76, we have mention of *ܡܢܬܐ ܕܠܝܠܐ*, 'John and Chacim, brethren, priests, *Spekslayee*,' i. e. of *Specula Convent*, analogous to the meaning assigned above to *Karkaphayee*.

⁴ Described as *Codex CVIII* in the *Biblioth. Vaticanae MSS. Catal.* iii. 70.

⁵ *Chronicon*, Dynast. X, 385 (Bruns et Kirsch). In the *Paris* (1890) Edition, p. 358, we have for *ܡܢܬܐ ܕܠܝܠܐ* (Araban) the form *ܡܢܬܐ ܕܠܝܠܐ*, which approximates to *ܡܢܬܐ ܕܠܝܠܐ* (*Thes. Syr.*, col. 2986) *nomen vici et regionis Turabdinensis*. This would be another connection with the Upper Chaboras.

⁶ Or *Chaboras*, the *Habor* of the O. T., also known as the *Araxes*. For this, and the above-named towns, see *Ainsworth*, i. ch. 12.

⁷ Also called *Theodosiopolis*, and marked on modern maps as *Râs el Aina*. It was a place of importance in Syriac literature, for the name often occurs in colophons and notes of MSS.

work¹, the note stating that the book was written in the Convent Karkapheta, for Ishai bar Chabib of Ramni near Mardin. Mardin was north of Reshaina, and nearer to the region which from the number of its convents was called Tur-Abdin, the Mount of [God's] Servants. L'Abbé Martin² thinks we should look in the neighbourhood of Amid for the site of the Skull Convent: the allusions which we have quoted rather suggest a site further south, the district of the Chaboura, and the neighbourhood of Reshaina; but the precise locality cannot be determined.

It may be regarded as accidental that only one of the extant Massoretic MSS. the first which we have described, belongs to the Nestorian school. Although it does not exhibit those marginal notes and references to critics which abound in the *Vatican*, the *Barberini*, and the *Add.* 12,178 manuscripts, yet it is a work of such extent and completeness as to show that Massoretic studies were as much followed amongst the Nestorians as amongst the Jacobites, and certainly as early as the conclusion of the ninth century. The oldest Jacobite copy, *Add.* 12,178, is perhaps not much younger than the Nestorian Massoretic codex: we have already seen (pp. 59, 60) that the *Karkaphayee* and others are referred to in it as earlier labourers in the same field. Still more significant is the use of the word ܟܪܟܦܗܝܬܐ. This was rendered by Wiseman, *Versio* (*Hor. Syr.*, 156 and n.). He chiefly relies on the use of the word in the title of the Syriac translation of the LXX from the Hexaplar³; but even there ܟܪܟܦܗܝܬܐ need not denote more than *tradition*, which is its proper meaning⁴—the form of text as handed down through the Seventy. The

¹ It is now *fol.* 5 and 6 of *Add.* 17,125; see *Catalogue*, p. 1164, col. 2.

² *Critique Textuelle*, p. 285; but Professor Hoffmann in *Zeit. d. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* XXXII, 1878, p. 745, contends that Karkaphatha was 'bei der Stadt Maghdal am Habbhora Fluss.'

³ See *Cod. Syr.-Hexap. Ambr.-Mediol.* (Norberg), 1787; *Monum. Sac. et Prof.* (Ceriani), t. i. fas. 1.

⁴ *Nomenclator Syriacus* (Ferrarius), col. 351; cf. *Matt.* xv. 2 etc. *Peesh.* and *Herac.*

While we cannot at present point out the particular college in which Massoretic studies were first pursued, or indicate with certainty who was their author, yet some names may be mentioned as those of critics who must have had a share in the work, more or less direct. Two centuries before *Add.* 12,138 was written, grammatical and philological studies were sedulously pursued and promoted at Edessa by Jacob, who, after a long episcopacy, died in 710². At Nisibis the rector of the school during many years of the sixth century was Joseph Huzita: it has been thought that he was the founder of the Massoretic art in that city³. Again, the *Tract* which forms part of *Add.* 12,178⁴ suggests a connection between these criticisms and the labours of one *Thomas the Deacon*. Perhaps this was the well-known Thomas Heracleensis⁵. Or perhaps Thomas of Edessa is intended⁶, the

² So Bickell, *Conspectus Rei Syr. Literariae*, p. 41, and cf. *Hist. Artis Gram. ap. Syros* (Ad. Merx), cap. iv. There are some variations in the dates assigned to Jacob's consecration and death. His Letter to George of Serug is appended to the Massorah in *Add.* 7183; see *Mar-Jacob on Syriac Orthography* (G. Phillips), 1869.

⁴ With the title **قصدنا وبقدرنا وحسن حالنا معكم**.

⁵ This is suggested, but dubiously, in *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, p. 110.

⁶ So L'Abbé Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 286. To this author is due the credit of

teacher of Mar Abbas, who was elected (Nestorian) Catholicus in 536. Subsequently Thomas embraced his pupil's Nestorianism, and was associated with him in literary work during the first half of the sixth century¹.

Whatever may be the date of the birth of the Syriac Massorah, it is indisputable that it had attained maturity in the century which succeeded the era of the youngest of our best copies of the Peshitto². It will follow therefore that the significance of these traditions to the modern critic is different from that of the Hebrew Massorah. To this we owe all our knowledge of the form of the Jewish Scriptures³, except in so far as ancient versions modify the verdict of the Massoretic MSS. But the Syriac Massorah is younger than our oldest copies of the Syriac Bible, and the Massorah with the MSS. of all ages support and supplement one another. The Syriac Massorah was suggested by the Jewish⁴; it had its birth in the same country⁵; it was designed for similar

having carefully studied our present subject twenty years ago. See his *Tradition Karkaphienne, ou la Massore chez les Syriens*, and other Essays.

¹ Dr. Gwynn in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, iv. p. 1013.

² There are many interesting copies of comparatively late date, such as *Crauf. II* (p. 54 above), but, if we apply to Syriac the rules of criticism laid down by some writers—see, e. g. *Greek Test.* (Alford), ed. 1874, Proleg. VI. i. 24-29—their testimony is of little worth. Yet in *Academy* (July, 1890) Professor Sanday recognizes the value of diplomatic evidence of all ages in determining the archetypal text. However, in the case of the Peshitto, the question need not be discussed, for we possess so many ancient copies of it that we can afford to disregard all which are later than the somewhat remarkable eighth century MS., *Add. 14,456*, or the Nestorian New Testament of A. D. 758, *Add. 7157*.

³ Dr. Neubauer's paper in this vol.; Thrupp in *Bible Dict.* ii. p. 608. The oldest Hebrew Old Testament MS. is said to be the *Cod. Babylonicus* of A. D. 916, so that even the most ancient is subsequent to the Hebrew Massorah.

⁴ For the Syrians were not so much inventors, as imitators and improvers. For example, in criticism they adopted and expanded the harmonistic system of Eusebius (*Stud. Bib.*, 1890, No. VIII), in writing a MS. they imitated the forms and words of the Greek scribes (cf. Wright in *B. M. Cat.*, Pref., xxvii), their liturgical terminology is largely Greek. Yet, strangely enough, it has been argued (see Mr. Harris' interesting article *Massorah* in *Jew. Q. R.* i.; *Encyclop. Brit.*, 9th ed., xi. 600) that the Hebrew Massorah owed much to the Syriac. It is almost certain that the contrary was the fact.

⁵ One of the centres of Nestorian Church life in the sixth and seventh centuries, Naarda, had, at an earlier period, been the seat of a famous Rabbinical

purposes ; it even had a double recension, eastern and western, like its Jewish prototype ; but, owing to more favourable circumstances, we do not depend upon it for our Peshitto text, although it has a great value in questions of pronunciation, of accentuation, and of interpunction.

III.

A. Besides copies of the Peshitto, we have, if such aid were required, Versions in Arabic and in Persian¹, which, in part, at least, are direct translations from the Syriac. At one time it was supposed that emendations of the Peshitto text might be successfully made by the help of the Versions², but there is no need now to seek evidence in that direction, for there are in our hands, through later discoveries, copies of the original Syriac, which are not only older than the copies of the Versions of it, but which were written before the Versions themselves were made. Thus the case is different from that of many ancient documents, in the criticism of which Versions are often of paramount importance.

B. Again, if native works of the second and third centuries had survived to our day, we should possess materials which might possibly afford the same supplement to the evidence for the Peshitto text which quotations in the most ancient Latin Church writers afford to the *Old Latin*. In the fourth century we have Aphraates³ and Ephraim⁴. Their many quotations from the Scriptures are useful as evidence of the school. Cf. p. 52 n. above ; Etheridge's *Hebrew Literature*, p. 154 ; Buxtorff *Lex. Chald. et Rabb.*, col. 1313. At Nisibis also was a large colony of Jews and a School.—Neubauer (*Géographie*), p. 370.

¹ Reuss, *History of Scriptures of New Test.* (tr. Houghton, 1884), §§ 437. 441 ; Bleek, *Einleitung in das Neue Test.*, 1886, §§ 281, 282. An Arabic Version in parallel columns with the Peshitto (*Add.* 14,467 is a part of the work) is described by J. Gildemeister, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-6.

² Cf. Wichelhaus, *op. cit.*, p. 229 ; Michaelis, *op. cit.*, vol. II, ch. vii, § 3.

³ *Homiliæ [ejus] inter annos 337 et 345 conscriptæ*, Bickell, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁴ Born about 308, died 373—*Bickell* l. c. ; *Dict. Christian Biography*, s. v. For St. Ephraim's quotations see Mr. Wood's paper in this volume—a valuable addition to our knowledge of the text employed by that Father—and, especially for the Old Testament, G. Z. Spohn's *Collatio Ver. Syr. c. S. Eph. Commentario* ; Lengerke's *Commentatio de Eph. S.S. interprete* ; A. Pohlman's *S. Eph. Commentariorum Commentatio*.

characteristics of the translations which they employed ; but, like other early writers, they did not aim at strict accuracy of reference, so that their citations have no claim to overrule the verdict of the most ancient codices ; for these in actual age approximate to the times of Ephraim and Aphraates, while they are the representatives of a text which was at least current in the days of those writers. It ought to be unnecessary to repeat that exemplars are witnesses to texts which are older than the leaves of the codices. There are no grounds whatever for the suspicion that such MSS. as *Add.* 14,459 or 17,117 belong to the 'first edition,' so to speak, of the Peshitto. If therefore they are *copies*, then was the Peshitto either published between the death of St. Ephraim and the middle of the fifth century, or else it was known to the writer and used by him.

In deciding between conflicting hypotheses, that must always be preferred which presents the fewest difficulties. And the difficulties involved in the supposition that the Peshitto is subsequent to the days of Mar Ephraim are certainly many. It leaves unexplained the close affinities (in spite of some divergences) between the Version used by Ephraim and Aphraates and the Peshitto of the fifth century—the absence of any trace of the rise of the Peshitto immediately before the oldest copies were made—the disappearance of every MS. of the Ante-Peshitto. To judge from the practice of the scribes in the seventh century, who copied both the Peshitto and the Heracleian revision of it, it would be reasonable to expect to find copies of the Ante-Peshitto as well as of the Peshitto itself. Only one codex has ever been claimed as a representative of the former type of text. But unfortunately *Add.* 14,451 lacks those details of origin and locality out of which, in conjunction with the probable date of the MS., the history of the text might be constructed¹.

The conclusion is, that in our oldest Peshitto MSS. we can read the New Testament as it was known to the Syrians of

¹ 'In order to recover the true text of any ancient document, it is necessary first to know its history.'—*Studia Biblica*, ii. p. 240, Note by W. S.

the fourth century. We do not require to correct our text by quotations, and still less would there be any excuse now for those conjectural emendations which were proposed by some critics before the present diplomatic evidence was available¹.

IV.

The ancient codices which we have enumerated represent each of the two great divisions of Syrian Christendom. At a later period Nestorian² MSS. presented marked characteristics, partly in readings, still more in vowel-marks, and in handwriting and ornamentation. Many of the differences in reading which have been noted are due, however, to the circumstance that the Jacobite MSS. with which the Eastern copies were compared were older, and preserved an older text for the most part. Some of the oldest Non-Nestorian copies are indeed so ancient, e. g. *Add.* 14,459 and 17,117 (pp. 53, 54 above), that they may fairly be claimed as representatives of the undivided Syrian Church. In the sixth and following centuries the schism was completed, and between the Eastern

¹ Emendations which are defended principally because they conform the Syriac to the Greek (such as some in *Text. Ver. Simp. coll. c. duobus MSS. Bodl.*, R. Jones, 1805, and some quoted in Schaaf's *Appendix*) would be desirable in a missionary publication, but for critical purposes the Peshitto must rest on the authority of its own MSS. There are no doubt cases where a trivial change in the Syriac characters would produce a preferable reading. Such are—in Mat. viii. 4 ܠܥܡܐ (ܠܥܡܐ) for ܠܥܡܐ (ܠܥܡܐ); in Mat. ix. 36 ܥܡܐ, which better represents the ἑρμηνεῖς, for ܥܡܐ; in Luke ii. 10 ܠܥܡܐ (τῷ λαῷ) for ܠܥܡܐ (world); in Luke ii. 30 ܥܡܐ (τὸ σωτήριόν σου) for ܥܡܐ (thymercy), and many others; but they are against diplomatic evidence. To all such changes, whether in the Peshitto or the Greek, Wichelhaus' canon will apply, *Critici et Editoris est talem textum servare qualis in libris reperitur—op. cit.*, p. 228.

² This term is sometimes applied (but inaccurately) rather to the style of writing than to the type of text—see Wright in *Cat. Brit. Mus.* iii. Pref. p. xxxi. n. The designations *Jacobite* and *Nestorian* are neither strictly accurate nor always applicable. In the earlier periods there was no well-defined local boundary between the sects. At the present day it is doubtful how far the original theological distinctions still prevail, and whether the ancient Churches of the East are in actual as they certainly are in formal heresy. With Walton's sympathetic words (quoted in *Scrivener*, p. 312 n) compare *Some Notes of Travel* (Trench); *Review and Correspondence in Guardian*, June and July, 1890; *Riley's Visit to Assyrian Christians*.

ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ = *vir* | ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ—in *quo* erat—I. 23
in quo est spiritus immundus | marking distinctly the past
—historical present tense. | tense. A revised reading.

ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ = *disciplina haec.* | ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ = *haec disciplina.* 27

ܐܠܗܐ' = *ὁ πυρετός αὐτῆς*, but some | ܐܠܐ', without *αὐτῆς*, and appar-
copies—e.g. 15, 21—favour the | ently adapted to the Greek.
other class.

ܐܠܐ' ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ 42 | ܐܠܐ' ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ = *ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα.*
ܐܠܐ' ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ = *ἡ λέπρα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.* | ܐܠܐ' ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ = *ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα.*

The Jacobite and Nestorian readings correspond to variants in
the Greek: see the editions of *Tischendorf* and others. ܐܠܐ', with
ܐ, might represent *ἡ λέπρα αὐτοῦ*, if in ver. 31 ܐܠܐ' = *ὁ πυρετός αὐτῆς*.

ܐܠܐ' ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ II. 4 | ܐܠܐ' ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ (so cod. 21), to express
ܐܠܐ' = *τὸν κράββατον.* | ܐܠܐ' ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ (so cod. 21), to express
distinctly the objective case.

ܐܠܐ' ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ 16 | ܐܠܐ' ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ = *οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου*
ܐܠܐ' ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ = *οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου* | ܐܠܐ' ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ, using the same
For *ἐσθίουρα*, ܐܠܐ' ; for *ἐσθίου* | ܐܠܐ' and ܐܠܐ', using the same
ܐܠܐ'. | Syriac for the one Greek verb.

ܐܠܐ' is *to take food*, and therefore specially appropriate here,
while ܐܠܐ' is *to eat* figuratively as well as literally.

ܐܠܐ' ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ 18 | ܐܠܐ' ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ = *οἱ τῶν Φαρισαίων* in both
ܐܠܐ' ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ = *οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου* | ܐܠܐ' ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ = *οἱ τῶν Φαρισαίων* in both
= [καὶ ἦσαν] *οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου* | ܐܠܐ' ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ = *οἱ τῶν Φαρισαίων* in both
καὶ *οἱ Φαρισαῖοι*, but in the | ܐܠܐ' ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ = *οἱ τῶν Φαρισαίων* in both
latter half of the ver. ܐܠܐ' ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ | ܐܠܐ' ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ = *οἱ τῶν Φαρισαίων* in both
= *οἱ τῶν Φαρισαίων*.

ܐܠܐ' ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ 20 | ܐܠܐ' ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ = *ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νυμ-*
ܐܠܐ' ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ = *ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νυμ-* | ܐܠܐ' ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ = *ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νυμ-*
φίος. | ܐܠܐ' ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ = *ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νυμ-*
by erasure.

The Western reading follows the order of the Greek, but the
Eastern is perhaps a better Syriac order.

- III. 28. **ܩܕܝܫܐ ܣܦܬܐ ܩܠܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ**
 Υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων is in oldest MSS. usually expressed by **ܩܕܝܫܐ**, as here cod. 40: in later copies, and in the Nestorian, usually by **ܡܠܟܐ**; but there is much inconsistency. In the Eastern MSS. are found the defective forms **ܡܠܟܐ** and **ܡܠܟܐ**, but not exclusively, while **ܡܠܟܐ** and **ܡܠܟܐ** are somewhat more frequent in the older Jacobite copies. So **ܡܠܟܐ** and **ܡܠܟܐ**, **ܡܠܟܐ** and **ܡܠܟܐ**, and other full or contracted forms are used indifferently in MSS. of both classes and all ages.

35. **ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ**
 Most copies transpose,
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ (var. lect. **ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ**) | **ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ** = *ὁς γὰρ ἀν ποιήσῃ*,
 in exact order of the Greek.

- IV. 5. **ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ**
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ = (lit.) where no
 earth. See also i. 23 above. | **ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ** = where
 there was no earth—conformed
 to the context.

21. **ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ**
 For *τεθῆ* and *ἐπιτεθῆ*, **ܡܠܟܐ**. | **ܡܠܟܐ**, an orthographical
 See *The. Syr.*, col. 2560; correction, found also in some
Nestle, Syr. Gr. (1889), 46^b Jacobite MSS.
 and note 7.

33. **ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ**
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ = *Ἰησοῦς αὐτοῖς* | **ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ** = *αὐτοῖς Ἰησοῦς*.
 (18 om. **ܡܠܟܐ**).

This transposition is the reverse of that in ii. 20; there the Western has the objective case first, here the Eastern. Both add *Ἰησοῦς*, which is not in the original.





40. **ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ**
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ = *οὐρα*. | **ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ**; emphatic form.

The two forms differ little in meaning—see examples in *The. Syr.*, col. 1007—but from the *usus* of the Peshitto N.T. the Nestorian form would seem to be a correction. See Schaaf's *Lex. Syr. Concord.*, p. 131.

- V. 27. **ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ**
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ = she came . . . | With codd. 17 21 23 . . . **ܡܠܟܐ**
 she touched. See the variants | **ܡܠܟܐ** = she came . . . and
 in *Tischendorf*. | she touched.

<p> $\alpha\iota = \delta$ δὲ ἐκβαλὼν. </p>	<p> $\alpha\iota = \delta$ δὲ ἱησοῦς ἐκβαλὼν, and so cod. 40. </p>
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The variations which belong to one family are sometimes found in individuals of the other group.

The following readings of the Nestorian New Testament, *Add.* 14,448, may be noticed. In Acts xx. 28 there is an erasure *before*  = Christi, but nothing to show that the reading was ever  = Dei. In Heb. ii. 9 we find , the third word being thus written over an erasure, and that no doubt of , so that *a prima manu* it would have been *ipse enim, excepto Deo, pro omnibus gustavit mortem*. In Rom. ix. 5, 1 Cor. v. 8 (1 Tim. iii. 16 is lost), this MS. read as *Add.* 14,479, etc.

Those who have access to my *Proposal to publish a Revised Text of the Peshitto Gospels* (for private circulation), 1887, will find other readings quoted from the Nestorian Tetraevangelium *Add.* 14,460 (7), and from *Add.* 7157, there called D.

The classification of readings which we have made in the above review of five chapters of the Peshitto is the result of the careful collation of fifteen¹ ancient codices, of which ten were collated by the late P. E. Pusey. The division of them between the Eastern and Western families is not difficult to make. We have already seen (pp. 50-4) that some copies plainly declare their origin, either by facts recorded in the colophons, or by the character of the writing. The texts of these afford data by which the remainder may be judged. By continuing throughout the New Testament the process of which the above is a specimen, a Table would be constructed which would serve as a test for other copies, and would exhibit the real nature of the differences between the Eastern and the Western Schools. But, in fact, our specimen is itself sufficient. From it the student can see—

(i) That there were two distinct streams of tradition in

¹ They are the Jacobite Codices 2, 5, 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 36, and the Nestorian 7, 8, 16, 33, with the Nestorian American Edition. See p. 103.

the transmission of the vernacular of the Syriac Church. And yet—

(ii) That only one text is supported by the two lines of evidence.

The MS. which we designate No. 8 is interesting and important in the history of the Peshitto text. The style of handwriting suggests the work of a scribe who belonged to some Nestorian monastery. It remained in the custody of possessors by whom Nestorian vowels and accents were added, and the text was in places corrected to the Nestorian type. But such correction shows that its prototype was related to MSS. of the other class. That the scribe chose a Jacobite model for his MS. is unlikely: far more probable is it that the differences between the Schools were not finally established in his time. If so, it will follow that the Nestorian type is the result of correction and revision, and therefore that the Jacobite is the older. And further, our careful collations of other MSS. show that the Monophysite copies of the sixth century, such as *Vaticanus* (A.D. 548) or *Florentinus* (A.D. 586), conform in character to the fifth century copies *Add.* 14,459, 14,470, and 17,117, which may fairly be considered as rather pre-Nestorian than Jacobite. Again, the Nestorian type is closely related in many of its grammatical forms to the later Jacobite MSS., such as *Crawford II*, and also to the text of Widmanstadt's edition, which, as I have shown in a former essay, was printed from Jacobite or Maronite exemplars¹.

V.

In the *Prolegomena to Tregelles' Greek Testament* (1879, p. xxvii, col. 1) the writer names the Version *commonly printed as the Peshito* (sic), and adds, 'of this I collated the whole of Rich's MS., 7157 [cf. p. 53, above] in the British Museum: this MS. is a good proof how the Syriac scribes modernized their copies.' Similar assertions have been made, or repeated,

¹ *Studia Biblica*, ii. p. 268.

by other writers, and are very misleading. The differences between a fifth century and an eighth century Peshitto MS., while not quite of the same kind, are in number less numerous than those which distinguish an English Bible as printed at the present day from Bibles which were published at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Of more important variations, an eighth century Syriac copy, Nestorian or Jacobite, would contain about, on an average, one in every chapter; but of these only a few would have any bearing on the relation of the version to the Greek archetype.

Again, it has been said that the present Peshitto is 'the gradually formed product of several successive revisions'¹. How far these various assertions are true of the materials available for the criticism of the Peshitto New Testament must be carefully considered, and a minute examination of even a small portion of the text, with comparison of variants, will suffice to show the character and the extent of the differences between different copies which were produced in different localities and at different ages. We select the last eighteen verses of the 5th chapter of St. Matthew, a passage where we are able to adduce the testimony of twenty witnesses². They are:—

¹ Hammond, *Textual Criticism*, 1890, p. 57; cf. *The New Testament* (Westcott and Hort), p. 84, and Tregelles in *Bible Dictionary*, iii. p. 1625 f. Mr. Hammond refers to Ridley's *De Syriacarum Nov. Foed. Versionum indole et usu dissertatio*; but the author (§§ vii, viii, pp. 28, 31) admits that the *Simplex* was read in the fourth century, and to account for the differences between Ephraim and the Peshitto supposes either (1) that the Old Syriac differed from that of to-day (he had not access to our ancient codices), or (2) that there were many versions, or (3) that Ephraim used the Greek. Ridley adds: 'Versionem Syrorum Simplicem Latinis omnibus esse vetustiore verisimile mihi videtur.'

² For the collations of Nos. 2, 7, 11, 12, 32 I am responsible; the readings of No. 40 have been contributed by Professor Ugolini, those of the Massorah by Dr. Bezold. My information about the variants in Nos. 13, 17, 18, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26 is derived from the note-books of the late Philip Edward Pusey. No. 10 was collated by the Rev. E. J. Perry, before he left London for the Principalship of the C. M. S. College at Kandy, Ceylon. His early death by an accident on April 2nd, 1890, has deprived me of a friend and fellow-labourer, and the Church of an earnest teacher and zealous missionary.

- (a) Fifth century, or early in sixth, *Cod. Add. Mus. Brit.* 17,117 [18], and perhaps a few years younger, *Add.* 14,470 [17].
 (β) Sixth century, *Add.* 17,116 [2], 17,115 [10], 14,461 [24], *Crawford I* [11], *Vaticanus A.D.* 548 [40], *Florentinus A.D.* 586 [26].
 (γ) Sixth or seventh century, *Add.* 14,454 [13], 12,137 [20], 17,113 [23].
 (δ) Seventh century, *Add.* 14,460 A.D. 600 [7], 14,471 A.D. 615 [32], and *Add.* 14,463 [25].
 (ε) Eighth or ninth century, *Crawford II* [12].
 (ζ) The (i) Eastern and (ii) Western Massorah.

ST. MATTHEW V. 31-48.

31 **וְאַתָּה אֵלֹהִים. וְעַתָּה אֵלֹהִים אֵלֶיךָ תִּפְּלֶה כִּנְיָהּ מִלְּבָבָהּ וְיִשְׁכַּלָּהּ.**
 (et infra) cum *mehagyana* apud Editores Americanos.

32 **אֵלֹהִים אֵלֶיךָ וְעַתָּה אֵלֹהִים אֵלֶיךָ חֲכֵה מִלְּבָבָהּ.**
חֲכֵה אֵלֶיךָ וְעַתָּה אֵלֹהִים אֵלֶיךָ חֲכֵה מִלְּבָבָהּ.
 Codd. 17 18 20 32: valde fluctuant. (cōn pro cūn, more Nestorianorum) Editio Americana, et ubique; cf. v. 37. **וְעַתָּה אֵלֹהִים אֵלֶיךָ** hoc loco 23: fluctuant codd. Inter **וְעַתָּה** et **חֲכֵה** litura in 12. Om. **וְעַתָּה** 10 20 24 25—ita 2, nunc litura. **וְעַתָּה** 3 tiae pers. fem. (hoc loco **וְעַתָּה**) semper exhibent Edd. Widmanstadiana et Schaafiana, interdum cod. 12.

33 **אֵלֹהִים מִלְּבָבָהּ וְעַתָּה אֵלֹהִים חֲכֵה מִלְּבָבָהּ.**
אֵלֹהִים מִלְּבָבָהּ וְעַתָּה אֵלֹהִים חֲכֵה מִלְּבָבָהּ.

(**וְעַתָּה** = **וְעַתָּה** pro **וְעַתָּה**, et ubique) Ed. Amer., et infra. **חֲכֵה מִלְּבָבָהּ** (singulariter) 10; apud Nestorr. (Mass. et Ed. Amer.) **חֲכֵה מִלְּבָבָהּ**: item (v. 34) **וְעַתָּה**, et (v. 36) **וְעַתָּה** pro **וְעַתָּה**, Ed. Amer.

34 **אֵלֹהִים אֵלֶיךָ וְעַתָּה אֵלֹהִים אֵלֶיךָ חֲכֵה מִלְּבָבָהּ.**
אֵלֹהִים אֵלֶיךָ וְעַתָּה אֵלֹהִים אֵלֶיךָ חֲכֵה מִלְּבָבָהּ.

אֵלֹהִים אֵלֶיךָ 18 20 32 ita *Cur.* **אֵלֹהִים אֵלֶיךָ** 2 10 25 32. **אֵלֹהִים אֵלֶיךָ** (et infra) Ed. Amer. **אֵלֹהִים אֵלֶיךָ** (d'Alāhā) apud Nestorianos.

- (7) The American Nestorian New Testament (*New York*, 1886);
cf. p. 55 C, above.
- (8) The editio princeps of *Widmanstadt*, which was printed from
MSS. not now accessible.
- (9) The Edition of *Leusden* and *Schaaf* (p. 49, n. 4), with the
Appendix of Variations in all authorities then available¹.

¹ Schaaf, who completed the edition after Leusden's death, says (*Praef. ad Lect.*), 'adjunxi versionem ex omnibus versionibus Latinis, in primis Tremelliana [quam ipse omnium primus adornavit] propria opera compositam.' From this biblical scholars, who do not read Syriac, have derived most of their knowledge of the Peshitto N. T. We have borrowed from Schaaf in the following pages, but with adaptation to the text which we exhibit.

ST. MATTHEW V. 31-48.

31 Dictum est, quod quicumque dimittit uxorem suam, det illi scriptum repudii.

Ad rationem verbi proferendi solam pertinet nota *mehagyanae*.

32 Ego autem dico vobis, quod omnis quicumque dimittit uxorem suam, excepta causa fornicationis, efficit ei ut committat adulterium: et quicumque accipit derelictam, adulterium committit ♦

Omnis quicumque] Cum 2 (p. m.) 10 20 24 25 veritas, *omnis qui*. Cf. varr. lectt. *πᾶς ὁ ἀπολύων ἐς τὴν ἀπολύσῃ*.

♦] non interrumpunt 2 32 40.

33 Rursum audistis quod dictum est antiquis; Non mentieris in iuramentis tuis, persolves autem Domino iuramenta tua.

Cod. 10, *iuramento*, *iuramentum*—ita *Codex Curetonianus*; cf. p. 86 infra.

34 Ego autem dico vobis, ne iuretis omnino: ne per coelum, quia solium est Dei.

Ne iuretis . . .] Praefigunt 2 10 25 32 ?, quod idem valet ac *ἐν* orationis rectae.

35 Neque per terram, quia scabellum est quod est sub pedibus ejus : neque etiam per Urishlem, quia civitas est Regis magni.

Signum (·) saepe deest nominibus pluralibus et collectivis. *Urishlem*] Ed. Amer. *Oreshlem*—huius nominis eandem exhibet formam *Cod. Curet.* ac recentiores 12 32.

36 Neque etiam per caput tuum iurabis : quia non potes facere in eo capillum unum caesariei nigrum aut album.

Om. a p. m. *unum* 7 ; plura apud *Tischendorfium* (Nov. Test. ed. mai.) reperias.

37 Sed sit sermo vester, Ita, ita, et Non, non : id quod haec excedit, a malo est ♦

♦] non interruptit 32.

Rubrica, LECTIO TERTII DIEI HEBDOMADIS PRIMAE IEIUNIUM.

38 Audistis quod dictum est, Oculum pro oculo, et dentem pro ⁴⁸₅ dente :

39 Ego autem dico vobis, ut non surgatis contra malum : sed ^{[48 sed . . .}₅ quicumque percutit te super maxillam tuam dexteram, obverte illi ^{Cod. 40]} etiam alteram.

40 Et quicumque vult contendere tecum, et accipiet tunicam tuam, relinque illi etiam pallium tuum.

Etiam] *et etiam* 23.

41 Qui adigit te ad miliarium unum, abito cum illo duo. ⁴⁹₁₀

42 Quicumque petit abs te, da illi : et quicumque vult mutuari ⁵⁰₅ abs te, ne prohibeas eum.

Cum io veritas, et *eum, qui. v. m. abs te, ne prohibeas id* [quod petit], nisi redundet suffixum 100. Cum Widman. et Schf. verte, et *quicumque mutuetur*.

43 Audistis quod dictum est, Diligas proximum tuum, et odio ⁵¹₁₀ habeas inimicum tuum :

Vel *ames*. Apud Vers. Heracl. (Jo. xx. 15-17) *amare, diligere*.

“أَنَا فِي هَذَا حَقٌّ: أَشْجِهَ كَجَنْدٍ جَنْتَقَهُ: وَجَمْعُهُ حَصَمٌ يَدُ
فَكُلٍّ حَقٌّ. وَدَجِيهٌ مُقِيمٌ حَصَمٌ هُنَا حَقٌّ: هَكَه كَلَّا
الْحَصَمُ يُخْبِرُ حَقٌّ يَحْمِلُهُ: وَفِيهِ حَقٌّ.

18. 20. 17 حَصَمٌ حَقٌّ [حَصَمٌ حَقٌّ] 18. 20.

“أَنَا فِي هَذَا حَقٌّ: أَشْجِهَ كَجَنْدٍ جَنْتَقَهُ: وَجَمْعُهُ حَصَمٌ يَدُ
فَكُلٍّ حَقٌّ. وَدَجِيهٌ مُقِيمٌ حَصَمٌ هُنَا حَقٌّ: هَكَه كَلَّا

13. (sic) حَصَمٌ [حَصَمٌ] Ed. Amer. حَقٌّ، وَجَمْعُهُ حَصَمٌ
Ed. Amer.; cf. v. 48.

“أَنَا فِي هَذَا حَقٌّ: أَشْجِهَ كَجَنْدٍ جَنْتَقَهُ: وَجَمْعُهُ حَصَمٌ يَدُ
فَكُلٍّ حَقٌّ. وَدَجِيهٌ مُقِيمٌ حَصَمٌ هُنَا حَقٌّ: هَكَه كَلَّا

Ed. Amer. [حَصَمٌ] حَصَمٌ، وَجَمْعُهُ حَصَمٌ [حَصَمٌ]
Schf. 2 7 11, et ver. 47, ubi 12 quoque: sed valde
fluct. codd.

“أَنَا فِي هَذَا حَقٌّ: أَشْجِهَ كَجَنْدٍ جَنْتَقَهُ: وَجَمْعُهُ حَصَمٌ يَدُ
فَكُلٍّ حَقٌّ. وَدَجِيهٌ مُقِيمٌ حَصَمٌ هُنَا حَقٌّ: هَكَه كَلَّا

apud Editores. [حَصَمٌ] حَصَمٌ

“أَنَا فِي هَذَا حَقٌّ: أَشْجِهَ كَجَنْدٍ جَنْتَقَهُ: وَجَمْعُهُ حَصَمٌ يَدُ
فَكُلٍّ حَقٌّ. وَدَجِيهٌ مُقِيمٌ حَصَمٌ هُنَا حَقٌّ: هَكَه كَلَّا

2, Rubrica in textu حَصَمٌ حَصَمٌ: حَصَمٌ حَصَمٌ
alii post حَصَمٌ interruptunt.

Ed. Amer. [حَصَمٌ] حَصَمٌ Mass. Nest.
et Ed. Amer., i. e. d'Abhucon.

Before attempting to classify the variants which occur in this specimen, the following observations may be made:—

1. The vowel points, Eastern or Western, are, of course, not found in the oldest MSS. In the fifth, sixth, and seventh century codices, which are our most important authorities for the criticism of the text, the grammatical forms are distinguished by the diacritical point, and even this is only used in doubtful cases. The few vowels which are affixed, almost at random, and chiefly to proper names, were added by later hands. The absence of really ancient indications of the pronunciation is a loss to the philologist rather than to the

44 Ego autem dico vobis, Diligite inimicos vestros, et bene precamini ei qui maledixit vobis, et facite quod bonum est ei qui odit vobis, et orate pro illis qui ducunt vos violenter, et persequuntur vos.

[N.B. Agnoscunt codd. Peshitt. omnes omnia quae Editores (*Revision Revised* (Burgon), 410-1) e textu Graeco eiecerunt.]

45 Ut sitis filii Patris vestri qui est in coelis, qui oriri facit solem suum super bonos et super malos, et demittit pluviam suam super iustos et super iniustos.

46 Si enim diligatis eos qui diligunt vos, quod praemium est nonne etiam publicani id ipsum faciunt?

Notam interrogationis saepe negligunt codd. Significationis nihil refert.

47 Et si salutetis fratres vestros tantum, quid eximii facitis? nonne etiam publicani id ipsum faciunt?

48 Estote igitur vos perfecti, sicut Pater vester qui est in coelis perfectus est.

Praefigit 2 Rubricam, LECTIO DIEI QUARTI HEBDOMADIS PRIMAE IEIUNII.

theologian. On account of the simplicity of the constructions, and the separation of the words in even the most ancient writing, the meaning of a sentence is seldom doubtful, and its relation to the Greek archetype is almost always as certain as if the text were furnished with the whole array of later vowels and accents. And of course these also are neither arbitrary, nor merely the expression of a late pronunciation. The Massorah, which both supports, and in places corrects, the vowel system employed by editors from the days of Widmanstadt, embodies the traditions of the schools of the seventh and earlier centuries, as we have already shown; nor






is there any reason to suppose that the pronunciation which prevailed when it was fixed by vowel points, differed to any great extent from that of earlier times. So much, at least, may be affirmed without prejudging questions to which we shall advert later¹.

2. The correct pronunciation (with aspiration, or without it) of the *Begadkephath* letters, was considered of great importance by the Syriac Massoretes, although they frequently omitted the *Rukaka* and *Qushaya*, when the form was well known, and no mistake could arise. In the MSS. of the Western School these indications were given by very distinct red dots. We have employed in the text printed in this essay a fine dot, similar to that found in the Nestorian MS., *Add.* 12,138², and have set it further to the right than it would actually appear in the MS., the better to distinguish it from the *vowel* and *diacritical* points³.

3. The reader will see indicated on the margin of our specimen several of the shorter or so-called *Ammonian* Sections, with the reference to their proper Canons. The division of the Gospels into larger sections (of which there are in *Matt.* 22, in *Mark* 13, in *Luke* 23, in *John* 20) is also so frequent as to form a feature of ancient Peshitto MSS. They are often enumerated on a double system,—singly for each Evangelist, consecutively from I to LXXVIII throughout the four

¹ See p. 91, and notes, below.

² Of this MS. an excellent facsimile will be found in *Cat. Syr. MSS. Brit. Mus.*, Pt. iii. Plate XIII. Of the Jacobite Vatican Massora Wiseman gives a facsimile in *Horae Syriacae*, which he says was 'summa cura delineatum'—p. 181.

³ Modern editors have for the most part neglected the *Rukaka* and *Qushaya*. An exception is that most carefully-edited book, Bernstein's *Das Heilige Evangelium des Johannes in Harklensischer Uebersetzung*, 1853. These points are marked in the same author's *Lexicon Chrestomathiae Kirschianae accommodatum*, and are well treated by Nestle in the course of his *Syriac Grammar* (tr. Kennedy)—indeed the materials are sufficient for a future edition of the Peshitto, and perhaps of some other works. There are a few doubtful cases, especially in words of foreign derivation, as, e.g. , which in Ferrarius (*Nom. Syr.*) and Bernstein (*Lexicon*) is , but in Bernstein's *St. John* (Vorbericht xv) is ; also in assimilation of letters—cf. *Dural* sec. 111 and n. On  and , see *Nöldeke*, p. 84.

Gospels. The Pauline Epistles were also divided into fifty-five *Sectiones Majores*, and the *Acts* (to which the three Catholic Epistles were constantly appended, and the four documents treated as one book) into thirty-two sections.

4. The specimen shows that Rubrics *a prima manu* are found in some MSS. The practice of the scribes was very arbitrary, except in those few codices which are rubricated throughout the text. In many MSS. rubrics, and other divisions, on more than one system, are added on the margin by different later hands. Besides the formal sections, the text is often interrupted in the best MSS., where the sense requires a break; and these paragraphs are often made with much judgment¹.

5. In all Syriac MSS., even our most ancient codices, the words are invariably written separately, and not continuously as in the old Hebrew, Greek, and Latin codices and inscriptions. With this arrangement, and the simplicity of the Syriac constructions, a complicated system of interpunction is unnecessary. In the oldest copies a short sentence is terminated by [·], subsidiary to which is [·:]. Occasionally in some MSS. [·] over or under the last letter is used, like a Hebrew disjunctive accent, and is less than a comma². The shorter (Ammonian) section is terminated by [·+] often in red:

¹ Other less common and more modern divisions are mentioned in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Syr. MSS.* i. pp. 49 col. b, 54 col. b, 56 col. b, 78 col. b, etc. The divisions in Widmanstadt are nearly equivalent to those in *Cod. Crawford. II.* The Nestorian Massoretic MS., fol. 303 b, reckons 165 ܡܬܬܬܐ (Sections) in the New Testament, which corresponds to the *Gospels* 78, *Paul* 55, *Acts* and *Cath. Epp.* 32, mentioned above.

² Dr. I. H. Hall, *American Journal of Society of Biblical Literature*, 1882, p. 9, thinks that in the Beirût codex of N. T. (Gospels *Heracleon*, rest *Peshitto*) the double dot frequently only follows the slope of the final letter, and is (·) or (·:) or (:) without difference of meaning: also that the single dot often does duty for the double, its companion having been absorbed in the preceding letter, or omitted. His codex was described by Dr. Ceriani as *ninth century Jacobite*. Whether the Professor's explanation be generally true or not, certainly this style of punctuation prevailed in all early Peshitto MSS. with which I am acquainted (see facsimile of *Cod. Vatic.*, A.D. 548, *Stud. Bib. ii.*). Sometimes also a dot seems to be employed as an accent, but not regularly or consistently. While the consonantal text was accurately reproduced, a degree of license was allowed in points and paragraphs.

etc.; (23) the unelided α of *Sch. & W.*, v. 35. To these must be added (11), if it be allowed that after the termination α — the λ of the pronoun (which is very often written in the oldest MSS.) was pronounced with τ (as *Schaaf*), and not elided¹,

4. *Differences of text*² (24) the omission of α =*quicumque*, v. 32; (25) the singular for the plural, v. 33; (26) τ =*ori orat. rect.* added, v. 34; (27) λ =*unum* omitted, v. 36; (28) α or $\alpha\alpha$, also or and also, v. 40; (29) in v. 42, the reading of Cod. 10, which if not a *conflation*, or a *redundancy*, would give the variation *eum ne id* [quod petit] *prohibeas* for *ne prohibeas eum*; (30) the omission of λ =*vult*, v. 42; (31) the addition of λ =*antiquis*, v. 43. If (4) does not belong to class 1, it must be added here because the α , though inexpressible in English, more distinctly marks the objective case.

To sum up:—In 18 verses we may count 31 distinct variations by noting every minute difference of letter or of point³; but of these 31, only 9 (the sum total of all which can possibly be gathered into class 4) affect even remotely the sense or grammar of the Syriac. Of these 9 (26) and if it belongs here (4) have no relation to the Greek archetype, for the τ of (26), and the α of (4), are used quite arbitrarily in Syriac. Of the remaining 7, (25) (27) (28) (29) (30) for lack of support cannot be treated as *Various Readings properly so called*⁴. (31)

¹ On the pronunciation of the pronoun in combination with the participle see Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, §§ 42, 43, and *Mandäische Grammatik*, § 175 a; Duval, § 183; Nestle, § 19 a. On the union of prepositions with initial λ , see Nestle, § 17 b, and examples in our specimen of Massorah.

² The distinction between the instances which belong to classes 3 and 4 is real, though in some cases minute. In a language like Syriac the letters might be pronounced differently—i. e. written with different vowel-marks—and yet the same meaning conveyed. If a different pronunciation denotes a different meaning, or grammatical form, the word will belong to class 4, but this does not seem to be the case with any of the instances given above in class 3.

³ We confine ourselves to variations which actually occur in our MSS. and editions based on MSS., without regarding Grammars and Lexicons. A different calculation might alter the sum, but would not touch our argument.

⁴ Many (so-called) *Various Readings* are mere errors and impossible forms. It is the duty of the collator to record every such variation which he finds, however minute, however apparently trivial. It is well that they should be exhibited in the larger critical editions; the student is then placed in the

must be rejected for the same reason ; but we shall see further on that it is interesting from another point of view. Thus out of the 31, only *one* (24) can claim recognition as a true variant. The alternatives seem to be related to the differences in the Greek copies, and to have arisen from the attempt to conform certain MSS. to a recognized Greek text.

The result which we have arrived at is striking and significant. We find hardly a trace of 'the several successive revisions' to which it is supposed the Syriac vernacular New Testament was subjected ; rather does it present itself in our copies in a perfected and matured condition. If the 'revisions' ever really took place, time has swept away nearly all the chips and shavings of the work.

Our passage occurs in the Curetonian : it will be convenient to print it separately as follows¹ :—

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according to the Curetonian ; the parts in which it is identical with the Peshitto being printed in Maronite type, those in which it differs from the Peshitto in Estrangela.

same position as the editor ; he can judge of the character of the documents for himself, and see on what plan the revised text has been constructed. But the larger part by far of these variants are mistakes of scribes (*Variae Lectiones* [C. G. Cobet, 1873], Praef. xxvii-lx). If the question be approached with common sense, and not under the influence of some theory of textual criticism, it is impossible to imagine that such palpable faults can have been found in the archetype, after the copy had been made ready for publication, or for transmission as a letter (Scrivener, *op. cit.*, p. 565). But (2) the case is different where not *one* or *two* copies, but a majority of witnesses, credible for weight and number and representatives of widespread tradition, conspire to attest a reading, which is *a priori* improbable. That reading must be received into the text, and all others may be rejected. But (3) there are also cases where the evidence is conflicting, and where witnesses, both numerous and respectable, support different, but possible, readings. In such cases, although one reading may be finally adopted, the others deserve to be remembered, and these are 'Various Readings properly so called.'

¹ From Dr. Cureton's edition : we have not been able to examine the MS.

In this passage there are at least 28 variations from the Peshitto in its best form: if account be taken of single

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words rather than of the context, the number of changes will be greater. Of these only *four*, in vv. 33, 34, 35, 43 (and the last alone is a reading of any interest) find direct support in any old Peshitto MS. We do not approach much nearer to the Curetonian by adopting the readings of the MSS. written the nearest to the date of *Add.* 14,451. An exception is at v. 42, where the Curetonian agrees with the oldest Peshitto MSS. against the text of Widmanstadt.

The resemblances between the Curetonian and the Peshitto have been fully noticed by other writers, chiefly in order to establish the descent of the latter from the former¹. Isolated passages may be adduced in evidence of greater or less similarity. The problem is to account for the many divergences. Whatever be the relative dates of the two Versions, the above passage is alone sufficient to exhibit the width of the gulf which lies between them².

VI.

The late Philip Pusey used to say³ that there were distinct traces of a revision of the Peshitto made about the time when

¹ Although Dr. Scrivener does not hold this view, yet his specimens (*Plain Introduction*, pp. 335-7, ed. 1883) perhaps suggest more of resemblance between the Peshitto and the Curetonian than is, on the whole, the case. On the other hand the differences in our specimens somewhat exceed the average number.

² See the lucid summary of the controversy given by the scholarly author (E. Miller) of *A Guide to Textual Criticism of the N. T.*, p. 74 n. Objection has justly been taken on palaeographical grounds to the Abbé Martin's date for *Add.* 14,451. There is good reason to believe that the date usually assigned to this MS. is substantially correct. It was therefore written before *Codex Bezae*, but, since no one supposes that this type of Greek text came into existence with the codex which now exhibits it, the Abbé's main contention that *Add.* 14,451 was assimilated to the cod. D type, is not disproved by a difference of opinion as to the time when *Add.* 14,451 was written.

³ Suddenly called from the theological studies which had been the solace of a life of weakness and suffering, he left no written record of any matured plan for the revision of the Peshitto. He had made an important collection of various readings, with some notes and observations on the peculiarities of the copies which he had examined. I have also a distinct recollection of more than one conversation, in the course of which I learned what were his opinions about the extant text of the Peshitto, and what were his plans for the revised edition

Add. 14.448 (p. 53, above) was written, but that such revision extended only to the grammatical forms. This was his conclusion as the result of much study of Peshitto New Testament MSS. How careful he was in his collations, his note-books and papers will show! And his judgment on the nature of the revision I most emphatically confirm. The MSS. of the Eastern School, of which the one above named is a valuable and early specimen, began to assume their distinctive form during the seventh century. With this type of text agrees that which is extant in such a distinctively late Jacobite MS. as the *Crawford II* (p. 54, above), and the Jacobite and Maronite copies from which the *editio princeps* of Widmanstadt was printed¹. The text was slightly modernized²

which he had long contemplated. It will be to me most gratifying if I am able to rescue from oblivion, and offer for the use of the Church, some of the results of the labours of one whose piety and singleness of purpose made him very dear to his friends.

¹ See *Studia Biblica*, ii. pp. 267-9.

² My learned friend the Rev. Richard Hooper, Rector of Upton, Berks, whose readiness to make others partakers of his abundant erudition is known to all who have the privilege of his acquaintance, has called my attention to an illustrative passage in Winterton's *Poetae Minores Graeci*. In the *Annotations*, commenting on the *var. lect.* Δ' for δη in *Hes. Epy.* i. 2, he refers to the *Nov. Test. ed. Aldin.* (taken from the first edition of Erasmus), which he says he had thought was an edition *omnium longe corruptissimam*, but further study had convinced him that nearly all the errors were due to differences in pronunciation; and he tells in confirmation a story of the mistakes which occurred in an attempted conversation between himself and a modern Greek. Whether *varr. lectt.* in Greek MSS. and early prints arose thus, or not, certainly Peshitto MSS. did not suffer from the disadvantage of being copied by scribes to whom Syriac was a foreign tongue. Still not a few variations which resemble some of those quoted above may be referred to the different pronunciations of different districts. The marvel is that they are not more numerous. Even a book like the English *Authorized Version*, printed with precautions which are popularly supposed to preserve it immaculate, exhibits to-day many variations from the *editio princeps*. In comparing our passage above Matt. v. 27 f., and on to vi. 23, as it is printed in an ordinary Bible, with the reproduction of the Authorized Version of 1611, published by the Clarendon Press in 1833, I find the following differences at least:—v. 30 from thee: for] from thee. For; 33 thyself] Thy self; 35 Hierusalem; 47 do ye] do you; vi. 1 doest thine] doest thine; 10 it is] it is (and yet italics occur in places in the old edition); 19 and 20 thorow. In v. 29 old edition has *etc*, but in vi. 22 *eye*. There are also many variations of spelling such as *adulterie*, *othes*, etc.

by the adoption of such modifications in form and spelling as those which are collected in classes 2 and 3 out of our specimen given above. During this period those differences of pronunciation were noted and fixed which are recorded in the Massoretic works of East and West. Individual possessors of particular codices, as in the case of Cod. 8¹, corrected their copies to some slight extent in accordance with what was deemed the better type in their own neighbourhood². Thus arose the few variants which are found, and such as have been noted in our specimen. But it should be carefully observed that these are not exclusively, or even commonly, adaptations to the Greek as we know it. In the specimen there are eight differences which deserve the name of *various readings*. All of these may in theory represent readings of ancient Greek codices; but if we confine our observations to existing facts, only in the one place of v. 32 do we discover an evident conformation of some Syriac codices to a particular Greek text³. The relations between Cod. 7 in v. 36, and Cod. 10 in v. 42, and certain ancient variants, are very doubtful. In v. 43 Cod. 25 appears to have altered to the *Curetonian*. But these phenomena are precisely those we expect to encounter; what excites surprise is that they occur so seldom. And this is the more remarkable when we

A detailed examination has been made by Dr. Scrivener in *The English Bible of 1611 and its Reprints* (cf. *Text of the English Bible considered*, J. Turton, 1833). Still after taking account of every difference it would be a misrepresentation to say that the English Bible has been *modernized*; and just as few alterations, in fact fewer, crept into the Peshitto during centuries of transcription.

¹ Page 72, above.

² A remarkable instance is the *Cod. Add. 14,456 Brit. Mus. Cat. i.* pp. 55-57, an eighth century *Tetraevangelium*, which abounds in marginal readings from the *Heracleian* and elsewhere, with Massoretic notes, and even actual alterations of the text. But this is an exceptional case, and by its singularity proves the general unwillingness of the Syrians to permit alterations in their Bibles. The *Curetonian* has also been altered; but then there is no evidence that that MS. was at any time considered to be a representative of a legitimate text.

³ Another case is that of the 'Cologne MS.,' now Cod. 1198 in *Cat. Codd. Orient. Bib. Acam. Lugduno-Batavae* (de Goeje), v. pp. 64-67; see also *Stud. Bib. ii.* p. 267.

remember the prevalence of the Philoxeno-Heracleian, and its influence as shown by the frequent entry of its readings on the margins of Peshitto Codices¹. The ancient Syrians were not unacquainted with other forms of text; that they 'systematically revised' their ancient version in accordance with one or more of such forms has yet to be proved; and the proof cannot be educed by cross-examination of the oldest witnesses to the Peshitto.

It may be said that Cureton's Syriac is related to the Peshitto in the same way that the latter is to the Philoxeno-Heracleian revision. This is certainly not true of the Curetonian in its present form. If, for example, we collate the Peshitto and Curetonian, in the specimen passage already given, we find that in many verses the language is so divergent that comparison is impracticable. If we turn to other passages we discover that often the peculiarities of the Curetonian bear a greater resemblance to the later than to the earlier Peshitto readings. The present, however, is not the occasion for setting out this argument at length². It is freely admitted that in investigations of this nature conclusions are provisional. Our opinion of the antiquity of the Peshitto would of course be modified by the discovery of other documents, and clear

¹ It has been justly remarked (*Stud. Bib.* ii., note by W. S., p. 272) that [the criticism of the ancients] 'is not of such a kind that we can accept their verdicts without revision.' It is precisely because textual criticism was not exercised in the scriptorium that the Syriac exemplar is so valuable to the modern critic. We take our stand on the position already assumed (p. 66) that ancient codices represent texts older than their vellum leaves, and if we cannot obtain a pure text of the ancient Syriac Version through its oldest MSS., we may despair of textual criticism altogether. Yet, in spite of the lack of full and ancient diplomatic evidence (cf. Cobet, *op. cit.*, *Pref.* xxiv), the extant words of an Æschylus or a Tacitus are accepted as in the main authentic.

² I have indicated the lines on which this investigation should be pursued in *Studia Biblica*, i. pp. 170-2. The collation of the Curetonian text with the (perhaps) oldest extant Peshitto text and with the late type in Widmanstadt yields results which some, including Dr. Cureton himself (*Preface*, lxx-lxxiii), would hardly have anticipated. The reader will easily correct a few obvious errata in the Syriac in the essay referred to: they do not affect the argument.

evidence of the type of text which was current before St. Ephraim's days. Meanwhile, if we are to borrow terms from the West, the Heracleian, and not the Peshitto, is the 'Syriac Vulgate,' the Peshitto is the 'Old Syriac,' and not the Curetonian in its present form. An *Ur-Peshitto* may once have existed, and perhaps it provided the *Evangelia* out of which Tatian constructed his Harmony; but its ancient text still waits for the patient investigator or the lucky discoverer. For the present we must content ourselves with those MSS. in which the Peshitto is so singularly rich, not only in the number of the copies, but also in their intrinsic value, their great antiquity, and the independence of their testimony. Meanwhile, it is certainly premature to treat Cureton's MS. as the basis of the Peshitto, and to quote it habitually as 'the Old Syriac¹.' That term might fitly be applied to so much of the text of the Curetonian as could be shown to be older than the Peshitto text; but to apply it without reserve to the text of *Add.* 14,451 is to beg the question².

VII.

In applying the materials of our *apparatus criticus*, it will be found that a not inconsiderable number of corrections of Widmanstadt's text may be made without hesitation upon

¹ 'In [the Curetonian codex] the national version is preserved approximately in its Old, or unrevised state. *Westcott and Hort*, p. 136. But Bickell says: —'Neque tamen et in ipso textu Curetoniano desunt lectiones sequiores, textu recepto [i. e. the Peshitto] interdum originales tuente;' *Conspect. Rei Syrr. Lit.* p. 8.

² Lachmann (*Nov. Test. Gr. et Lat.* 1832, i. p. xxiv) said:—'Nobis autem quid prodesset Syrorum linguam didicisse, antiquissimis et fide dignis veteris interpretationis codicibus nondum, ad eum modum quo nos Latinos distinximus, segregatis et in lucem protractis?' The pages of the editions will show how far editors have been of the same mind with Lachmann, how far also they have attempted to distinguish between earlier and later readings. And, unless the latter consideration be kept in view, students who depend on Baethgen's interesting and useful *Evangelienfragmente* may be led to erroneous conclusions.

the unanimous verdict of the ancient authorities¹. In many other cases the choice will lie between the readings of the two great classes of Syriac Biblical codices². Here, for the reasons stated on p. 72 above, we give the preference to the (so-called) Jacobite reading. But each case must be judged on its own merits³.

The vocalisation of the consonants presents a more difficult problem⁴. We know from the Massorah what vowel-points and aspirations were in use amongst the Jacobites, and amongst the Nestorians, nine hundred years ago, but it is not certain that either of these dialects exactly represents the pronunciation of at least six centuries earlier⁵, and of the district in which the Peshitto had its birth⁶. But, as a practical question, the editor must choose either the Eastern or the Western systems. To go behind these is impossible until further information has been obtained. An eclectic system of vocalization would be arbitrary and unreasonable⁷.

¹ For example in our specimen passage (pp. 74-8) we restore ܩܝܘܠܬܝܢ = qui vult in v. 42 on the authority of the ancient codices, and adopt the older forms ܩܝܘܠܬܝܢ v. 32, ܕܢܡܝ v. 36, ܩܝܘܠܬܝܢ v. 47.

² Instances of differences between the two classes have been given on pp. 68-71.

³ A remarkable instance is found in Mark xvi. 14, where Widmanstadt has ܬܪܝܫܐܝܝܬܐ = τοὶ δώδεκα, but the MSS. ܬܪܝܫܐܝܝܬܐ = τοὶ ἑνδεκά, and there is no variation in the Greek. On the principle of obedience to ancient MS. evidence we should read ܬܪܝܫܐܝܝܬܐ, but on that of the *durior lectio* ܬܪܝܫܐܝܝܬܐ, for no scribe who knew the gospel history would purposely alter *eleven* to *twelve* after the suicide of Judas; but the change of *twelve* to *eleven* is conceivable of men who were such careful harmonists as the Syrians.—See *Stud. Bib.* ii. p. 263.

⁴ See Wichelhaus, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-5.

⁵ Assemani (*Bib. Orient.* iii. 2. pp. 377 seq.), referring to words of Bar Hebraeus in his *Chronicon Syriacum*, contends that the Eastern pronunciation represents an older and purer form. He remarks that place names are of Eastern vocalization, and so pronounced in the West also.

The Nestorian Massorah is certainly much more elaborated than the Jacobite, and their vowel system fuller and more complete, approaching nearer to the perfection of the Jewish orthography.

⁶ Perhaps, however, the difference between the *Sermo Edessenus* and the *Sermo Nestorianus* (Bar Heb. *Gram.*, ed. Bertheau) was rather of pronunciation than of dialect. See the editor's *Annotations*, pp. 91-7.

⁷ The signs of the sounds were sometimes interchanged and used in com-

And the question, although full of interest to the grammarian, is of minor importance to the theologian; for the value of the Peshitto to exegesis, and as part of our *apparatus criticus* of the New Testament, depends on the consonants, and on the grammar as determined by the diacritical points, and is rarely, if ever, affected by the particular vowels employed by the Eastern and Western Schools and their respective pronunciations¹.

bination, as in the *Editio Widmanstadiana*—from the MS., of course. The *Preface* to Bar Ali's *Lexicon*, edited from the Gotha MS. (A.D. 1577) by G. Hoffmann (*Syrisch-Arabishe Glossen*, Bd. I, 1874), shows a similar mixture, sometimes a duplication, of signs, with occasional confusion (cf. Duval, *Gr.* p. 77) of the vowels themselves. The mixed system was noticed by Wright, *Cat. B. M. Pref.* p. xxxi.

¹ Of even less importance in Peshitto criticism are varieties of dialect which do not come within the range of the two chief branches of Syriac. Remains of these have been collected from the native Glossaries by Larsow, *De Dialectorum Ling. Syr. Reliquiis*. For supposed survivals of the (so-called) *Palestinian* dialect see J. Ferrette in *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1863, and Nöldeke in *Zeit. d. Morgen. Gesellsch.*, xxi, 1867.

[illegible]

II.

JACOBITE RECENSION, FROM COD. MUS. BRIT. ADD. 7183.

5. ¹جَبَّالٌ ²وَنِيْمٌ ³لَا كَهْ ⁴هَدْعَالِيْهِ ⁵حَادِيْهِ ⁶Fol. 84 b, 2.
 7. ⁷هَامِيْهِ ⁸وَنِيْمٌ ⁹لَا كَهْ ¹⁰هَدْعَالِيْهِ ¹¹وَنِيْمٌ ¹²وَنِيْمٌ ¹³وَنِيْمٌ ¹⁴وَنِيْمٌ
 15. ¹⁵وَنِيْمٌ ¹⁶وَنِيْمٌ ¹⁷وَنِيْمٌ ¹⁸وَنِيْمٌ ¹⁹وَنِيْمٌ ²⁰وَنِيْمٌ
 21. ²¹وَنِيْمٌ ²²وَنِيْمٌ ²³وَنِيْمٌ ²⁴وَنِيْمٌ ²⁵وَنِيْمٌ
 26. ²⁶وَنِيْمٌ ²⁷وَنِيْمٌ ²⁸وَنِيْمٌ ²⁹وَنِيْمٌ ³⁰وَنِيْمٌ ³¹وَنِيْمٌ
 32. ³²وَنِيْمٌ ³³وَنِيْمٌ ³⁴وَنِيْمٌ ³⁵وَنِيْمٌ ³⁶وَنِيْمٌ ³⁷وَنِيْمٌ
 38. ³⁸وَنِيْمٌ ³⁹وَنِيْمٌ ⁴⁰وَنِيْمٌ ⁴¹وَنِيْمٌ ⁴²وَنِيْمٌ
 43. ⁴³وَنِيْمٌ ⁴⁴وَنِيْمٌ ⁴⁵وَنِيْمٌ ⁴⁶وَنِيْمٌ ⁴⁷وَنِيْمٌ
 48. ⁴⁸وَنِيْمٌ ⁴⁹وَنِيْمٌ ⁵⁰وَنِيْمٌ ⁵¹وَنِيْمٌ ⁵²وَنِيْمٌ
 53. ⁵³وَنِيْمٌ ⁵⁴وَنِيْمٌ ⁵⁵وَنِيْمٌ ⁵⁶وَنِيْمٌ ⁵⁷وَنِيْمٌ
 58. ⁵⁸وَنِيْمٌ ⁵⁹وَنِيْمٌ ⁶⁰وَنِيْمٌ ⁶¹وَنِيْمٌ ⁶²وَنِيْمٌ
 63. ⁶³وَنِيْمٌ ⁶⁴وَنِيْمٌ ⁶⁵وَنِيْمٌ ⁶⁶وَنِيْمٌ ⁶⁷وَنِيْمٌ
 68. ⁶⁸وَنِيْمٌ ⁶⁹وَنِيْمٌ ⁷⁰وَنِيْمٌ ⁷¹وَنِيْمٌ ⁷²وَنِيْمٌ
 73. ⁷³وَنِيْمٌ ⁷⁴وَنِيْمٌ ⁷⁵وَنِيْمٌ ⁷⁶وَنِيْمٌ ⁷⁷وَنِيْمٌ
 78. ⁷⁸وَنِيْمٌ ⁷⁹وَنِيْمٌ ⁸⁰وَنِيْمٌ ⁸¹وَنِيْمٌ ⁸²وَنِيْمٌ
 83. ⁸³وَنِيْمٌ ⁸⁴وَنِيْمٌ ⁸⁵وَنِيْمٌ ⁸⁶وَنِيْمٌ ⁸⁷وَنِيْمٌ

The preceding specimens¹ are exhibited with as near an approach to facsimile as can be obtained in this way. By the use of print instead of photography, the Nestorian specimen has been set out in a style more convenient for the student², although no marks have been omitted or changed. Every word in it which also occurs in the shorter Jacobite recension is numbered for reference. As far as possible the position and slope of dots and lines has been retained, but in a few places of the Jacobite specimen, the printer found it necessary to reverse the situation of the vowel mark. The Maronite type does not, of course, bear much resemblance either to the Nestorian Estrangela of *Add.* 12,138, or to the later and Jacobite hand of *Add.* 7183; but ordinary Estrangela would hardly have afforded a better representation, and would have required an inconvenient amount of space. The latter consideration was also a serious objection to the use of facsimile plates.

In the Nestorian MS. the points of *Rukaka* and *Qushaya* are expressed by fine dots, in the Jacobite by red dots of larger size. In the specimens these points are represented by very fine dots, set somewhat to the right of the *begadkephath* letter. The medial pronunciation of *ə* in the Jacobite Massorah is represented, as in the MS., by a point within the letter—e.g. word 38, *ܡܫܬܥܬܐ*. The vowel mark *ʿ* has been discarded, as having no place in the MS., and *ʿ*, *ʿ*, separately, or the diphthong *ʿʿ*, are used, exactly as in the original: in word 17 will be found another diphthong *ʿʿ*. The Nestorian scribe used red for his reference marks, represented in print by *ʿ*, and the same colour for the marks + +, p. 93, bot., for the *o o*, and *1 1*, p. 94, top, and for some of the enclosures of the glosses. Occasionally in the text a red dot, printed *°*, is found in place of a black. From a *Note*

¹ Professor Nöldeke, the eminent Orientalist of Strasburg, has corresponded with my colleague, Dr. Bezold, about these specimens, and has favoured us with some valuable notes and suggestions, which I now acknowledge, with hearty thanks. Some of these are combined with my own remarks on the Massoretic text; some are quoted in full below.

² Besides the difficulties which the characters present to the reader who is not familiar with MSS. of various epochs, the lines are sometimes so close together that the dots under one word are almost confused with those above the word below.

appended to the codex itself, it appears that by colour, as well as by underlining or overlining the dots, a distinction was made between the vowels and accents of different critics. Yet as word 13 is marked with a black dot, and the same word four lines above with a red; the second word of l. 9 with °, but word 51 with °; it would seem that in some cases the choice of colour and form for marks was somewhat arbitrary. The red dot on ܥܐ, third word, last line but two, p. 94, may indicate a *varia lectio* in the passage, for the ܥܐ is omitted in some Peshitto MSS.

Many words or syllables are without any vowel marks, and many *begadkephath* letters without their *Rukaka* or *Qushaya*. These are cases where they would be easily understood by the reader. To many words, in addition to the vowels, diacritical and accentual dots are affixed. The purpose of some of these marks is not always obvious, and the work of the scribe is not entirely free from errors. On p. 93, last line but two, ܡܠܝܬ is written without the diacritical point on ܡ; on p. 94, l. 4, ܡܠܝܬ stands for ܡܠܝܬ, the context being ܡܠܝܬ ܡܠܝܬ; and there are other cases of inconsistency or carelessness; but the correction of these, and the full explanation of the different kinds of dots¹, must be reserved for a critical edition of the Massorah.

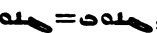
Linea occultans does not occur; the — is *Mehagyana*; ʾ is *Marhetana*, and is sometimes virtually a *linea occultans*, as in words 59, 60, to be pronounced together as *b'hellan*. At the end of a word this mark is a kind of *Nagoda*, slurring the last syllable of the preceding word to the first of the following.

We do not add here, as before, translations of the Syriac, because the Massoretic text is hardly of interest, except to the Syriac reader. For example, the first three lines only represent as much as follows of the text of Schaaf:—et tumultuati sine causa—et consolatus est eos, ac osculatus est eos—et quum circumcisset regiones illas—venit in Graeciam regionem—et egressi sunt cum eo usque in Asiam, etc., the whole of v. 3 being omitted. At cap. xx. 28 (p. 94, l. 6) the words are given—et toti gregi, in quem constituit vos Spiritus Sanctus episcopos—

¹ Many of the accentual marks in MSS. of the Peshitto are liturgical in origin. 'The "Singsang" in the Syriac churches is of no more value to the linguist than is that of the Synagogues.'—Nöldeke.

then there is a gap to v. 31. This is a decisive instance of the real value of the Massoretic text. While replete with information about vowels and accents, it may often be a blank in places where evidence is sought about an important reading.

The Glosses and other Marginal Notes.

P. 93, right hand. , i. e. *elide*, the letters ܠ and ܐ—referring to word 5, and the next word. So below, and on next page, ‘elide ܠ;’ word 84, ‘elide ܐ.’

P. 93, left hand. The first gloss refers to ܠܐܠܦ, and indicates that the initial ܠ is mute, so that the word is to be read ܠܐܣܝܐ, not ܠܐܣܝܐ. Therefore it does not follow the ordinary rule of Nestorian pronunciation of forms with initial ܠ and prefixed preposition, such as ܠܠܥܠܐ (word 43) = l’elphā, but in the Jacobite Recension ܠܠܥܠܐ = lelphā—cf. p. 83, n. 1. Both here and below (word 13) the *mehagyana* indicates the prolonged pronunciation ܐܣܝܐ, or ܐܣܝܐ, not ܐܣܝܐ; while the (.) under the final ܐ (cf. ܐܠܐܠܦܐ, l. 10) is perhaps a kind of *mappiq*, to ensure a full pronunciation of the last letter.

ܐܠܐܠܦ appears not to be an abbreviation, in spite of the . after it (cf. ܐܠܐܠܦ, and, p. 94, ܐܠܐܠܦ), but the *imper. Aph.* of ܐܠܐܠܦ—‘take up,’ ‘prolong,’ the ܐ, and pronounce Gāios; compare the vocalization in the Jacobite recension. The opposite is noted below with reference to word 26—do not prolong the ܐ, as the Jacobites who say ܐܠܐܠܦܐ, but pronounce *Batroghlion*. ‘The Jacobite has ܐ against the rule, for γ is regularly ܐ soft.’—Nöldeke.

In the second word of line 9 ܐ is to be read like ܠ, *Mdqedhona’ē*. ‘In such cases the Nestorians often write ܐܠܐܠܦܐ, with ܐ, often in red, over the ܐ.’—N.

P. 94, right hand. The first gloss is almost illegible. It looks like ܐܠܐܠܦ, and undoubtedly refers to the word ܐܠܐܠܦ. Perhaps ܐܠ is an abbreviation for some accent. The initial ܐ ought by rule to be ܐ, and perhaps the scribe desired to call attention to this reading in his copy, but did not wish to correct it—another illustration of that textual conser-

vatism which we have already noticed¹ (see pp. 88, n. 2, 89, n. 1).

The word numbered 51 is to be pronounced with օ=ֹ—*Keipros*².

The words numbered 59, 60, have already been noticed in connection with the *marhetana*. The additional direction is given that one *nun* only is to be read.

P. 94, left hand. ܡܝܢ 'pronounce,' 'put vowel to,' i.e. read ܡܝܢܐ as *akērzeth*, not *akr'zeth*. The gloss emphasizes the *mehagyana*, which is sometimes written without adding ܡܝܢܐ. Instances occur below of both practices.

P. 95, right hand. Put the accent *Nisha* to the word ܡܝܢܐ.

The word ܡܝܢܐ with the accent *Rethma*; the next word to be read *metheshed* not *meth'shed*.

The Nestorian pronunciation of *Jesus*³, *Ishō*, not *Yeshū*, as the Westerns, will be found on p. 93, last line. In the margins are noted sections XIX, XX, XXI, of the thirty-two (cf. p. 81 above) into which the *Acts and Catholic Epistles* were divided.

The Jacobite Recension contains nothing in our specimen which calls for special remark. There is only one gloss, referring to word 85, which is quoted from *Acts* xxii. 25, and it directs to read the verse *interrogatively*.

¹ My courteous correspondent, Professor Guidi, writes:—'Credo che il noto luogo debba leggersi ܡܝܢ, e sia abbreviazione di ܡܝܢܐ ܡܝܢܐ, vale a dire che in ܡܝܢܐ sono *due* rukkākhā; l'anomalia della pronuncia con *due* rukkākhā è stata ragione che ciò siasi specialmente notato.'

² 'This remark is interesting. The Greek *υ* has troubled Syriac writers. The Jakobites have, as a rule, vocalised it as *ʿ*; and so also α, which was then pronounced exactly like *v*. But, as they could not well pronounce the sound *ʿ* in the form in question, they mostly put *ʿ*. The Nestorians write either օ or ֹ—. I had hitherto thought that the latter is meant for *ew*, or something like it, but I see from the above gloss that it is simply *i*. Of course they did not write ֹ, for that would have been pronounced *u*. Some of the later Nestorians misunderstood this spelling; so *kirduros* became first *kirduros*, then ܡܝܢܐܝܪܘܫܐ, then ܡܝܢܐܝܪܘܫܐ, and now-a-days the Nestorians say *qēwandinos*!—Nöldeke.

³ See *Drei Nestorianische Kirchenlieder* (Haneberg) in *Zeit. d. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* iii. p. 231.

THE NUMBERING OF THE MSS. OF THE
APPARATUS CRITICUS.

My collaborator, P. E. Pusey, was accustomed to distinguish the MSS. which he collated by letters, and some notes which he left suggest that he intended to arrange a series in order of merit, employing the Greek and English alphabets in combination. But the plan is not clearly defined, and such a series would necessarily be temporary, and would depend on individual opinion of the value of codices and their relations to one another. It has seemed to me therefore that it would be better to adopt a simple arithmetical order, which involves no assumptions, and will allow of indefinite expansion without requiring the alteration of any symbol already in use. I have retained the numbers which I had already given to the MSS. I have collated. They do not indicate any precedence in value or antiquity, but were assigned as each codex in succession chanced to come under examination. The next set are the MSS. collated by my departed friend, numbered in the order in which he had lettered them. The remaining numbers indicate other MSS. which I have used through the help of different collators, and which in some cases are quoted on the authority of printed books. I have made a further selection of readings from some of P. E. Pusey's MSS., and have to acknowledge assistance in my own work¹; but without going into particulars, the responsibility may be apportioned as follows:—

1-12 are the MSS. collated by G. H. Gwilliam.

13-35 are P. E. Pusey's MSS., the readings of which are quoted on his authority. About half of these MSS. he had collated thoroughly, the remainder in important passages.

¹ See p. 73, n. 2.

36-40 five MSS. for the readings of which we are indebted to other collators.

On a similar plan the Massoretic codices (for the evidence of which Dr. Bezold is responsible) are numbered *Mas.* 1, 2, etc.

Dr. Gwynn, in his edition of the *Antilegomena* (p. 54 n., above) has so numbered his MSS. that his *cod.* 12 is the same as our 12—the only MS. common to his series and ours¹.

¹ Dr. Scrivener (*Introduction*, ch. ii. sec. 1) has pointed out how defective and misleading is the notation of Greek New Testament MSS., but the attempt to amend the system would now be attended with still greater inconveniences, and therefore it is much to be regretted that in *Proleg. in Nov. Test. Tischend.* (iii. pp. 792-800) Dr. Gregory has assigned to the Cursives other numerals than those by which they have been known for many years to all textual critics.

I venture to express the hope that in Syriac Biblical criticism the simple system which I have adopted may be followed. Thus in the New Testament we might have *Pesh.* 1, 2, 3, etc.; Dr. Gwynn's MSS. might be known as *Antileg.* 1, 2, 3, etc.; in the edition of the Revised Syriac, for which we have been waiting many years, we should have *Harkl.* 1, 2, 3, etc.; and if hereafter other MSS. should be found to contain a text like that of *Add.* 14,451 (*Cureton* 1), they might be called *Cur.* 2, 3, etc. A similar system would be desirable for the Syriac Old Testament.

INDEX OF THOSE SYRIAC CODICES

WHICH ARE QUOTED BY NUMERALS IN THE PRECEDING PAGES.

2 =	Londinensis Additionalis . . .	17,116, saec. vi
5 =	" "	14,464, " vi
7 =	" "	14,460, A. D. 600
8 =	" "	17,114, saec. vi aut vii
10 =	" "	17,115, " vi
11 =	Crawfordianus I . . .	" vi
12 =	" II . . .	" xi aut xii
13 =	Londinensis Additionalis . .	14,454, " vi aut vii
14 =	" "	14,453, " v aut vi
15 =	" "	{ 14,459, } " v { foll. 1-66, }
16 =	" "	7,157, A. D. 768
17 =	" "	14,470, saec. v aut vi
18 =	" "	17,117, " v aut vi
20 =	" "	12,137, " vi aut vii
21 =	" "	14,449 " vi aut vii
23 =	" "	17,113, " vi aut vii
24 =	" "	{ 14,461, } " vi { foll. 1-107, }
25 =	" "	14,463, " vii
26 =	Florentinus . . .	A. D. 586
32 =	Londinensis Additionalis . .	14,471, " 615
33 =	" "	14,448, " 699 aut 700
36 =	Oxoniensis Dawkinsianus III . .	saec. ix
40 =	Vaticanus . . .	A. D. 548

Each of these twenty-three MSS. is here distinguished by the number which will be appropriated to it hereafter in the critical revision of the Peshitto New Testament.

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IV.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT QUOTATIONS OF EPHREM SYRUS.

[F. H. WOODS.]

THE recent discovery, if we may call it so, of Ephrem's Commentary on the Diatessaron has raised, or reopened, several questions of great importance to the critical student of the Canon and Text of the New Testament. Such are the relations borne by the Syriac writers of the fourth century, Aphraates and Ephrem, (1) to the two Syriac Versions, the Curetonian and the Peshitto, (2) to Tatian's Diatessaron. Of the first, the Curetonian is now generally believed to be a fragment of the original Syriac Version, and the Peshitto merely a later recension of the same, influenced, as has been pointed out, by what are technically called Syrian readings (see Westcott and Hort, *Intr.* 214)¹. Thus while the Curetonian is closely allied to D, the Peshitto presents a mixed text allied on the one side to D, and on the other to A. The text of the Diatessaron can only be imperfectly, and with great uncertainty, reconstructed from the works of those writers who are believed to quote from it. The principal work of this kind is Ephrem's Commentary on the Diatessaron. But unfortunately it is not always easy to distinguish the commentary from the text commented on; moreover, the work is

¹ For the contrary opinion that the Peshitto represents the original Syriac version, and the Curetonian a much later recension, see M. l'Abbé Martin's work, *Introduction à la Critique textuelle*, pp. 104-127 and 166-168.

only preserved in an Armenian Version, and scholars have, for the most part, to depend upon a Latin translation even of that. Further difficulties in determining these questions arise from the fragmentary character of the Curetonian, and the paucity of passages quoted both by Ephrem and Aphraates.

This paper is only a small contribution towards solving the problems in question¹. The accompanying Table gives a collation of the New Testament quotations found in the three Syriac volumes (iv-vi) of the folio edition of Ephrem's works (Rome, 1732-34), and in Bickell's edition of the *Carmina*, with the Peshitto text of Widmanstadt. Only such passages are intentionally omitted which, being of the nature of allusions rather than quotations, are no proof of the text used by Ephrem. The quotations, it is only fair to state, have not been gathered by reading through the Syriac text, but by using the marginal references, or noting the passages printed in italics in the Latin translation, and only enough of the context has been read to make the way in which the passages were quoted perfectly intelligible. As the Latin translation is notoriously inaccurate, and the marginal references are sometimes wrongly given, it is very probable that some quotations have been missed. On the other hand, a few not marked as quotations in that edition have been met with accidentally and added to the list; so that it may be considered complete enough for all practical purposes. I have, besides, collated the quotations, wherever possible, with the Curetonian, Aphraates, and, where they seriously differed from the Peshitto, with the Diatessaron. The readings of the latter are from the Latin translation of Ephrem's Commentary as found in Zahn's *Forschungen*, II. ii. I have not included the quotations of the works of Ephrem preserved only in Greek, and contained in vols. i-iii of the folio

¹ The general conclusions have been already given in an additional note appended to Mr. Gwilliam's paper on 'a Syriac Biblical MS.' in *Studia Biblica*, vol. i. pp. 173, 4. But that note, drawn up from rough notes at a time when the MS. containing the collation of Ephrem's quotations was unfortunately mislaid, hardly does full justice to the deviations from the Peshitto.

edition; because the Greek translator is certain, either consciously or unconsciously, to have been influenced by the Greek text of the New Testament.

It is well to point out that we have to contend in an exaggerated form with the difficulties attaching more or less to all patristic quotations. Ephrem seems very generally to have quoted from memory: he interweaves quotations with his own comments: he combines passages together, especially parallel passages from the Gospels: he even arbitrarily alters words or sentences by way of paraphrase. We have a characteristic example of such a paraphrastic quotation in vol. vi. p. 407 c, d, where the reference is to Luke vii. 44-47. It runs as follows:—‘O Simon, I entered into thine house, said our Lord to the Pharisee, and thou didst not wash (ܠܡܝܐ) my feet with water, but she by (ܠܡܝܐ) the tears of her eyes washed (ܠܡܝܐ) my feet as she wept; and the hair of her head in truth instead of a towel she gave me. Thou didst not anoint me, O Simon, this was [too] troublesome (ܠܚܝܐ) for thee,’ etc. etc. Again, in quoting Matt. xxiv. 42 (see Table) he alters ܠܡܝܐ to ܠܡܝܐ, thus making the passage ‘ye know not at what time death cometh;’ and yet this is prefaced by the words ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ‘our Lord said to His Disciples.’ Similarly, in John vi. 40, ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ‘the day of Resurrection’ is substituted for ܠܡܝܐ ‘the last day.’ In such cases there is no question of a various reading. That Ephrem thus freely treated the texts he quoted, though obvious enough in itself, is placed beyond all doubt by the fact that he frequently quotes the same passages variously in different places, as e.g. Luke i. 33, which in Ephr. v. 216 A is in perfect agreement with the Peshitto, but in iv. 404 c varies considerably from it. (See also in Table, Matt. iii. 17, xxv. 41, Luke ii. 34, xi. 2, xvii. 21, John xi. 52, 1 Cor. vii. 31, Eph. ii. 14.)

Even a cursory glance at the Table makes it quite evident that Ephrem in the main used the Peshitto text. Roughly speaking, out of 168 quotations from the New Testament,

43 agree exactly with that Version. Though some of them are very short, others are of a considerable length, extending to a verse or more (see Table, Luke i. 73-75, John vii. 38, Acts vii. 52, Rom. viii. 26, 27, 1 Cor. x. 6, Eph. ii. 5, 6), and the number would be nearly doubled if we ignored such slight variations as all quotations are liable to. That some of these exact quotations should be quoted again with variations from the Peshitto really strengthens the argument, because they prove the great freedom which Ephrem allowed himself.

We have now to consider whether the variations in the rest can always be accounted for on the hypothesis of free quotation or paraphrase¹. This is clearly the case even in some passages which differ very considerably from the Peshitto, as in the paraphrase of Matt. xi. 28, 29 in Ephr. vi. 372 B, which runs as follows:—‘Come unto ME, crieth thy love, O ye that labour in vain and are with [lit. in] heavy burdens and wearied with lusts, learn of ME rest, and obtain of ME gentleness. My yoke is easy if ye will, and My burden exceeding light.’ Here it is obvious enough that we have a rhetorical and homiletical expansion of the Peshitto text.

But in other cases the explanation is not so simple. Sometimes the same passages are quoted more than once with the same variations from the Peshitto. The quotations of Rom. v. 20 are a remarkable instance of this. Here we have in a short passage at least five distinct variations from the Peshitto, and the two quotations, be it observed, stand far apart in distinct collections of Sermons. It is not likely therefore that Ephrem inadvertently copied his own quotation in mistake for the original. Now it will be seen that the passage as it stands in Ephrem is certainly as good a translation of the Greek (ἡ ἀνομία) is a more forcible render-

¹ Abbé Martin, pp. 38, 39, 126, accounts for the variations from the Peshitto by maintaining that Ephrem wrote ‘for the most part’ in metre, usually in lines of seven syllables; but if so, it is difficult to explain the long exact quotations from the Peshitto which we sometimes find. Certainly the rules of metre must have been very elastic. It is unfortunate that we are not definitely told which of the commentaries (if not all) have this metrical form.

ing of ὑπερεπελίσσεν than ܠܝܬܠܝܬ), and has not the least appearance of being a paraphrase¹.

We also find several other quotations in Ephrem which have all the appearance of being different translations of the Greek text. These are of two kinds, (a) those where, as probably in Rom. v. 20, the quotation represents merely a different rendering of the same Greek words; (b) where it points to a different reading of the Greek text.

(a) The first cannot always be determined with certainty, especially when the quotations are synonymous with the Peshitto, as the same variants are capable of being explained either as different translations of the Greek, or as arising from careless quotation. But where the word or phrase varying from the Peshitto more exactly represents the Greek, or gives a different explanation of an ambiguous Greek expression, there is a strong presumption that the quotation containing it is from some source independent of the Peshitto. For example, in Ephrem's quotation of Eph. iv. 3 the three striking words of the Peshitto are all replaced by synonyms, of which ܠܝܬܠܝܬ at any rate more literally represents the Greek ἐνότης than ܠܠܝܬܝܬ. In any case it is hardly likely that Ephrem should have forgotten all three expressions, and certainly difficult to see why he should have arbitrarily altered them. In 2 Cor. vii. 2 we apparently get in ܡܠܝܬܝܢ (Ephr.), 'receive us,' and ܡܠܝܬܝܢ (Pesh.) 'bear with us,' two different renderings of the Greek *χωρήσατε ἡμᾶς*. Though the two Syriac words resemble each other in look, a false reading in either case is extremely improbable, as no variant is actually found in any MS. of the Peshitto, and the expression of Ephrem is an ancient interpretation of the Greek word found in the Vulgate and other early authorities. Indeed the two renderings correspond very nearly to those of the Authorized Version and the Revised Version of our English Bible. The quotation

¹ We have other but less striking examples of passages quoted more than once in more or less agreement against the Peshitto in Matt. vii. 7 (Luke xi. 9 b) and Eph. ii. 14 (see Table).

of Eph. iii. 19 is particularly interesting. Here Widmanstadt and other editions of the Peshitto have, in accordance with the best MSS. of that version, instead of the forcible words *τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν τῆς γνώσεως*, the very tame expression ܡܥܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ, 'the greatness of love.' The reading of the Cologne MS. is ܡܥܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ, which is probably one of those late adaptations to the Greek, which are characteristic of this MS.¹ On the other hand, Ephrem has, what is clearly another and more exact rendering of the Greek phrase, ܡܥܬܐ ܥܡܐ ܦܝܐ. The first word is evidently intended to bring out the force of *ὑπέρ*, and the expression is free from the constructional ambiguity of the reading of the Peshitto MSS.

(b) We have several cases in which the quotations in Ephrem seem to point to a different reading of the Greek text from that attested by the Peshitto. Thus in the quotation of Luke ii. 52, Ephrem supports *σοφία καὶ ἡλικία*, the ordinary and by far the best attested reading; whereas *ἡλικία καὶ σοφία* is that of both the Peshitto and the Curetonian, as well as of a few Western authorities. Ephrem's quotation of 2 Cor. v. 21 has ܡܥܬܐ = *ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν*. This is found in all (?) extant Greek MSS.; but the Peshitto supports the variant *ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν*. Similarly in his quotation of Gal. v. 22 Ephrem supports the singular *καρπός*, whereas the Peshitto has ܡܥܬܐ = *καρποί* (see note in Table). In Ephrem iv. 511B, we have in the sentence, 'Now Christ was crucified without the gate of Jerusalem,' what appears to be an allusion to *ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἔπαθε*, in Heb. xiii. 12. It is true that in Ephrem the Old Testament parallel to Christ is not, as in Hebrews, the victim sacrificed outside the camp, but the innocent Naboth, who was taken out of the city and stoned. But the stress of the argument in both cases lies on the word 'outside,' and there is no other passage in the New Testament in which any special importance is attached to

¹ I am indebted to the Rev. G. H. Gwilliam, Fellow of Hertford College, for kindly supplying me with this and other useful information, especially about the Syriac MSS. of the Peshitto. I have attached the initials G. H. G. in the Table to statements made upon his authority. I gladly avail myself of this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations.

the fact that Christ's crucifixion took place outside Jerusalem. Now the Peshitto of Hebrews has not 'outside the gate,' but ܠܚܝܫ ܗܝܬܐ 'outside the city.' As a matter of fact the form of the expression in the Peshitto would have better suited the parallel which Ephrem is drawing, because it comes more nearly to that in 1 Kings xxi. 13, in which Naboth is said to have been taken ܠܚܝܫ ܗܝܬܐ 'outside the city,' which is synonymous with ܠܚܝܫ ܗܝܬܐ of Hebrews. It would not be wise to lay too much stress upon what might, after all, be only a coincidence; but taken with the other examples it is certainly significant.

We have possibly two other examples of the same kind in the quotations from Luke i. 75 and Acts v. 41. But in the first the addition of the word corresponding to *καὶ δικαιοσύνη*, though not found in Widmanstadt, is supported by the MSS. of the Peshitto, and it is most probable that Widmanstadt omitted it by error. In the second passage the reading *δύναμι αὐτοῦ* is only found in Origen and in a few other authorities; moreover, the alteration is so natural, and similar alterations of the passage so common, that probably it was quite independent on Ephrem's part.

Our inquiry so far proves that Ephrem had access either to a complete text of the New Testament, or at least a collection of passages quite independent of the Peshitto: but whether in Greek or Syriac is not as yet shown. If we now compare Ephrem's quotations with the Curetonian, we shall find only a few instances in which the deviations from the Peshitto approach that version. When a quotation differs from the Peshitto we usually find the two versions in agreement, and when not so, that they both differ in various ways from the quotation. Again, where in a passage quoted the Curetonian differs from the Peshitto, the quotation is usually found to agree with the latter (as e.g. Matt. v. 44, xi. 14, John v. 22). In the few cases in which there is some agreement between the quotation and the Curetonian against the Peshitto, there is often some still more striking disagreement in the same passage.



To take them separately. In Matt. iii. 17 and xvii. 5 the Curetonian reads, for **ܨܚܕܐ** (Pesh.) 'beloved,' **ܨܚܕܐ ܘܥܡܐ** 'and my beloved.' So that the passage curiously runs 'thou art (this is) my Son and my beloved.' So Ephrem quotes in v. 90 D; but the rest of the clause in his quotation agrees neither with the Curetonian nor the Peshitto, but is paraphrased from Isa. xlii. 1; and where, in iv. 357 D, Ephrem again quotes the passage, it agrees with the Peshitto. The last might conceivably be a quotation out of the Curetonian (here deficient) of the parallels in St. Mark or St. Luke, where the reading may have been **ܨܚܕܐ**, but this is hardly likely. The next passage we have to refer to is Matt. v. 39 || Luke vi. 29 a. Ephrem's quotation is in practical agreement with the Curetonian; but it may also be explained as a combination of St. Matthew and St. Luke. The question mainly depends upon whether the Curetonian in St. Matthew read **ܨܚܕܐ** or **ܨܚܕܐ** (as Pesh. in St. Luke), the original word in the MS. being now illegible. However, the fact that Aphraates quotes exactly as Ephrem makes it on the whole probable that they are both quoting, directly or indirectly, from the Curetonian. The case is particularly complicated, because the Curetonian of Matt. v. 39 corresponds to a Greek variant, and is in fact a Western reading. It is possible, therefore, that Ephrem may have obtained it from the same source as some of the other variants already noticed¹. In Ephrem's quotation of Matt. xvi. 26 || Mark viii. 36 || Luke ix. 25 there is an agreement with the Curetonian (Luke) in the use of **ܐܠܐ**: but, as this word may naturally have occurred to him from the second clause, it is not of much weight. In his quotation of Matt. xxi. 38, it is more probable, from the order of the words, that **ܐܠܐ** 'for us' came from the parallel Mark xii. 7, than from **ܐܠܐ**, which we find in the Curetonian of St. Matthew. Ephrem's quotation of Luke x. 24 agrees with the Curetonian, but no great stress can

¹ It should be observed, however, that Ephrem opposes the Western text in Luke ii. 52.

be laid upon such a slight and natural change of order. In Luke xiv. 31 we get in Ephrem's quotation what appears to be a conflation of Peshitto and Curetonian readings. Here ἐρέφω is translated in the Curetonian quite literally by ܐܪܝܬܐ, whereas the Peshitto has ܐܝܬܐ 'his neighbour.' Ephrem combines the two. But the most remarkable agreement with the Curetonian is in the quotation of John i. 3. It will be seen that it agrees with that version in all the three points in which the latter differs from the Peshitto. Some objection might be raised about the third. It might be said that Ephrem cuts his quotation short at ܠܐܝܢ, or that it is uncritical to lay too much stress upon what is, after all, only a difference of punctuation. But considered in connexion with the two other points of agreement and the divided state of textual authorities upon this passage, the omission becomes significant. A partial agreement with the Curetonian of John v. 22 will be noticed further on. The quotations which have been discussed, are sufficient to prove that the Curetonian had some, though a slight and perhaps indirect, influence on the quotations of Ephrem.

A comparison of Ephrem's quotations with Aphraates is not always easy, because the latter also treats the New Testament with very great freedom. It is very possible, therefore, that small agreements between the two against the Peshitto may be only coincidences. A further difficulty lies in the fact that the number of passages which both happen to quote in common is very small. But we can at least safely say that there is but very slight evidence of any deviation in Ephrem from the Peshitto in this direction. We generally find that when one of these writers' quotations differs from the Peshitto, the other agrees. In other cases they both disagree in different ways. We have, for instance, in Matt. xxv. 34-40, a long passage which is quoted, or perhaps we should say paraphrased, by both. Here the variations of Ephrem from the Peshitto are very numerous; and yet only one, and that a very insignificant one, is found in Aphraates. In fact the

variations of both are natural enough, if we regard the first as a loose memoriter quotation, the latter as a compressed paraphrase of the Peshitto. We will take the other quotations containing agreements with Aphraates against the Peshitto in their order. In quoting Matt. v. 4 both combine Luke vi. 21, so far at any rate as to make a separate beatitude for the 'mourners' (أحزان) and the 'weepers' (دمع); but entirely disagree in the language of these beatitudes, which in both writers has striking peculiarities. In the first, as given by Aphraates, the word ܕܡܥܥܝܢ 'shall be supplicated' is clearly, as Dr. Zahn has pointed out (*Forsch.* II. ii. 16), a different rendering of the Greek παρακληθήσονται. In Matt. v. 39 the agreement with Aphraates may possibly have arisen from a similar combination of Matthew and Luke; but the fact that it is apparently so found, as has been already pointed out, in the Curetonian, and probably also in the Diatessaron, makes this improbable. Matt. xxv. 41 is twice quoted by Ephrem and once by Aphraates, and all three quotations agree in omitting the word ܕܡܥܥܝܢ 'eternal' after ܕܡܥܥܝܢ 'fire.' This can hardly be accidental. The same may be said also of the agreement of Ephrem with Aphraates in the insertion of ܕܡܥܥܝܢ in John iii. 34. Unfortunately the Curetonian is here partly defective. The quotations of John v. 22 are again interesting. Aphraates twice quotes this passage in exact agreement with the Curetonian, which compared with the Peshitto has 'will give' for 'hath given.' Moreover the verb is different, and in a different order, and there is also a difference of order at the beginning of the verse. In this latter respect only the quotation of Ephrem agrees. In John xiv. 27 Ephrem and Aphraates agree in adding ܕܡܥܥܝܢ 'my' after ܕܡܥܥܝܢ 'peace;' but the addition is very natural, especially by Aphraates, who only gives the first clause. In quoting 1 Cor. xv. 53, both writers make a similar transposition; the words 'mortal' and 'immortality' being placed in the first clause, 'corruptible' and 'incorruption' in the second; but the actual language of the two

does not quite agree. The reading of ܡܘܥ 'and this' found in Aphraates, and nearly agreeing with Ephrem, is most probably the true reading of the Peshitto. In 2 Cor. v. 21 the reading by Aphraates of ܡܚܕܕܐ, synonymous but not agreeing with ܡܚܕܐ of Ephrem, and = Greek $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\ \eta\mu\acute{o}\nu$, would almost seem to point to an error in the Peshitto text (= $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\ \eta\mu\acute{o}\nu$), but that no variants are actually found.

On the other hand, it is important to notice that there are some very remarkable readings found in the quotations of Aphraates, which do not appear in the quotations of the same passages by Ephrem. Two of them, in the quotations of Matt. v. 4, John v. 22, have already been noticed: but there are others equally significant. For example, Aphraates thrice quotes 1 Cor. iii. 16 with the variant ܡܫܝܚ 'Christ' for the first ܡܠܐܕ 'God.' He must therefore have been familiar with the text in this form, but Ephrem's quotation, though it has several other variants, agrees in this respect with the Peshitto. Similarly Aphraates twice quotes Eph. ii. 5, 6, and in both quotations reads ܡܫܝܚ 'lifted us up' for the almost synonymous ܡܫܝܚ 'raised us up,' which is found in Ephrem and Peshitto.

The evidence for establishing any possible relation between the quotations of Ephrem and the Diatessaron is even more slight. When we bear in mind that Ephrem's commentary on the Diatessaron is our only certain source of information concerning its contents and text¹, we should naturally have expected to find traces of this so-called Harmony in his other works. But as a fact we find very few variants from the Peshitto according with what appears to be the text of the Diatessaron. That in Ephrem's quotation of Matt. v. 39 has already been noticed. Ephrem also quotes Matt.

¹ It is true that Dr. Zahn and his followers maintain that all the quotations of Aphraates are from the Diatessaron. I have already in a review of Dr. Bert's translation of Aphraates in the *Classical Review* of December, 1889, ventured to give the reasons why this opinion seems to me to rest on insufficient evidence, and it is not necessary for my present purpose to repeat them, as that question does not affect the main arguments of this paper.

xv. 27 without the singular addition of ܡܫܝܚܐ 'and live,' which is found both in the Peshitto and Curetonian, but not apparently in the Diatessaron. But this may reasonably be classed with those other variants of Ephrem which accord with the Greek text against the Peshitto: or it may be right, on the other hand, to regard the quotation as stopping at the word ܡܫܝܚܐ 'of their masters.' We find the same uncertainty in Ephrem's first quotation of Luke ii. 34, which runs, 'is set for the fall and rise¹.' The use of this expression without any further limitation is certainly curious. Now in the translation of the Commentary on the Diatessaron (see Zahn, II. ii. § 4) we have *Ecce hic stat in ruinam et in resurrectionem et in signum contradictionis*, and Ephrem's comment shows that this is not an abbreviation, but a real variant. It seems likely therefore that we have in this quotation an omission of the words 'of many in Israel,' influenced by the Diatessaron. The division of the sentences between the third and fourth verses of John i, which we find apparently in Ephrem and certainly in the Curetonian, seems also to be borne out by the Diatessaron; but here either the Curetonian or possibly some Greek text may be responsible for the variant.

The results of our inquiry may be thus summarised. The quotations of Ephrem may be considered under three heads:— (1) Those which are in exact or practical agreement with the Peshitto, or at any rate give us no ground for supposing that he used any other text. (2) Those which bear some relation to an extra-Peshitto Syriac text. (3) Those which point directly, or indirectly, but not through the medium of the Peshitto, to some Greek text.

(1) Of the first class, which comprises the great bulk of Ephrem's quotations, nothing more need be said. (2) The second class may be considered, I think, as proving an acquaintance on Ephrem's part with pre-Peshitto readings. For though there is a considerable difference of opinion on the part of Syriac scholars about the exact relations between

¹ The second agrees partially with the Peshitto.

the Curetonian, the Diatessaron, and Aphraates, it seems pretty clear that they all represent a text, in part, at least, more ancient than the Peshitto. These quotations may be explained in two ways: either Ephrem was himself acquainted with some earlier Syriac text in addition to the Peshitto, or that revision of the earlier Syriac text which constituted the Peshitto was not absolutely complete in his time. The reverse argument, that the Peshitto text, as we now know it, was definitely fixed and authoritative in the Church of Edessa, because it was the text used by Ephrem, seems therefore to require some modification.

(3) The third class of readings, though they carry us beyond the original purpose of this paper, are the most interesting, because the evidence they furnish is the most complete. Whence, we naturally ask, did Ephrem obtain these readings? Two alternative answers at once suggest themselves. (a) He may have found them in some revised Syriac text, or at any rate in a Syriac text approximating, in some cases at least, more closely to the Greek than either to the Peshitto or the Curetonian. But there is no independent evidence of the existence of such a Syriac version at this time. (b) The facts would be equally well accounted for if we supposed that in certain passages variants corresponding to the Greek, or else the actual readings of the Greek, were known to him. As Dr. Zahn (*Forsch.* II. i. p. 59) has pointed out, he makes distinct reference to the Greek Text in his commentary on the Old Testament, and also in his commentary on the Diatessaron. That he does not in the latter by the 'Greek' mean the Peshitto, an explanation suggested by Zahn as at least possible, seems proved by his instancing ἐκλιθῆ as the reading of the Greek Text of John ii. 1 instead of ἐκλήθῃ, whereas the latter is read by the Peshitto¹. It seems therefore most natural to suppose that he knew at any rate enough Greek for the purpose of comparing texts. But the alternative explanation which Dr. Zahn proposes is

¹ Graecus scribit *recubuit* et defecit vinum, Zahn, *Forsch.* II. ii. § 12.

equally possible, namely, that he availed himself of the labours of some Graeco-Syriac scholar; or, possibly, possessed a MS. of the Peshitto, in which the variant Greek readings in a Syriac dress were placed in the margin, much in the same way, in fact, as the variants of the Old and New Testament are sometimes given in English in our Revised Version. There is evidence of constant intercourse between the Greek and Syrian Christians both at Antioch and Edessa, at any rate at a period rather later than this¹; and it is impossible that variants between the Peshitto and Greek text should have failed to attract notice. Indeed it was probably the existence of such differences which had already caused the revision of the ancient Curetonian. Some knowledge of the Greek Text seems further proved by the one unmistakeable allusion to the Apocalypse (v. 1. See also 1 Thess. v. 2 in Table). If Graeco-Syriac scholars were not contented with the Canon of the Peshitto, it is not surprising that they should not have been always contented with the Syriac text. Whether it was directly or indirectly that Ephrem obtained from some Greek text these variants is a matter of small consequence, but it is important to show that such variants were known and sometimes preferred by a Syriac writer of the fourth century.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

No attempt has been made in this paper to deal with the quotations of Aphraates, except so far as they bear upon those of Ephrem. The same questions as before arise with regard to Aphraates. Was the source of those free quotations and adaptations, with which his Homilies are so frequently interwoven, the Peshitto, the Curetonian, or the Diatessaron? The first alternative was that adopted by Dr. Wright, and was confirmed with very exhaustive arguments by Abbé Martin. The second has found able advocates in Germany; but the third is that which, under the influence of Dr. Zahn and his followers,

¹ See on this point the paper by the Rev. G. H. Gwilliam on the Syriac Eusebian Canons in *Studia Biblica*, vol. ii. p. 265.

may be said now to hold the field in that country. It is admitted, however, that the text of the Diatessaron, considered apart from its complex structure, must have rather closely resembled that of the Curetonian, which in their view holds an intermediate place between the Diatessaron and the Peshitto. Abbé Martin, as in the case of Ephrem, accounts for the extreme freedom of quotation on the part of Aphraates, and the amount of variation from the Peshitto, by the supposition that he wrote in metre, in this case a very complicated metre (see p. 128). But we may safely say at least this much, that, when we can compare the three together, the quotations of Aphraates do generally, as a fact, approximate far more closely to the Curetonian than to the Peshitto. We see this clearly in the examples of the three given by Abbé Martin on p. 118, and again on pp. 189, 190. The last are from Matt. vi. 19-21, xi. 28-30, xviii. 15-17, xxii. 28-30, Luke xii. 18-20. If we calculate the number of variants between the two versions in these passages, we shall find that in ten cases Aphraates supports the reading of the Peshitto, but in as many as twenty-four that of the Curetonian. But the numbers here given do not convey the full force of the argument, because the points of agreement with the Curetonian are generally of more importance than those with the Peshitto. For example, in Matt. vi. 19 we find the most singular addition by the Curetonian of the words ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܐ (βασις ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) and the omission of ܡܠܟܐ (βασις) both confirmed by Aphraates, so that the sentence runs, 'the place where the moth falleth and corrupteth.' Again in Luke xii. 19 both Aphraates and the Curetonian have ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܥܠܐ 'and he said to his soul,' instead of the Peshitto reading ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܐ 'and I will say to my soul.' Abbé Martin indeed makes this last an argument for dating the Curetonian later than Aphraates. He argues that this reading was an intentional alteration of the Peshitto text by Aphraates, due to the way in which it is introduced, 'When he had heaped up much produce from his land, he said;' but that in the Curetonian it is forced and difficult to explain unless derived from Aphraates. He therefore suggests that the Curetonian may represent a revision made partly from Aphraates. But it may be fairly replied that the Curetonian reading, which may be simply a *lapsus calami*, does at least make fair sense; and that, after all, the quotation of Aphraates equally spoils the parable, according to which the rich man died before he could actually congratulate himself on his goods laid up for many years.

QUOTATIONS FROM THE NEW TESTAMENT IN
EPHREM SYRUS COMPARED WITH
THE PESHITTO, ETC.

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Matt. iii. 8 Luke iii. 8 a	vi. 383 B	om. ܐܡܝܢ and ܕ and ܡܥܡ [?] transposed to after ܐܡܝܢ	Cur. agrees with Pesh.
Matt. iii. 17 xvii. 5, cf. Mark i. 11 Luke iii. 22 ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ " "	iv. 357 D v. 90 D	no varr. for ܐܡܝܢ, ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ, ܐܡܝܢ (from Is. xlii. 1)	Cur. in xvii. 5 agrees with Pesh., but in iii. 17 has 2nd person as in Mark i. 11, Luke iii. 22, neither of which are extant in Cur.
Matt. v. 8 & 4, cf. also Luke vi. 21	vi. 473 D	for ܐܡܝܢ, ܐܡܝܢ (bis) for ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ, ܐܡܝܢ for ܐܡܝܢ, ܐܡܝܢ insert (after v. 4) ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ (partly from Luke vi. 21)	Cur. agrees with Pesh., but transposes vv. 4 and 5 with D, etc. So Aph. p. 41. Aphraates' quotation is very free, but he has in ver. 4 the very curious ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ, and somewhat similarly to Ephrem he distinguishes the blessings on the ܐܡܝܢ (Matt.) and ܐܡܝܢ (Luke). So Cur.
Matt. v. 18 ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ. Therest of the verse is paraphrased Matt. v. 28 ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ	iv. 300 C v. 174 C	no varr. for ܐܡܝܢ, ܐܡܝܢ	Cur. has for ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ, ܐܡܝܢ; and om. ܐܡܝܢ.

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Matt. v. 39 Luke vi. 29 a — صڤ ؟ صڤ صڤ	v. 164 B	as in Luke but for the insertion of صڤ at the beginning (as in Matt.)	So Aph. 180. Cur. (Matt. v. 39) agrees very nearly with this quotation. Cur. (Luke vi. 29) wanting. Cf. Diatessaron. <i>Qui percutit maxillam tuam, porrige ei et alteram partem</i> (Forsch. II. ii. § 17).
Matt. v. 44 — صڤ to end of verse cf. Luke vi. 28	iv. 463 F	for صڤ , صڤ	Cur. (Matt.) om. صڤ ؟ صڤ , صڤ which occurs in both Matt. and Luke in Pesh. Cur. (Luke) wanting. Aph. 34 has صڤ , صڤ .
Matt. vi. 9 — صڤ ؟ صڤ and 12 صڤ to end of verse cf. Luke xi. 2, 4	vi. 641 C	for صڤ ؟ , صڤ ؟ صڤ , صڤ	Aph. 37 صڤ only Cur. (Matt.) has صڤ صڤ , Cur. (Luke) صڤ صڤ . So Aph.
Matt. vi. 34 — صڤ صڤ	{v. 81 B } {v. 342 F }	for صڤ , صڤ	Cur. agrees with Pesh.
Matt. vii. 7 Luke xi. 9 b	vi. 261, 262	paraphrastic combination of Matt. and Luke though introduced as a direct quotation, e. g. for صڤ , صڤ صڤ , صڤ	Matt. and Mark in Pesh. are identical. Cur. agrees with Pesh. in both. Aph. 385 differs considerably, but is equally unlike quotations.
" " صڤ صڤ صڤ	vi. 369 D	صڤ , صڤ	Cur. wanting.
Matt. ix. 2, see Luke v. 20			
Matt. ix. 13 b Mark ii. 17 Luke v. 32 — صڤ to the end	iv. 490 A	ins. صڤ ؟ , صڤ , and change from 1st to 3rd person in consequence; ins. صڤ before صڤ (which last word is read with Luke)	Aph. 150 صڤ , and similar change to 3rd person. Aph. 455 exactly as Pesh. (Matt., Luke). Pesh. (Mark) omits صڤ with best Gk. MSS. Cur. wanting.

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Matt. x. 6	v. 279 B	om. ܠܠܝܢܐ for ܠܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ, ܠܠܝܢܐ ܠܠܝܢܐ for ܠܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ for ܠܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ for ܠܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ for ܠܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ (cf. St. Luke)	Cur. wanting.
Matt. x. 41 a Matt. xi. 13, cf. Luke xvi. 16	vi. 290 E iv. 287 F	for ܠܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ for ܠܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ for ܠܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ (cf. St. Luke)	Cur. agrees with Pesh. Cur. agrees with Pesh. Aph. 28 has ܠܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܠܠܝܢܐ (combining Matt. and Luke) and adds ܠܠܝܢܐ after ܠܠܝܢܐ. Cur. has for ܠܠܝܢܐ, ܠܠܝܢܐ.
Matt. xi. 14 ܠܠܝܢܐ—ܠܠܝܢܐ Matt. xi. 28— 30 Matt. xi. 29 ܠܠܝܢܐ—ܠܠܝܢܐ ܠܠܝܢܐ	v. 315 D vi. 372 B v. 298 E	no varr. a homiletical para- phrase no varr.	Aph. 119 abridges 28— 30, corresponding to Pesh. but for omissions, among them that quoted by Ephrem from ver. 29. Cur. agrees with Pesh.
Matt. xii. 25 ܠܠܝܢܐ ܠܠܝܢܐ ܠܠܝܢܐ— ܠܠܝܢܐ Matt. xv. 27 ܠܠܝܢܐ— ܠܠܝܢܐ? cf. Mk. vii. 28	iv. 474 C vi. 585 D	for ܠܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ for ܠܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ placed before ܠܠܝܢܐ for ܠܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ om. ܠܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ (with Mark vii. 28, which is otherwise very different)	Cur. agrees with Pesh. Cur. adds ܠܠܝܢܐ, but other- wise agrees with Pesh. In Matt. both Pesh. and Cur. add at end ܠܠܝܢܐ, which is not found in any Gk. Text, nor in Diates- saron (Forsch. II. ii. § 37). The Philoxenian in Mark vii. 28 has ܠܠܝܢܐ.
Matt. xvi. 2, 3 Luke xii. 54— 56 Matt. xvi. 18 ܠܠܝܢܐ ܠܠܝܢܐ ܠܠܝܢܐ ܠܠܝܢܐ ܠܠܝܢܐ ܠܠܝܢܐ Matt. xvi. 22 ܠܠܝܢܐ ܠܠܝܢܐ to end of verse	v. 320 B v. 166 E vi. 618 C	a curious mixed para- phrase ܠܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܠܠܝܢܐ ܠܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ for ܠܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܠܠܝܢܐ ܠܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܠܠܝܢܐ	Cur. agrees with Pesh. Cur. for ܠܠܝܢܐ, ܠܠܝܢܐ. Diatessaron, <i>ut hoc facias</i> (Forsch. II. ii. § 42).

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Matt. xvi. 26 Mark viii. 36 Luke ix. 25	vi. 333 F	paraphrase, for ܡܠܝܬܐ, ܡܡ ܡܡ; ܡܡܠܐ; ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ . . . ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ	So Cur. in Luke. This is 2nd verb in Mark and Luke (Pesh.). Cf. Mark ix. 44, 46 (Pesh.).
Matt. xvii. 5, vid. iii. 17 Matt. xix. 30 Mark x. 31	iv. 177 B	om. ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ om. ܡܡܠܐ before ܡܡܠܐ	Matt. and Mark agree in Pesh. Cur. in Matt. adds ܡܡܠܐ before final ܡܡܠܐ.
Matt. xx. 18, 19 ܡܡܠܐ Mark x. 33, 34	iv. 522-3	for ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ, ܡܡܠܐ, and for ܡܡܠܐ, ܡܡܠܐ; om. ܡܡܠܐ—ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ; for ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ, ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ	Matt. and Mark agree in Pesh. Cur. (Matt.) agrees with Pesh. Cur. (Mark) wanting.
Matt. xx. 22 Mark x. 38 ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ	vi. 615 E	ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ	Matt. and Mark agree in Pesh. Cur. (Matt.) agrees with Pesh. Cur. (Mark) wanting.
Matt. xx. 28 ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ	iv. 440 E	no varr.	So Cur.
Matt. xxi. 2, 3, see Mk. xi. 2, 3 Matt. xxi. 9 Mark xi. 9 Luke xix. 38 ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ	vi. 211 C	ins. after ܡܡܠܐ, ܡܡܠܐ	Matt. and Mark agree in Pesh. Luke adds ܡܡܠܐ before ܡܡܠܐ. Cur. agrees with Pesh. in Matt. and Luke, wanting in Mark.
Matt. xxi. 38 ܡܡܠܐ—ܡܡܠܐ cf. Mark xii. 7 and Luke xx. 14	iv. 511 A	ins. ܡܡܠܐ before ܡܡܠܐ (perhaps from ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ of Mark)	Luke transposes the last two words. So too Cur. (Luke). Cur. (Matt.) has ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ.
Matt. xxi. 41 ܡܡܠܐ—ܡܡܠܐ	iv. 506 D	no varr.	So Cur.

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Matt. xxiv. 15 Mark xiii. 14 ܡܬܐ—ܡܬܐ	v. 222 E	nearly as in Mark but for ܡܬܐ, ܡܬܐ; for ܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ, ܡܬܐ Matt. has two unimportant verbal differences.	Cur. wanting in Matt. and Mark.
Matt. xxiv. 42 ܡܬܐ to end of verse	vi. 529 A	for ܡܬܐ, ܡܬܐ, ܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ for ܡܬܐ, ܡܬܐ, ܡܬܐ	Cur. wanting.
Matt. xxv. 6 ܡܬܐ—ܡܬܐ	iv. 493 D	no varr.	Cur. wanting.
Matt. xxv. 9 ܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ	vi. 306 E vi. 307 D	insert after ܡܬܐ, ܡܬܐ in both quotations	Cur. wanting.
Matt. xxv. 21 " 23 ܡܬܐ—ܡܬܐ	vi. 489 E	for ܡܬܐ, ܡܬܐ om. ܡܬܐ—ܡܬܐ ins. before ܡܬܐ, ܡܬܐ	Cur. wanting. Aph. 23 in a paraphrastic quotation alludes to omitted words.
Matt. xxv. 30 (cf. 41) ܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ	vi. 489 D	for ܡܬܐ, ܡܬܐ, ܡܬܐ apparently from 41	Cur. wanting.
Matt. xxv. 34 ܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ	vi. 291 C	paraphrase, but for ܡܬܐ, ܡܬܐ perhaps from xxv. 41.	Cur. wanting. την ἡτοιμασμένην, Gk.
Matt. xxv. 34 ܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ	vi. 535 C	no varr.	Cur. wanting.
Matt. xxv. 34 -40	vi. 642 E, F	34. for ܡܬܐ—ܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ, ܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ 35. ins. ܡܬܐ at the beginning; for ܡܬܐ, ܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ, ܡܬܐ for ܡܬܐ, ܡܬܐ, ܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ—ܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ in ver. 36. ins. ܡܬܐ before, and om. ܡܬܐ after ܡܬܐ	Cur. wanting. Paraphrased in Aph. 380, 381. Though verses 37-39 are compressed into a single clause, Aph. often agrees with Pesh. against Ephrem, but agrees with Ephrem against Pesh. only in reading ܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ, ܡܬܐ. Aph. also transposes ܡܬܐ—ܡܬܐ, but with the second, not as Ephrem the first, clause of ver. 36.
		36. for ܡܬܐ, ܡܬܐ; ins. ܡܬܐ before ܡܬܐ; for ܡܬܐ	

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Mk. i. 11, see Matt. iii. 17 Mk. i. 24 ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ Mk. ii. 5, see Luke v. 20 Mk. ii. 17, see Matt. ix. 13 Mk. vii. 28, see Matt. xv. 27 Mk. viii. 36, see Matt. xvi. 26 Mk. x. 31, see Matt. xix. 30 Mk. x. 33, 34, see Matt. xx. 18, 19 Mk. x. 38, see Matt. xx. 22 Mk. xi. 2, 3 — ܡܡܨܥܐ ܡܡܨܥܐ cf. Matt. xxi. 2, 3 and Luke xix. 30, 31	vi. 102 B	no varr.	Cur. wanting.
Mk. xi. 9, see Matt. xxi. 9 Mk. xii. 7, see Matt. xxi. 38 Mk. xiii. 14, see Matt. xxiv. 15 Mk. xiii. 32	iv. 108, 109	combination of Matt. and Mark compared with Mark om. ܕܡܪܝܢܐ (not in Matt.); for ܕܡܪܝܢܐ (in none of the synoptists); for ܡܪܝܢܐ , ܡܪܝܢܐ (from Mark 5 or Luke); for ܡܪܝܢܐ , ܡܪܝܢܐ	Cur. (Mk.) wanting. Cur. (Matt. and Luke) has many verbal variations from Pesh., but in the only important variation for ܡܡܨܥܐ (Pesh. Matt. Mk. Luke), ܡܡܨܥܐ (Matt.), ܡܡܨܥܐ (Mk.) differs from quotation where Pesh. agrees.
Mk. xiv. 4, 5, see Matt. xxvi. 8, 9	vi. 144 B	an abbreviated reference rather than a quotation; no evidence of variations	Cur. wanting.

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Mk. xv. 33, see Mat. xxvii. 45			
Luke i. 17 — ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ	v. 315 D	for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ and ܡܠܟܐ transposed	Cur. wanting.
Luke i. 32, 33 ܡܠܟܐ to end of verse 33	iv. 404 C	for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ; om. — ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ; for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ; for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ	Cur. wanting.
" " (from ܡܠܟܐ)	v. 142 C	no varr.	
Luke i. 33 ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ	v. 216 A	no varr.	
Luke i. 34— ܡܠܟܐ; ver. 38	vi. 606 D, E	an evident paraphrase, differing very widely but following the lines of Pesh.	Cur. wanting.
Luke i. 73 ܡܠܟܐ? to end of 75	iv. 438 C	ins. at the end of 75 ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ	So Gk. Text and most MSS. of Pesh.; others read ܡܠܟܐ. Widmanstadt's reading is unsupported by MSS. (G. H. G.). Cur. wanting.
Luke i. 78, 79 — ܡܠܟܐ? ܡܠܟܐ	iv. 357 E	introduced by ܡܠܟܐ? for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ?	Cur. wanting.
Luke ii. 34 ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ	iv. 129, 130	no varr.	Cur. wanting. The absence of the words ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ should perhaps be regarded as an omission, as they do not occur in Diatessaron (Forsch. II. ii. § 4). See above, p. 116.
Luke ii. 34 ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ—	iv. 404 F	for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ; for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ; for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ; for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ	Cur. wanting.
Luke ii. 52 to ܡܠܟܐ	iv. 562 B	for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ transposes ܡܠܟܐ and ܡܠܟܐ	Expressly quoted as said by Luke. Cur. agrees with Pesh. in the order of words,

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Luke ii. 52 (continued)			but adds ܠܗ before ܕܡܡܝܗܘܢ ; but the order in the quotation agrees with the best attested reading of Gk. Text.
Luke iii. 8, see Matt. iii. 8			
Luke iii. 22, see Matt. iii. 17			
Luke v. 20 — ܕܠܗ ܡܡܝܗܘܢ cf. Matt. ix. 2 Mk. ii. 5	vi. 370 D	ܕܠܗ placed after ܠܗ . Matt. and Mark have ܕܠܗ	Cur. wanting.
Luke v. 32, see Matt. ix. 13			
Luke vi. 21, see Matt. v. 8			
Luke vi. 29, see Matt. v. 39			
Luke vii. 39	vi. 404 E	paraphrase with considerable verbal differences	Cur. agrees with Pesh. where quotation differs.
Luke vii. 41, 42 to ܡܡܝܗܘܢ	vi. 406 A	ins. after ܡܡܝܗܘܢ , ܕܠܗ ; ins. ? before ܡܡܝܗܘܢ ; om. ܕܠܗ (bis); ܡܡܝܗܘܢ placed after ܡܡܝܗܘܢ ; for ܡܡܝܗܘܢ , ܡܡܝܗܘܢ ; ins. after ܡܡܝܗܘܢ , ܡܡܝܗܘܢ ; ins. after ܡܡܝܗܘܢ , ܡܡܝܗܘܢ ; ins. after ܡܡܝܗܘܢ , ܡܡܝܗܘܢ ; transposes ܡܡܝܗܘܢ and ܡܡܝܗܘܢ ; ins. after ܡܡܝܗܘܢ , ܡܡܝܗܘܢ ; there are besides many transpositions	Cur. differs in three vll. from Pesh., but in none of these it agrees with quotation.
Luke x. 24 ܡܡܝܗܘܢ — ܡܡܝܗܘܢ	iv. 435 C	ܡܡܝܗܘܢ and ܡܡܝܗܘܢ transposed	Cur. agrees with quotation against Pesh.
Luke xi. 2, ܡܡܝܗܘܢ — ܡܡܝܗܘܢ see also Matt. vi. 9	vi. 551 A	omits ܡܡܝܗܘܢ — ܡܡܝܗܘܢ	Probably an abbreviation. Cur. agrees with Pesh., though best Gk. MSS. om. ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς . The

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Luke xi. 2 (continued)			words ܡܠܟܐ in vi. 641 C are from Matt. vi. 9.
Luke xi. 4, see Matt. vi. 12			
Luke xi. 9, see Matt. vii. 7			
Luke xii. 32	iv. 443 B	no varr.	Cur. agrees with Pesh.
" " ܡܠܟܐ	v. 302 B	no varr.	Cur. agrees with Pesh.
Luke xii. 54-56, see Matt. xvi. 2, 3			
Luke xiv. 31 ܡܠܟܐ—ܡܠܟܐ	v. 487 A	for ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ; for ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ; ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ; ins. after ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ	Cur. generally agrees with Pesh., except that it reads ܡܠܟܐ for ܡܠܟܐ . The quotation in having both words combines the readings of Pesh. and Cur.
Luke xv. 24 ܡܠܟܐ	vi. 370 D	for ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ ; for ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ (evidently a paraphrase)	Cur. agrees with Pesh.
" " ܡܠܟܐ	iv. 562 D	no varr.	Cur. agrees with Pesh.
Luke xvii. 21 ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ	vi. 550 B, cf. F	for ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ (caused by adaptation of the passage) correct in F, which however omits ܡܠܟܐ	Cur. has for ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ .
Luke xix. 30, 31, see Mk. xi. 2, 3			
Luke xix. 38, see Matt. xxi. 9			
Luke xx. 14, see Matt. xxi. 38			
Luke xxii. 44	Carm. xxxv. 59	unmistakeable allusion to the bloody sweat, as in Pesh.	So also Cur.
Luke xxiii. 2 ܡܠܟܐ—ܡܠܟܐ	iv. 511 B	no varr.	Cur. has ܡܠܟܐ for ܡܠܟܐ and a few other slight variations from Pesh.
Luke xxiii. 34 ܡܠܟܐ—ܡܠܟܐ	v. 233 B	no varr.	Cur. has ܡܠܟܐ for ܡܠܟܐ .

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Luke xxiii. 44, see Matt. xxvii. 45 Luke xxiv. 49 ܠܐܠܗܐ to end of verse	iv. 505 E	no varr.	Cur. wanting.
John i. 3	iv. 18 E	adds after ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ; for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ; om. ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ?	Quoted as words of the Evangelist. Quotation agrees exactly with Cur., which takes the last two words in close connexion with next verse, with Gk. A C L, etc. So probably Tatian's Diatessaron (Forsch. II. ii. § 1).
John i. 9, see viii. 12 John iii. 34 ܠܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܟܐ—	v. 90 D	no varr. ins. after ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ	Cur. very defective, but has for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ. Aph. 123 has ܡܠܟܐ and adds ܡܠܟܐ, and for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ (after ܡܠܟܐ) from verse 35.
John iii. 35, see Mat. xxviii. 18 John iv. 22 ܡܠܟܐ—	v. 310 A	supposed allusion to this passage in ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ	Quoted as our Lord's words, ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ, but evidently a contracted quotation of Is. ii. 3.
John v. 22	iv. 446 B	for ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ [ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ] ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ	Cur. has same order as quotation, but for ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ, and for ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ after instead of before ܡܠܟܐ. So Aph. 123, 276.
John vi. 40 ܡܠܟܐ to end of verse	vi. 336 D	a paraphrase; ins. after ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ; om. ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ; for ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ; for ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ; for ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ	Cur. agrees with Pesh.
John vi. 52 ܡܠܟܐ to end of verse	vi. 102 F	for ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ; for ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ; om. ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ	Cur. agrees with Pesh. except that it places ܡܠܟܐ after, instead of before ܡܠܟܐ.

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
John vii. 11 ܐܘܠܐܢܐ	iv. 353 C	no varr.	So Cur.
John vii. 38	iv. 524 E	no varr.	Cur. has for ܐܠܐܢܐ ܠܐܠܐܢܐ.
John viii. 12 ܐܠܐܢܐ—ܐܠܐܢܐ cf. i. 9 and 1 John i. 7	vi. 509 E	for ܐܠܐܢܐ, ܐܠܐܢܐ (from i. 9); for ܐܠܐܢܐ, ܐܠܐܢܐ (from 1 John i. 7); for ܐܠܐܢܐ, ܐܠܐܢܐ	Cur. wanting. Aph. 14 quotes first clause as in Pesh. Aph. 130 transposes second ܐܠܐܢܐ and ܐܠܐܢܐ.
John viii. 44 —ܐܠܐܢܐ ܐܠܐܢܐ	iv. 560 F	no varr.	Cur. wanting. Aph. 131 paraphrases ܐܠܐܢܐ ܐܠܐܢܐ.
John viii. 46 ܐܠܐܢܐ—ܐܠܐܢܐ	v. 298 E	no varr.	Cur. wanting.
John xi. 4 ܐܠܐܢܐ—ܐܠܐܢܐ	vi. 274 C	ins. after ܐܠܐܢܐ, ܐܠܐܢܐ	Cur. wanting.
John xi. 11 ܐܠܐܢܐ to end of verse	vi. 301 D	ܐܠܐܢܐ and ܐܠܐܢܐ transposed; ins. before ܐܠܐܢܐ, ܐܠܐܢܐ; for ܐܠܐܢܐ, ܐܠܐܢܐ	Cur. wanting. Aph. 169 agrees with Pesh.
John xi. 50 ܐܠܐܢܐ to end of verse	iv. 475 B	no varr.	Cur. wanting.
John xi. 51, 52 ܐܠܐܢܐ to end of 52	v. 66 F	abridged quotation, om. from first ܐܠܐܢܐ to ܐܠܐܢܐ; om. ܐܠܐܢܐ after ܐܠܐܢܐ; ins. after ܐܠܐܢܐ, ܐܠܐܢܐ	Cur. wanting.
John xi. 52 ܐܠܐܢܐ to end of verse	iv. 534 A	allusion rather than quotation, order much altered; for ܐܠܐܢܐ, ܐܠܐܢܐ; for ܐܠܐܢܐ, ܐܠܐܢܐ	Cur. wanting.
John xii. 4, 5, see Matt. xxvi. 8, 9 John xiii. 3, see Matt. xxviii. 18			
John xiv. 2 ܐܠܐܢܐ—ܐܠܐܢܐ	iv. 463 C	for ܐܠܐܢܐ, ܐܠܐܢܐ	Cur. wanting.

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
John xiv. 27 first 2 clauses	v. 343 F	ins. after 1st ܡܠܟܐ , ܕܥܝܠܐ ; for 2nd ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ ; two clauses transp.	Cur. wanting. Aph. 410 quotes 1st clause only as Ephrem.
John xv. 15 ܡܠܟܐ to end of verse	iv. 466 C	ins. after ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ	Cur. wanting. Aph. 389 agrees with Pesh.
John xvi. 11 ܡܠܟܐ to end of verse	iv. 37 F	for ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ	Cur. wanting.
John xvii. 11 ܡܠܟܐ — ܡܠܟܐ	vi. 122 C	for ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ ; ins. before ܡܠܟܐ	Cur. wanting.
John xix. 15 ܡܠܟܐ — ܡܠܟܐ	iv. 469 F	om. ܡܠܟܐ before ܡܠܟܐ (sic)	Cur. wanting.
„ „	v. 302 D	no varr.	Cur. wanting.
Acts ii. 37 ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ — ܡܠܟܐ	iv. 535 B	no varr.	The first variant agrees with Gk. ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ συν- εδρίου, the second is sup- ported by Origen, the Aethiopic, and a few very late Gk. cursives.
Acts v. 41	iv. 371	for ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ ; ܡܠܟܐ ; for ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ ; ܡܠܟܐ placed before, instead of after, ܡܠܟܐ	
Acts vii. 43 ܡܠܟܐ — ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ	v. 114 C	no varr.	The last variation is the reading given by Schaaf and editors of the Peshitto generally. An ancient MS. in the British Museum reads ܡܠܟܐ (G. H. G.).
Acts vii. 52	iv. 406 E	no varr.	
Acts ix. 15 — ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ	iv. 288 F	ܡܠܟܐ — ܡܠܟܐ ; placed before, instead of after, ܡܠܟܐ — ܡܠܟܐ	
Acts xiii. 46, 47 — ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ	v. 303 C	ins. after ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ ; for ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ ; for ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ ; for ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ ; for ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ ; for ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ	
Acts xxiv. 25 ܡܠܟܐ — ܡܠܟܐ	v. 96 D	om. 2nd and 3rd ܡܠܟܐ	

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Rom. v. 15 | ٥٥ | ٥٥ — ٥٥ ٥٥	iv. 562 D	no varr.	Quotation has exactly the same variations in both passages.
Rom. v. 20 ٥٥ to end of verse	vi. 440 E and 615 A	for ٥٥, ٥٥; for ٥٥, ٥٥; adds after ٥٥, ٥٥; adds after ٥٥, ٥٥; for ٥٥, ٥٥, ٥٥ (after, instead of before, ٥٥) allusion merely for ٥٥, ٥٥ om. ٥٥ for ٥٥, ٥٥, ٥٥	
Rom. vi. 4 — ٥٥ ٥٥	iv. 479 F	no varr.	
Rom. vi. 8	iv. 492 F	no varr.	
Rom. vii. 24 ٥٥ to the end of verse	v. 356 D	for ٥٥, ٥٥, ٥٥, ٥٥	
Rom. viii. 20 — ٥٥ ٥٥	v. 250 E	no varr.	Ps. xlv. 22 (Pesh.) agrees with Rom. (Pesh.). Hos. ii. 22 (Pesh.) has ٥٥ for ٥٥.
Rom. viii. 26 first ٥٥ ٥٥ to end of 27	iv. 413 D	for ٥٥, ٥٥, ٥٥	
Rom. viii. 36 ٥٥ ٥٥ ٥٥	v. 303 D	quoted as ٥٥, ٥٥, ٥٥	
Rom. ix. 25 ٥٥ to end of verse	v. 235 D	for ٥٥, ٥٥, ٥٥	
Rom. ix. 32 [٥٥] ٥٥ ٥٥ ٥٥—	iv. 404 F	no varr.	
Rom. xi. 33, see Eph. iii. 19			
I Cor. i. 26 ٥٥ ٥٥— and general allusion to whole verse	iv. 268 B	for ٥٥, ٥٥, ٥٥	The allusion is introduced in this way:—the sheep (i.e. in Num. xxxi. 32), being greater in number than the other animals, signified that the simple who are made disciples are greater in number than 'the teachers in the flesh,' etc.

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
1 Cor. i. 30 ܐܠܗܐ to end of verse	iv. 177 C	om. ܫܠܡܐ; om. ܥ before ܐܠܗܐ; om. ܐܠܗܐ; transposes ܐܠܗܐ ܡܥ to the end; ins. after ܐܠܗܐ, ܠܗܐ reference merely; but introducing the words ܐܠܗܐ—ܐܠܗܐ as in Pesh. evidently an inten- tional expansion ins. after ܐܠܗܐ, ܐܠܗܐ; before ܐܠܗܐ, ܐܠܗܐ; at end of 16 ܐܠܗܐ; ܐܠܗܐ; after 1st ܐܠܗܐ, ܐܠܗܐ; after 1st ܐܠܗܐ, ܐܠܗܐ; after ܐܠܗܐ, ܐܠܗܐ; 2nd ܐܠܗܐ, ܐܠܗܐ	
1 Cor. ii. 4	v. 129 D		
1 Cor. iii. 16, 17 to ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ	v. 334 D		Aph. 7. 10, 484 has for 2nd ܐܠܗܐ in v. 16, ܐܠܗܐ, and (68) for 1st ܐܠܗܐ in v. 16, ܐܠܗܐ; there seem to be no variants in Pesh. or Gk.
1 Cor. vii. 30 last 2 clauses	vi. 309 B	for ܐܠܗܐ (bis), and sing. for plural throughout	
1 Cor. vii. 31 ܐܠܗܐ to end of verse	vi. 309 B	no varr.	
" "	v. 338 F	om. ܐܠܗܐ; om. ܐܠܗܐ	
1 Cor. ix. 25	vi. 376 E	paraphrase containing remarkable phrase ܡܥ ܐܠܗܐ—ܐܠܗܐ, but omitting ܐܠܗܐ	
1 Cor. x. 6	v. 112 C	no varr.	
1 Cor. xii. 4	iv. 324 E	allusion containing all the striking words of Pesh.	
1 Cor. xiii. 12 ܐܠܗܐ [ܐܠܗܐ] to end of verse	iv. 462 C	no varr.	
1 Cor. xv. 36	vi. 335 E	no varr.	
1 Cor. xv. 53	vi. 336 E	for ܐܠܗܐ and ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ, ܐܠܗܐ; and ܐܠܗܐ; ܐܠܗܐ; for ܐܠܗܐ, ܐܠܗܐ; ܐܠܗܐ; for ܐܠܗܐ, ܐܠܗܐ; ܐܠܗܐ, ܐܠܗܐ, ܐܠܗܐ and ܐܠܗܐ	Aph. 155 for ܐܠܗܐ, ܐܠܗܐ. No similar transpositions occur in Gk. or Pesh. of this verse. Aph. 156 has in first clause ܐܠܗܐ and ܐܠܗܐ and in the second ܐܠܗܐ and ܐܠܗܐ, and for ܐܠܗܐ,

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
1 Cor. xv. 53 (continued)			ܠܐܝܢܐ with Greek, and Cologne MS. of Pesh. (G. H. G. See <i>Stud. Bibl.</i> ii. p. 267).
1 Cor. xv. 55 ܠܐܝܢܐ ܠܐܝܢܐ ܠܐܝܢܐ	vi. 335 B	paraphrased by words ܠܐܝܢܐ ܠܐܝܢܐ (the suffix referring to ܠܐܝܢܐ)	
2 Cor. v. 7 2 Cor. v. 21 —[ܐܝܢܐ] ܐܝܢܐ ܐܝܢܐ 2 Cor. vii. 2	iv. 462 D iv. 359 D iv. 354 D	no varr. for ܠܐܝܢܐ ܠܐܝܢܐ; for ܐܝܢܐ, ܐܝܢܐ for ܠܐܝܢܐ ܠܐܝܢܐ	Aph. 134 ܠܐܝܢܐ, Gk. <i>ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν</i> . Apparently two different interpretations of Greek <i>χωρησατε</i> .
2 Cor. xi. 2 as far as ܠܐܝܢܐ?	Carm. xix. (p. 34)	no varr.	
Gal. iii. 13 —ܐܝܢܐ ܠܐܝܢܐ ܠܐܝܢܐ Gal. iii. 13 ܐܝܢܐ ܠܐܝܢܐ—ܐܝܢܐ Gal. iv. 27 ܠܐܝܢܐ to end of verse Gal. v. 22 ܠܐܝܢܐ to end of verse	iv. 359 D v. 290 E iv. 384 E iv. 434 B	om. ܠܐܝܢܐ? no varr. for ܠܐܝܢܐ—ܐܝܢܐ ܠܐܝܢܐ ܠܐܝܢܐ ܠܐܝܢܐ ܐܝܢܐ ܐܝܢܐ no varr. in direct quotation but just before for ܠܐܝܢܐ, ܠܐܝܢܐ	 Abridged quotation. So Gk. <i>καρπός</i> . The construction in Ephr. shows that the sing. is meant.
Eph. i. 10 —ܐܝܢܐ ܐܝܢܐ Eph. ii. 5, 6 Eph. ii. 14 " "	iv. 344 D iv. 529 F iv. 178 C v. 445 E	for ܠܐܝܢܐ ܐܝܢܐ, ܐܝܢܐ ܐܝܢܐ before ܐܝܢܐ no varr. both allusions only, they agree in omitting	 Aph. 120, 486 for ܐܝܢܐ, ܐܝܢܐ, and omits ܐܝܢܐ.

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Eph. ii. 14 (continued)		ܡܠܡ ܝܠ ܡܠܡ ܡܠܡ; the first has ܡܠܡ ܡܠܡ ܡܠܡ, the second ܡܠܡ; no varr.	
Eph. ii. 19 ܡܠܡ ܡܠܡ— ܡܠܡ—	iv. 313 C		
Eph. iii. 19 cf. Rom. xi. 33	iv. 466 B	a loose combined quotation, but in Eph. Ephr. has for ܡܠܡ (before ܡܠܡ), ܡܠܡ; ܡܠܡ	Gk. τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν τῆς γνώσεως ἀγάπην, Cologne MS. of Pesh. has ܡܠܡ ܡܠܡ? (G.H.G.)
Eph. iv. 3	iv. 452 D	for ܡܠܡ ܡܠܡ, ܡܠܡ ܡܠܡ (agreeing with ܡܠܡ); for ܡܠܡ, ܡܠܡ; for ܡܠܡ, ܡܠܡ; ܡܠܡ	Gk. has for the first variant, σπουδάζοντες, for the second, ἐνότητα.
Eph. iv. 30 first clause	v. 509 D	for ܡܠܡ ܡܠܡ, ܡܠܡ ܡܠܡ; for ܡܠܡ ܡܠܡ, ܡܠܡ; om. ܡܠܡ?	Aph. 125 supports first variant, and for second reads ܡܠܡ.
Eph. vi. 16 ܡܠܡ ܡܠܡ	iv. 430 A	ܡܠܡ ܡܠܡ	Change necessitated by context.
Phil. ii. 10	v. 215 F	for ܡܠܡ ܡܠܡ, ܡܠܡ ܡܠܡ	Aph. 276 paraphrases, but has nothing to correspond to ܡܠܡ ܡܠܡ ܡܠܡ.
Phil. iii. 21 ܡܠܡ— ܡܠܡ?	iv. 493 A	no varr.	
Col. i. 16 ܡܠܡ ܡܠܡ—	iv. 18 E	for ܡܠܡ ܡܠܡ; ܡܠܡ ܡܠܡ, ܡܠܡ ܡܠܡ; ܡܠܡ ܡܠܡ (bis)	
Col. i. 26, 27	iv. 324 F	quotation interwoven with text, but several expressions agree with Pesh.	

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Col. iii. 5 ܡܠܝܢܐ (sic) —[ܡܠܝܢܐ] ܡܠܝܢܐ?	iv. 137 E	no varr.	
i Thess. iv. 16 to ܡܥܬܝܚܐ i Thess. iv. 17	iv. 493 D v. 398 D	for ܡܠܐ ܡܥܬܝܚܐ allusion to ܡܥܬܝܚܐ ܡܥܬܝܚܐ in the words ܡܥܬܝܚܐ ܡܥܬܝܚܐ	Aph. 437 ܡܥܬܝܚܐ ܡܥܬܝܚܐ. The quotation resembles Pet. more than Thess. in (1) the word ܡܥܬܝܚܐ for ܡܥܬܝܚܐ (Thess.), and (2) the omission of ܡܥܬܝܚܐ; but these slight coincidences with Pet. may easily both be accidental.
i Thess. v. 2, cf. 2 Pet. iii. 10	v. 342 B	Pesh. in Thess. has ܡܥܬܝܚܐ ܡܥܬܝܚܐ, ܡܥܬܝܚܐ ܡܥܬܝܚܐ, in Pet. ܡܥܬܝܚܐ ܡܥܬܝܚܐ; quotation is ܡܥܬܝܚܐ ܡܥܬܝܚܐ ܡܥܬܝܚܐ	
i Tim. iv. 8 ܡܥܬܝܚܐ to the end of verse i Tim. vi. 6 ܡܥܬܝܚܐ to end of verse	iv. 393 D iv. 318 B	for ܡܥܬܝܚܐ, ܡܥܬܝܚܐ, necessitated by way in which quota- tion is introduced adaptation rather than quotation; for ܡܥܬܝܚܐ, ܡܥܬܝܚܐ; for ܡܥܬܝܚܐ, ܡܥܬܝܚܐ; for ܡܥܬܝܚܐ, ܡܥܬܝܚܐ	
Titus ii. 14 ܡܥܬܝܚܐ—ܡܥܬܝܚܐ Titus iii. 5, 6 ܡܥܬܝܚܐ ܡܥܬܝܚܐ and whole of 6	iv. 345 A iv. 490 C	no varr. for ܡܥܬܝܚܐ ܡܥܬܝܚܐ; ins. after ܡܥܬܝܚܐ ܡܥܬܝܚܐ; for ܡܥܬܝܚܐ ܡܥܬܝܚܐ	
Hebr. ix. 26 ܡܥܬܝܚܐ to end of verse	iv. 322 C	om. ܡܥܬܝܚܐ ܡܥܬܝܚܐ	No mention of author or book.

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Hebr. xiii. 12 ܠܚܕ ܠܚܕ ܡܡܬܐ ܠܡܡܬܐ	iv. 511 B	quoted as ܠܚܕ ܠܚܕ ܡܡܬܐ ܠܡܡܬܐ	Cf. Gk. <i>ἕξω τῆς πόλεως ἑπαθε</i> . The resemblance to this passage, however, may be only accidental. Christ crucified without the gate is compared to Naboth who suffered outside Jezreel.
1 Pet. ii. 9 1 Pet. ii. 22 ܠܚܕ ܠܚܕ to end of verse, cf. Is. liii. 9	v. 330 A v. 298 E	paraphrase merely for ܠܚܕ ܠܚܕ (Is.); for ܠܚܕ ܠܚܕ (Is. ܠܚܕ); transposes ܠܚܕ and ܠܚܕ (Is. omits)	Quotation introduced with the words 'as Isaiah testifies concerning him,' but is evidently influenced by the passage in St. Peter.
2 Pet. iii. 10, see 1 Thess. v. 2			
1 John i. 7, see John viii. 12 1 John ii. 2	v. 286 B	for ܠܚܕ ܠܚܕ; om. ܠܚܕ	
Rev. v. 1	v. 332 C	a distinct allusion, beginning with the words ܠܚܕ ܠܚܕ	

V.

THE TEXT OF THE CANONS OF ANCYRA.

[R. B. RACKHAM.]

A. TEXT.

LIST OF MSS: (I) COLLECTIONS OF THE COUNCILS.

At Cambridge, in the University Library:—

C cod. ee iv 29 membran. s. xii

at Florence, in the Laurentian library:—

F₁ plut. x cod. 10 membran. s. xi¹F₂ ix 8 „ s. xiF₃ x 1 chartac. s. xiii

at London, in the British Museum:—

L cod. add. 17474 chartac. s. xv

at Milan, in the Ambrosian library:—

M₁ cod. b 107 sup. membran. s. xii, xiiiM₂ f 48 sup. „ s. xii, xiii²M₃ e 94 sup. „ s. xiii³at Munich, in the Royal library⁴:—

Mon cod. 380 bombyc. s. xiv

at Oxford, in the Bodleian library:—

O₁ cod. bar. 26 membran. s. xi ineunt.O₂ bar. 196 „ a. d. 1043O₃ bar. 185 „ s. xi ineunt.O₄ laud. 39 „ s. xi ineunt.⁵O₅ misc. 206 „ s. xi exeunt.

¹) The dates given are those assigned to the mss in the respective catalogues, and are to be depended upon accordingly: in many cases the dates given above are very uncertain.

²) *Messapiæ in Magna Graecia emptus*, 1606.

³) *Soliti in Magna Graecia emptus est*, 1606.

⁴) In the Munich library, cod. 397 is a copy *e mso codice Parisiensi*, given to the library by *M. Elias Ehinger, gymnastii patrii professor et bibliothecarius, postridie Petri et Pauli*, 1618; but the original I have not come across at Paris, at least among the mss earlier than the sixteenth century.

⁵) Came through Germany and Egypt from Constantinople, *post direptionem urbis*.

O ₆	cod. seld.	48 membran.	s. xiii ¹
O ₇	misc.	170 „	s. xiv, xv
O ₈	bar.	158 chartac.	s. xv

at Paris, in the National library:—

P ₁	cod.	1334	membran.	s. x
P ₂	suppl.	1085	„	s. x
P ₃	suppl.	614	„	s. x
P ₄		1320	„	s. xi
P ₅		1325	„	s. xi ²
P ₆	suppl.	1086	„	s. xi
P ₇		1324	„	a.d. 1104 ³
P ₈	coislin.	34	„	s. xii ⁴
P ₉	coislin.	35	„	s. xii
P ₁₀	coislin.	211	„	s. xii
P ₁₁	coislin.	364	„	a.d. 1295
P ₁₂		1370	„	a.d. 1297
P ₁₃		1369	bombyc.	s. xiv
P ₁₄		1339	membran.	s. xv
P ₁₅		1337	chartac.	s. xv
P ₁₆		1374	„	s. xv
P ₁₇	suppl.	304	„	s. xvi

at Rome, in the Vatican library:—

R ₁	cod. palat.	376	membran.	s. x ineunt. (=palat., Pitra)
R ₂	vatic.	827	„	s. xi ⁵ (=vatic. 1, Pitra)
R ₃	vatic.	1980	„	s. xi (=vatic. 2, Pitra)
R ₄	vatic.	2060	„	s. xi, xii (?) (=vatic. 3, Pitra)

in the Vallicellian library (Chiesa Nuova):—

R ₅	cod. f.	10	membran.	s. x, xi
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in the Bibliotheca Angelica (S. Agostino):—

R ₆	cod. b.	1, 12	chartac.	s. xv ^{6,7}
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¹) *Olim monasterii SS. Trinitatis in insula Chalce.*

²) Can. Ancy. i-xvi διατελείσαντες deficiunt.

³) Begun by Νικόλαος γραφεύς, finished by Ἰωάννης εὐτελής πρεσβύτερος.

⁴) Can. Ancy. v τοὺς δὲ ἐπισκόπους—xviii ἐκκηρύκτους deficiunt.

⁵) Can. Ancy. i-v δι' ὅλης deficiunt.

⁶) Can. Ancy. xviii βούλουντο eis—xxv deficiunt.

⁷) Another ms mentioned by Pitra, cod. column. 23, s. xiii, now in the Vatican, remains to be collated: but possibly it is the ms of Photius' *Synagma*, which Card. Mai printed in his *Spicileg. Roman.* t. vii. Of the other mss given by Pitra, ottob. 99, vatic. 1150, 1455 apparently do not contain the canons, while regin. 57, ottob. 249 are mss of Zonaras and Balsamon respectively (*Juris Eccles. Graec. Hist. et Monum.* i. 425).

at Venice, in S. Mark's library :—

V ₁	cod. bessar. 169	membran. s. xii, xiii ¹
V ₂	bessar. 170	„ s. xiii
V ₃	nanian. 226	„ s. xiii, xiv
V ₄	bessar. 171	chartac. s. xiii, xiv
V ₅	nanian. 236	„ a. d. 1467

(2) JOHN OF ANTIOCH'S CΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ.

joh 1	at Paris	cod. coislin. 209	membran. s. x, xi
joh 2	„	coislin. 211	„ s. xii
joh 3	„	suppl. 483	bombyc. s. xiv
joh 4	at Oxford	cod. bar. 86	membran. s. xii exeunt.
joh 5	„	misc. 77 ²	
joh 6	=Justel's text (<i>Biblioth. Juris Canon.</i> Paris, 1661), printed, as he tells us, from a very ancient ms, <i>quod ex bibliotheca collegii Claromontani Parisiensis beneficio doctiss. Iac. Sirmondi nacti sumus</i> : this ms is now unfortunately lost ³ .		
joh 7	at Rome	cod. vatic. 843	
joh 8	at Florence	plut. ix cod. 8 (F ₂)	

(3) ZONARAS' COMMENTARY.

zon 1	at Paris	cod. 1319	bombyc. s. xiii
zon 2	„	coislin. 210	„ s. xiv
zon 3	at London	add. 22746	membran. s. xiii

(4) BALSAMON'S COMMENTARY.

bals 1	at Venice	cod. bessar. 168	chartac. s. xiii
bals 2	at Oxford	cod. bar. 205	„ s. xiv ⁴
bals 3	at Paris	cod. 1331	bombyc. s. xiv
bals 4	„	1328	chartac. s. xv

The readings of Photius are taken from his *Syntagma Canonum*, printed by Mai in the *Spicilegium Romanum*, t. vii: his ms was a *codex columnensis, nunc vaticanus, insignis, membranaceus, antiquus, saec. nempe saltem xii, calligrapha diligen-*

¹) These dates are very uncertain.

²) This ms differs very much from the ordinary text, and it only contains a very few of the Ancyran Canons. There seem to have been two widely different editions of the *Synagoge* (cf. Pitra). From this ms, joh 5 as also from joh 7, 8, only a very few readings have been obtained: but joh 1 2 3 4 6 have been collated throughout.

³) Justel knew of two other very old mss of John's *Synagoge*, viz. *unum perquam vetustum Romae in bibliotheca vaticana, Heidelbergae adlatum, insigne quidem et eximium* (= vatic. 843): *alterum non minus antiquum in bibliotheca illustr. Franciae Cancellarii Petri Seguerii* (! cod. coislin. 209).

⁴) The text printed by Beveridge in his *Synodicon*.

tique manu scriptus, tantaeque varietatis ut hic solus Photii verum syntagma continere videatur.

The various readings are given in two divisions, in the upper division only the more significant variations being given.

The authorities are ranged in chronological order, but the earlier mss of the Canons are also ranged according to their families: which are thus marked—

α denotes R₁ P₁ P₂ O₂ O₃ P₄ F₂ V₁ O₆ V₅
 β „ P₃ R₃ R₄ O₄ P₅ P₆ F₁ O₅ P₇ P₈ P₁₀ C V₂
 γ „ R₅ R₂ O₁ P₉ O₇ F₃
 δ „ M₁ M₂ M₃ P₁₁ P₁₂ V₃

Also, for example, β (*ex* R₃ R₄) means that all the β mss except R₃ R₄ agree with the reading given.

Further—

e = L O₈ P₁₄ f = P₁₅ P₁₆ P₁₇
 joh = joh 1 2 3 4 6 (the only mss of joh collated throughout)
 zon = zon 1 2 3 zon-com = Zonaras in his commentary
 bals = bals 1 2 3 4 bals-com = Balsamon „ „
 phot = Photius matt = Matthew Blastar

* marks the original reading, ^a the first corrector.

Thus the complete list of authorities in proper order will be α β γ δ V₄ Mon P₁₃ R₆ e f joh phot zon zon-com bals bals-com matt.

In the case of the mss of the Councils silence in the notes denotes agreement with the text. But the commentators have not been so exhaustively treated: all the significant variations of joh, zon, bals, have been given, but insignificant variations in individual mss have been omitted.

The text printed is that of α.

Comparative Table of MSS.

	s. x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	
α	R ₁ P ₁ P ₂	O ₂ O ₃ P ₄ F ₂	V ₁	O ₆		V ₅	
β	P ₃	R ₃ R ₄ O ₄ P ₅ P ₆ F ₁ O ₅	P ₇ P ₈ P ₁₀ C	V ₂			
γ	R ₅	R ₂ O ₁	P ₉	O ₇ F ₃			
δ			M ₁ M ₂	M ₃ P ₁₁ P ₁₂	V ₃		
ef etc				V ₄	Mon P ₁₃	L O ₈ P ₁₄ R ₆ P ₁₅ P ₁₆	P ₁₇
				zon 1 3	zon 2		
				bals 1	bals 2 3	bals 4	
	!joh 7	joh 1 8	joh 2 4 5	joh 3			

KANONEC TΩN EN AΓKYPA CYNEΛΘONTΩN MAKAP-
PIΩN ΠPΩN OITINEC ΠPOΓENECTEPOI MEN
EICI TΩN EN NIKAIΑ EKTEΘENTΩN KANONΩN
ΔEYTEPEYOYCI ΔE ΔIA THN THC OIKOYME-
NIKH C CYNOΔOY AYΘENTEIAN.

i Πρεσβυτέρους τοὺς ἐπιθύσαντας, εἴτα ἐπαναπαλίσαντας
μήτε ἐκ μεθόδου τιwδς ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀληθείας μήτε προκατα-
σκευάσαντας καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσαντας καὶ πείσαντας ἵνα δόξωσι
μὲν βασάνοις ὑποβάλλεσθαι, ταύτας δὲ τῷ δοκεῖν καὶ τῷ
σχήματι προσαχθῆναι, τούτους ἔδοξε τῆς μὲν τιμῆς τῆς κατὰ 5
τὴν καθέδραν μετέχειν, προσφέρειν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἢ ὁμιλεῖν ἢ
ὅλως λειτουργεῖν τι τῶν ἱερατικῶν λειτουργιῶν μὴ ἐξεῖναι.

KANONEC THC EN AΓKYPA CYNOΔOY P₁₃ O₈ fzon i bals 2 3 4
add KANONEC KE f KANONEC TΩN EN AΓKYPA CYNEΛΘON-
TΩN AΓIΩN ΠPΩN bals i KANONEC THC EN AΓKYPA
CYCTACHC CYNOΔOY L zon 2 3 add EΠI THC BACIIEIAC
AYPHAIANOY KE L tit deficit in P₁₄ TΩN EN AΓKYPA
AΓIΩN ΠPΩN KANONEC KE P₁₁ YΠOΘECIC THC EN AΓKYPA
TOΠIKHC CYNOΔ HTIC ΠPOΓENECTEPA MENTOI THC EN NIKAIΑ
MΓΛ OIKOYMENIKH C CYNOΔ ECTIN ΔEYTEPEYOI ΔE κ.τ.λ. (et sequi-
tur hypothesis, quae etiam in M₁ M₂ P₁₃ V₃ ante titulum reperitur)
M₃ AΓIΩN KAI MAKAPIΩN δ (ex M₃ P₁₁) ad finem add EICI
ΔE KANONEC KE δ (ex M₃ P₁₁)

i 1 επαναπαλ. α *plur cum* β γ V₄ Mon R₆ fzon bals αναπαλίσαντας
P₃* O₈ O₆ P₆* δ e joh phot bals 1^a 2^a aristenus zon-com bals-com
επαναλυσαντας P₁₀ επανελθοντας P₁₃ 7 om τι δ (ex P₁₁) joh 4
aliquibus (sacerdotalibus) officiis fungi isid

KANΩNAI O₁ CYNEΛΘONTΩN KAI EKTEΘENTΩN O₇
OIKONOMIKHC O₆

i 1 Πρεσβυτέρους M₃ Πρεσβύτερος V₃ εἴτα] add παλιν P₁₁ bals-com
επαναπ.] add μητε μετα εμπαιγμον P₁₁ 3 om και επιτηδ. R₂ επιτηδ. και in
παργ M₃ επιτηδευσαντες O₆ om και πεισαντας V₄ και πεισ. repet O₇
και [ινα] F₂ 4 βασανους P₁₁ βασανοις μὲν (tr) e υποβαλεσθαι
O₁ 5 προαχθηναι P₁₁ 6 ομλ.] add λογους διδασκαλιας ποιεισθαι
(λογοις διδ. P₃) τω λαω πως γαρ ετεροι υποθουντο τα βελτιστα αυτοι παρα-
σφαλεντες του κριττονος (echol in V₁ R₅ Mon) P₈ C 7 μη δειναι L
ad fin add τούτους ως ειρηται V₄

II Διακόνους ὁμοίως θύσαντας, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναπαλαίσαντας, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην τιμὴν ἔχειν, πεπαῦσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς πάσης τῆς ἱερατικῆς λειτουργίας τῆς τε τοῦ ἄρτου ἢ ποτήριον ἀναφέρειν ἢ κηρύσσειν· εἰ μέντοι τινὲς τῶν ἐπισκόπων τούτοις συνείδοιεν κάματόν τινα ἢ ταπεινώσειν πραότητος καὶ ἐθέ- 5 λοιεν πλεον τι διδόναι ἢ ἀφαιρεῖν, ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν.

III Τοὺς φεύγοντας καὶ συλληφθέντας ἢ ὑπὸ οἰκείων παραδοθέντας ἢ ἄλλως τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἀφαιρεθέντας ἢ ὑπομείναντας βασάνους ἢ εἰς δεσμωτήριον ἐμβληθέντας, βοῶντας τε ὅτι εἰσὶ χριστιανοὶ καὶ περισχισθέντας, ἥτοι εἰς τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς βίαν ἐμβαλλόντων τῶν βιαζομένων ἢ βρῶμά 5

ii 1 ὡσανὺς ἐπιθύσαντας δ joh 2 om πασης F₁ P₁₁ R₆ om της [ιερ.] P₁₀ O, δ (exc P₁₁) Mon joh 2 3 6 3 ιερατικῆς α cum R₂ R₄ O₄ P₇ γ δ V₄ Mon R₆ joh phot bals ιερας O₆ β (P₃ P₆ F₁ O₅ P₈ P₁₀ C V₂) P₁₃ e zon zon-com sacro latt om ιερ. f αρτου η ποτηριον P₃ F₁ P₁₀ P₉ V₄ joh 2 αρτου η ποτηριου O₁ O₇ αρτου και του ποτηριου και του αναφ. R₆^a F₃ 4 τουτοις cum R₁ P₁ P₂ O₃ V₁ P₈ C γ (exc P₉; R₂ def) δ (exc P₁₁) Mon P₁₃ R₆ e (L om τουτ.) f joh ι 3 4 6 zon ι bals τουτουσ O₂ P₄ O₆ V₆ β (exc R₂ P₈ C) P₉ M₈* P₁₁ V₄ joh 2 phot περι τουτοις F₂ τουτο R₃ τουτων zon 2 3 5 συνειδοιεν α (exc V₁ O₆) cum P₆ F₁ γ δ (exc P₁₁) V₄ e joh ι 3 4 συνιδοιεν V₁ O₆ β (exc P₆ F₁) P₁₁ Mon R₆ joh 2 bals zon-com bals-com συνειδειεν P₁₃ f zon con- scii sunt isid dion θελοιεν P₈ C R₆ O₇ δ (exc P₁₁) Mon joh 2 4 6 6 αφελειν δ (exc P₁₁) joh (exc 3) zon-com

iii 1 οικειων] ιδιων δ joh 2 3 4 ιουδαιων joh ι 4 περισχησθεντας R₂ περισχεθεντας P₈ O₁ O₇ δ L O₈ R₆ f joh 2 3 4 6 7 (περιχεθ.) παρασχι- σθεντας P₁₃ zon ι περισχισθεντας legit etiam joh ι 8 5 εμβα- λοντων F₂ O₆ P₈ O₁ δ (exc M₈ P₁₁) P₁₃ O₈ P₁₄ joh 4 zon bals 2 3 εμβα-

ii 1 Διακονοις V₁ ταυτας O₇ 2 της μεν αλλης τιμης P₆ V₂* R₆ matt μετεχειν P₆ V₂* matt 3 om λειτουργιας R₆ om της τε . . . κηρυσσειν P₁₃ L f zon ι 3 4 ει μεν τινες R₂ O₁* 5 ηθελοειν R₄ 6 πλειον R₂ F₃ R₆ υφαιρειν joh 3 zon 2

iii 1 φευοντας O₁ προσφευγ. V₁ συλλ.] ηττηθεντας P₁₃ om η υπο οικ. . . εμβληθ. L* (sed η υπο. . . παραδ. in marg et η αλλ. . . αφαιρ. inseritur post περισχισθ.) 2 om αλλως V₄ om η αλλ. . . αφαιρ. M₂ αφαιρε- θεντος O₄ om η υπομειν. . . εμβληθ. P₁₆ 3 om βοωντας . . . περι- σχισθ. V₁ F₁* (F₃* add βοωντας sup lin et και περισχισθεντας post χριστιαν.) 4 εισιν εισιν R₆ περισχισθεντες O₅ περισχισθεντας τους χιτανας zon- oom ητοι] η F₃ om τας V₄ 5 χειρας] add τι bals om βιαν L om

τι πρὸς ἀνάγκην δεξαμένους, ὁμολογοῦντας δὲ διόλου ὅτι εἰσὶ χριστιανοὶ καὶ τὸ πένθος τοῦ συμβάντος ἀεὶ ἐπιδεικνυμένους τῇ πάσῃ καταστολῇ καὶ τῷ σχήματι καὶ τῇ τοῦ βίου ταπεινότητι, τούτους ὡς ἔξω ἁμαρτήματος ὄντας τῆς κοινωνίας μὴ κωλύεσθαι· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐκωλύθησαν ὑπὸ τινος περισσο- 10 τέρας ἀκριβείας ἔνεκεν ἢ καὶ τινων ἀγνοίᾳ, εὐθὺς προσδεχθῆναι· τοῦτο δὲ ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τε τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λαϊκῶν. προσεξητάσθη δὲ κάκεινο, εἰ δύνανται καὶ λαικοὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἀνάγκῃ ὑποπεσόντες προάγεσθαι εἰς τάξιν· ἔδοξεν οὖν καὶ τούτους ὡς μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκότας, εἰ καὶ ἡ προ- 15 λαβοῦσα εὐρίσκειτο ὀρθὴ τοῦ βίου πολιτεία, προχειρίζεσθαι.

IV Περὶ τῶν πρὸς βίαν θυσάντων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις καὶ τῶν δειπνησάντων εἰς τὰ εἶδωλα, ὅσοι μὲν ἀπαγόμενοι καὶ σχήματι φαιδροτέρῳ ἀνήλθον καὶ ἐσθῇτι ἐχρήσαντο πολυτελεστέρα

λοῦτας f προσβαλλόντων L βρώματα δ (exc P₁₁) joh 4 *aliquid poluti cibi isid dion escam prisca* 10 *om και [εκωλυθ.] δ (exc P₁₁) e joh 2 4 6 zon* 11 *om η [και τιν.] γ (exc O₇: R₂ def)* *δια τινων αγνοια δ joh 2 3 4 6 per aliquorum ignorantiam isid propter quorundam ign. dion* προσδεχθήτωσαν V₁ γ (R₂ def) bals 13 *προεξητασθη P₄ F₂ V₈ F₁ P₁₁ V₄ f phot* 14 *περιπεσοντες δ joh προαγεσθαι a cum P₆ P₁₀ O₁ P₉ M₁ P₁₂ V₈ V₄ P₁₃ R₆ f joh 1 2 3 4 phot zon 1 3 bals προαγεσθαι F₂* β (exc P₆ P₁₀) R₆ O₇ F₂ M₂ M₃ P₁₁ Mon e joh 6 zon 2* 16 *om ευρισκοντο P₉ O₇ joh 1 2 3 4 6 ορθη τ. β. πολ. ευρισκ. R₆ F₈ του β. πολ. ορθη O₇ πολ. τ. βιου R₆ πολιτεια]* *add συμπαρττοι P₉ O₇ joh 1 2 3 6 add η συμπαρττοι δ joh 4 si vita eos probabilis commendat isid probabilis sit dion aut antea inveniatu r recta vita eorum prisca*

cc. iv, v = c. iv γ (exc O₁)

iv 1 *βιας δ επιθυσαντων δ joh 1 2 3 4* 2 *μεν]* *add ουν δ joh 1 3 4 6; ουν deest in latt* 3 *σφοδροτερω O₆* P₃ P₆* F₁**

των [βιας.] O₇ bals 2 η βρ.] εις βρ. O₁ 7 *του πενθους O₆ om του συμβαντος f επιδεικνυμενου R₆* 9 *του [αμαρτ.] P₁₇ αμαρτησαν F₂* της κοιν. μη κοινωνιας μη κωλ. R₆* 11 *om και [τινων] O₇* 12 *om εκ V₄ om του V₁ bals* 13 *om αλλων P₁₁* *om δε P₇* 14 *τη αυτη] τοιαυτη M₃ P₁₁* 15 *om η [προλ.] P₇ P₁₁ zon 2 προσλαβουσα O₇* 16 συμπαρττοι V₈ ει συμπαρττη P₁₁*

iv 1 *Περι . . . θυσαντων om F₂; in titulo V₄* *Επει δε V₄ προ βιας P₁₁ επιθυμησαντων P₁₁ συνδειπν. P₁₁* 2 *ειδωλεια F₂* joh 2 οσοι μενοι [και] O₁* 3 *φαινομενοι [φαιδρ.] R₆ εσθητα . . . πολυτελεστεραν P₁₁*

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L

καὶ μετέσχον τοῦ παρασκευασθέντος δείπνου ἀδιαφόρως,
ἔδοξεν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀκροᾶσθαι, ὑποπεσεῖν δὲ τρία ἔτη, εὐχῆς δὲ 5
μόνης κοινωνῆσαι ἔτη δύο, καὶ τότε ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον.

- v Ὅσοι δὲ ἀνῆλθον μετὰ ἐσθίητος πενθικῆς καὶ ἀναπεσόντες
ἔφαγον μεταξὺ δι' ὅλης τῆς ἀνακλίσεως δακρύνοντες, εἰ ἐπλή-
ρωσαν τὸν τῆς ὑποπτώσεως τριετὴ χρόνον, χωρὶς προσφορᾶς
δεχθήτωσαν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔφαγον, δύο ὑποπεσόντες ἔτη τῷ
τρίτῳ κοινωνησάτωσαν χωρὶς προσφορᾶς, ἵνα τὸ τέλειον τῇ 5
τετραετίᾳ λάβωσιν· τοὺς δὲ ἐπισκόπους ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τὸν
τρόπον τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς δοκιμάσαντας φιλανθρωπεύεσθαι ἢ
πλείονα προστιθέναι χρόνον· πρὸ πάντων δὲ καὶ ὁ προάγων
βίος καὶ ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξεταζέσθω, καὶ οὕτως ἡ φιλανθρωπία
ἐπιμετρεῖσθω. 10

- vi Περὶ τῶν ἀπειλῇ μόνον εἰζάντων κολάσεως καὶ ἀφαιρέσεως
ὑπαρχόντων ἢ μετοικίας καὶ θυσάντων καὶ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος
καιροῦ μὴ μετανοησάντων μηδὲ ἐπιστρεψάντων, νῦν δὲ παρὰ

O₅V₂ 6 κοινωνειτωσαν R₈ (ητ) P₉ O₇ (ητ*) F₃ (ητ) δυο
ετη τρ δ (exc P₁₁) joh 1 2 4 6 bals 1 3

- v 1 om δε δ (exc P₁₁) joh 4 2 ἀνακλησεως V₁ β (R₄ O₄ F₁ O₆ P₈
P₁₀ C) R₂ O₇ δ (exc V₃) V₄ joh 2 3 4 ἀνακλυσεως O₁ της ἀνακλησεως
hinc incipit R₂ 5 κοινωνησάτωσαν α αὐτῷ P₃ R₃ R₄ O₄
P₈ O₉ P₇ γ (exc P₉ O₇) O₉ P₁₄ R₆ joh 1 4 phot zon κοινωνειτωσαν F₁
P₈ P₁₀ C V₂ P₉ O₇ (ητ) δ (ητ) V₄ (ιτ) Mon P₁₈ (ητ) L f joh 2 (ητ) 3 (ητ)
6 bals κοινων.] add χρονω P₁₃ O₈ P₁₄ zon add ετει f bals
6 τριετια O₃ P₈ C V₂ F₃ Mon e f zon zon-com bals aristenus quarto
anno, quadriennio latt τους δε επισκοπους hic deficit P₈

- vi 1 μονη V₁ R₆ R₈ F₃ δ P₁₈ joh bals-com (matt) minis tantum isid
dion 2 χωρις η μετοικιας γ (exc O₁ P₉) μετοικιας O₁ om

5 om [ευχης] δε P₉ C Mon 6 om μονης V₁ bals ετη] επι P₁₁ ετη ετη F₃
ετη β' β' F₁ τότε] add φησιν η θεια συνοδος V₄ τελος R₃

- v 2 om μεταξυ O₇ om της [ανακ.] P₁₆ 4 δεχθησονται O₇ υπο-
πεσοντας O₁ om ετη V₃ τω τριτω] add τοις πιστοις συνιστασθαι
(schol in M₁ ex Zonara) M₃ 5 της τετραετιας V₄ 6 λαβωσιν
add φησιν V₄ 7 φιλανθρωπευσασθαι ? O₁* O₇ bals 2 8 χρονω P₁₁
προεχων phot θ βιος ... ταυτα] χρονος του βιου O₇ om ο [μετα] R₄ P₉
μεταυτα V₃ εξεταζετω P₁₁

- vi 1 [Περὶ] δε F₃ τη [ἀπειλῇ] P₁₁ οὐσαντων M₃ κολασεων P₁₈ zon 1
η [καὶ ἀφ.] P₁₁ om καὶ ἀφαιρ. P₉ 2 η μετοι[καί] V₁ om καὶ [θυσαντ.]
P₁₁ 3 ἐπιστρεψαντων R₁ P₁ νυν] μη f περι [τ. καιρ.] L f zon 2

τὸν καιρὸν τῆς συνόδου προσελθόντων καὶ εἰς διάνοιαν τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς γενομένων, ἔδοξε μέχρι τῆς μεγάλης ἡμέρας εἰς 5 ἀκρόασιν δεχθῆναι καὶ μετὰ τὴν μεγάλην ἡμέραν ὑποπεσεῖν τρία ἔτη καὶ μετὰ ἄλλα δύο ἔτη κοινωνῆσαι χωρὶς προσφορᾶς καὶ οὕτως ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον, ὥστε τὴν πᾶσαν ἐξαετίαν πληρῶσαι· εἰ δέ τινες πρὸ τῆς συνόδου ταύτης ἐδέχθησαν εἰς μετάνοιαν, ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου λελογίσθαι 10 αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐξαετίας· εἰ μὲντοι τις κίνδυνος καὶ θανάτου προσδοκία ἐκ νόσου ἢ ἄλλης τινὸς προφάσεως συμβαίη, τούτους ἐπὶ ὄρῳ δεχθῆναι.

VII Περὶ τῶν συνεστιαθέντων ἐν ἑορτῇ ἐθνικῇ ἐν τόπῳ ἀφωρισμένῳ τοῖς ἐθνικοῖς, ἴδια βρώματα ἐπικομισαμένων καὶ φαγόντων, ἔδοξε διετίαν ὑποπεσόντας δεχθῆναι· τὸ δὲ εἰ χρή μετὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς ἕκαστον τῶν ἐπισκόπων δοκιμάσαι καὶ τὸν ἄλλον βίον ἐφ' ἑκάστου ἐξετάσαι. 5

ἐτη 2^ο R₅ F₅ P₁₁ 9 ταυτης] αὐτης P₅ F₁ C f zon bals 11
τὴν τῆς ἐξαετίας P₅ F₁ C Mon P₁₃ zon τὴν ἐξαετίαν e f bals om
τις P₅ P₅ F₁ O₅ P₁₀ C V₅ V₅ Mon* P₁₃ e f phot zon bals matt aliqui
periculis prisca si quod isid quodlibet dion

vii 1 η [εν τοπῳ] F₅ V₅ F₁^a V₅ δ joh 1 2 4 6; η deest in latt. 2 ἴδια]
add de V₁ γ (exc O₁ P₉) η [καὶ φαγ.] P₁₃ e f zon bals matt
4 ἑκαστον F₅ P₅^a R₅ O₁ P₅ P₁₁ joh 2 3 4 6 ἑκαστω O₅ phot ἑκαστον
μετὰ τ. προσφ. tr P₁₃ e f zon 1 3 bals; ἑκαστον δεχθῆναι explicat
Zonaras sed latt. omnes legunt 'unusquisque episcopus (orunt)'
δοκιμασαι] pr ἐξεστω O₅ phot pr εστω R₅ O₁ P₅ pr εστι P₅^a O₅ δ e
joh pr εστι το f bals add εστι R₅ zon 2 5 ἐξετασαι] αξιω-

bals 4 κατα bals 1 4 προσελθ.] επιστρεψαντων P₅ διανοιαν]
διακονιαν V₅ εννοιαν f 5 της μεχρι tr O₁ om μεχρι O₁^{*} om
ημερας P₇ L 6 ημεραν] add ητοι την του κυ αναστασιν κ. τ. λ. C
τρια ἐτη υποπεσ. tr e 7 om αλλα P₅ 8 εωστε L πασαν]
παρουσαν C 9 τιναι O₁ 10 εξεδεχθησαν V₅ εἰς] προς P₁₁
λελογισται O₅ C V₅ λελογησθε joh 3 λογισθαι V₅ λογισθῆναι bals 1 3 εἰς oom
λογιζεσθαι f bals 2 11 αυτοις] αὐτης P₁₁ 12 om εκ νοσου O₁^{*}
νοσου] add αυτοις e συμβαινει R₄ επισυμβαη R₄ matt 13 οροις
P₁₁ τω [ορω] M₂

vii 1 συνεστιαθεντων e bals 2 3 εσθιαθεντων P₁₁ P₁₁^{*} τη [εθνικη] R₄ αφο-
ρισθέντι f bals 4 2 ἐθνικοις] ἐθνικῆς V₅^{*}, add εν ειδαιλειω τυχων η αλλα
τοπω εἰς τελετας αυτοις τελουμενας ανακειμενω (ex Zonaras com) e επ-
εισκομ. P₅ 3 om το δε εἰ χρη P₁₁ om δε O₄ om εἰ O₁^{*} 4 om
της V₄ μετασχειν της προσφορας ἑκαστον τον επισκοπον F₁^a 5 om
βιον L ἐξετασαι] add καλως V₄

VIII Οἱ δὲ δεῦτερον καὶ τρίτον θύσαντες μετὰ βίας τετραετίαν ὑποπεσέτωσαν, δύο δὲ ἔτη χωρὶς προσφορᾶς κοινωνησάτωσαν καὶ τῷ ἐβδόμῳ τελείως δεχθήτωσαν.

IX Ὅσοι δὲ μὴ μόνον ἀπέστησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπανέστησαν καὶ ἠνάγκασαν ἀδελφοὺς καὶ αἵτιοι ἐγένοντο τοῦ ἀναγκασθῆναι, οὗτοι ἔτη μὲν τρία τὸν τῆς ἀκροάσεως δεξάσθωσαν τόπον, ἐν δὲ ἄλλῃ ἑξαετίᾳ τὸν τῆς ὑποπτώσεως, ἄλλον δὲ ἐνιαυτὸν κοινωνησάτωσαν χωρὶς προσφορᾶς, ἵνα τὴν δεκαετίαν πληρώ- 5 σαντες τοῦ τελείου μετάσχωσιν· ἐν μέντοι τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον αὐτῶν ἐπιτηρεῖσθαι βίον.

X Διάκονοι, ὅσοι καθίστανται, παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν κατάστασιν εἰ ἐμαρτύραντο καὶ ἔφασαν χρῆναι γαμῆσαι, μὴ δυνάμενοι οὕτως

σαι P₃ R₃ R₄ O₄ F₁* O₅ P₇ C δοκιμασαι P₁₅ tr δοκιμασαι et εξε-
τασαι O₆

viii 1 τριετιαν O₃ F₃ C V₄ Mon 2 κοινωνησατωσαν α (exce V₁ O₆)
β (exce P₁₀) P₃ P₁₁ Mon P₁₃ O₃ P₁₄ phot zon bals 1 3 4 aristenus κοινο-
ναιτωσαν V₁ O₆ (ητ) P₁₀ γ (ητ : exce P₉) δ (ητ : exce P₁₁) V₄ L R₆ f joh
1 2 3 6 bals 2 κοινωνησαι joh 4

ix 3 μὲν ετη tr R₄ F₁ P₉ P₁₁ 4 τη [αλλη] δ (exce P₁₁) 5 κοι-
νωνητωσαν F₂ F₁ P₁₀ C (ητ) R₂ O₁ (ητ) M₃ (ητ) V₄ P₁₃ R₆ f joh 3 (ητ)
4 (ητ) 6 bals 4

x 1 όσοι καθίστανται] καθισταμενοι όσοι V₁ γ (exce O₁), όσοι καθισταμενοι
οσοι bals om όσοι f εἰ ἐμαρτυραντο] διεμαρτυραντο V₁ γ bals
bals-com εἰ ἐμαρτυρησαντο P₃ F₁* C Mon* L f zon *diaconi qui-*
cumque constituuntur si . . . protestati sunt, diac. quoque cum
ordinantur si isid diac. qui sunt ordinandi, si prisca diac.
quicumque ordinantur, si dion 2 ἐφασαν γ (exce O₁) joh 4 5 6

viii 1 Εἰ R₃ bals 2 om δε P₁₁ επιθυσαντας P₁₁ τετραετίας O₇
2 υποπεσάτωσαν R₁ P₁ P₂ R₂ O₁ P₁₁ joh 14 υποπιπτεώσαν O₃ L om [δυο]
δε F₂* M₃ 3 ἐβδ.] add ετει P₁₁ bals 4 tr δεχθητ. et κοινο-
νητ. O₇

ix 1 om δε L αλλα και επαν. in marg M₃ 2 τους [αδελφ.] P₁₁
joh 2 3 4 6 επαν. αδελφοις και ηναγκ. joh 1 αιτιοι αυτοι P₁₁
εγενοντου [αναγκ.] F₃ 3 om ετη R₁ om τον V₄ 4 εν δε
αλλη . . . υποπτωσεως repet V₁ 5 δεκατιαν M₃ V₅ 6 μετεχωσι L om
εν μεντοι κ. τ. λ. ad fin F₁* τουτω τω] τοιουτω O₇ 7 om αυτων
V₄ τον αλλ. επ. βιον αυτ. tr F₂ επιτηρεισθω R₃ P₁₁ V₅ (ασθω)

x c. x. hic omittitur et inseritur post c. xiv L 1 Οι [διακ.] L post καθισταμε-
νοι rasura (= όσοι) sequitur bals 1 om αυτην O₁ om την F₃ 2 εφασαν L

μένειν, οὗτοι μετὰ ταῦτα γαμήσαντες ἔστωσαν ἐν τῇ ὑπὴρ-
ρεσίᾳ διὰ τὸ ἐπιτραπῆναι αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου· τοῦτο
δὲ εἰ τινες σιωπήσαντες καὶ καταδεξάμενοι ἐν τῇ χειροτονίᾳ 5
μένειν οὕτως μετὰ ταῦτα ἦλθον ἐπὶ γάμον, πεπαῦσθαι αὐτοὺς
τῆς διακονίας.

XI Τὰς μνηστευθείσας κόρας καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὑπὸ ἄλλων ἁρπα-
γείσας ἔδοξεν ἀποδίδοσθαι τοῖς προμνηστευσάμενοις, εἰ καὶ
βίαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πάθοιεν.

XII Τοὺς πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος τεθυκότας καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
βαπτισθέντας ἔδοξεν εἰς τάξιν προάγεσθαι ὡς ἀπολυνσα-
μένους.

XIII Χωρεπισκόποις μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειρο-
τονεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴν μηδὲ πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως, χωρὶς τοῦ
ἐπιτραπῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μετὰ γραμμάτων ἐν ἐτέρᾳ
παροικίᾳ.

5 παρασιωπησαντες V₁ (? R₆*) F₃ bals 6 και [μετα] M₁ M₃ P₁₂
V₃ [μετα] δε M₂

xi 1 υπ. αλλ. αρπ. μ. ταυτα tr V₁ f bals 2 μνηστευσам. F₃* L
P₁₃ P₁₄ f zon bals 3 et zon bals matt in com m μεμνηστευσ. C Mon

xii 2 προαγεσθαι] add δειν δ (ex P₁₂) joh 1 2 3 4 : δειν deest in latt

xiii 1 χωρεπισκοπους R₆* P₁₁ L f joh 2 3 8 bals 2 χωρεπισκοπος O₆ O₁*
χωρεπισκοπον P₁₃ bals-com matt 2 om μην O₆ f zon 1 bals-
com πρεσβυτερους α cum β V₄ Mon R₆ ef joh 1 zon 1 bals 1 3 4¹
πρεσβυτεροις R₆ F₃ δ (ex P₁₁) joh 2 3 4 5 6 8 πρεσβυτερον C P₁₃

3 ουτοι] οτι P₁₁ εν τη] ετη F₂ O₇* om εν bals 1 2 4 4 om

δα O₇* αυτοις L phot zon 2 3 bals τουτο δε] τουτοι P₁₁ τουτο· ει

δε joh 2 bals 5 ει τινες δε tr R₆ om και [καταδεξ.] C f joh 5

6 εις γαμον P₁₁ 7 διακ] θειας κοινωνιας P₁₁

xi 2 εδοξεν] add εις ταξιν R₆ add ταυτας V₄ προσμνησταμενοις P₁₁ om

ει και ad fin P₁₁ 3 παρ αυτων f

xii 2 προσαγεσθαι M₃

xiii 1 χωρεπισκοποι zon 2 εφιναι zon 2 η] και L 2 μητε R₂

3 δια [γραμματων] f matt om εν F₃

¹) et in odd regin 52, ottob 249, brit mus arun 533.

xiv Τοὺς ἐν κλήρῳ πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους ὄντας καὶ ἀπεχομένους κρεῶν ἔδοξεν ἐφάπτεσθαι καὶ οὕτως, εἰ βούλονται, κρατεῖν ἑαυτῶν· εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλονται, ὥς μηδὲ τὰ μετὰ κρεῶν βαλλόμενα λάχανα ἔσθλειν, καὶ μὴ ὑπέλκοιεν τῷ κανόνι, πεπαῦσθαι αὐτοὺς τῆς τάξεως. 5

xv Περὶ τῶν διαφερόντων τῷ κυριακῷ, ὅσα ἐπισκόπου μὴ ὄντος πρεσβύτεροι ἐπώλησαν, ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τὸ κυριακόν· ἐν δὲ τῇ κρίσει τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἶναι, εἴτε προσήκει ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν τιμὴν εἴτε καὶ μή, διὰ τὸ πολλάκις τὴν πρόσδοτον τῶν πεπραμένων ἀποδεδωκέναι αὐτοῖς τούτοις πλείονα τὴν τιμὴν. 5

zon 2 3¹ bals-com matt επισκοποις γ (exc R₅ F₃ επισκοποις O₇* -ous cum μηδε πρεσβυτερους in marg O₇^a) phot² αλλα μην δια πρεσβυτερων P₁₁ εκαστη γ δ joh 1-8 latt

xiv 1 om και [απεχομ.] P₁₃ e f zon bals 3 ει δε μη βουλ. α (P₁^a P₃ O₃ O₄ P₄ F₂ V₆) cum R₂ P₆ F₁^a V₃^a V₄ L O₈ R₆ f joh 4 bals ει δε βουλοιντο R₁ P₁* β (P₃ R₄ O₄ F₁* O₆ P₇ P₁₀ V₂*) P₁₃ P₁₄ zon ει δε βδελυσσονται V₁ O₆ C γ δ Mon joh 1 2 3 5 6 8 phot latt om ως μηδε f bals 1 2 4 om ως bals 3 4 και ει μη P₃* P₆ F₁ O₆ P₁₀ V₃ P₉^a και μηδε bals ει δε μη f matt

xv 1 [Περι] δε V₁ γ (exc O₁ P₆) 2 τω κυριακω F₂ γ P₁₁ V₄ ad ius (iura) ecclesiasticum reuocari latt reuocari res ecclesiasticas (monac 6243) reuocare . . . dominicam (reg 1997) 3 ειπερ β (exc P₆) Mon P₁₃ e joh 2 zon ει f bals 4 om και [μη] R₁ P₁ P₂ O₃ R₂ R₆ εισοδον P₃ P₆ F₁ O₆ P₁₀ C V₂ Mon bals-com πεπραμμενων O₁ πεπραγμενων V₁ O₆ (?F₁*) δ V₄ O₈ P₁₆ P₁₇ joh 3 4 zon 2 bals 2 3 4 5 om τουτοις P₁₀ M₃ P₁₃ e om την P₂ O₃ O₆ P₁₁ zon 2 bals 2

xiv 1 η] και L P₁₄ 2 εδοξενεναφαι. O₄ βουλειντο R₄ 3 [κρατ.] αυτων f zon 2 3 bals βδελυσονται O₆ R₂ (in R₄ λυσσο εν τας) βδελυσονται P₆ O₇ M₃ εβδελυσονται P₁₁ οι δε βδελυσονται joh 5 ει δε ουτως βουλονται απεχεσθαι ως μηδε explicit Zonaras om τα V₂ om μετα R₂ των [κρεων] O₇ 4 υπηκοιεν R₅ F₃ δ (exc P₁₁) υπηκεινεν L xv 1 επισκοπω μη οντι P₁₁ [επισκ.] τε O₈ 3 ειτε χρη [απολαβειν] joh 16 matt 4 τιμην] add τους κακως ωνησαμενους phot 5 αποδουнай R₆ f om τουτ. πλειονα P₁₃ της τιμης f

¹) et in codd regin 57, monac 45, brit mus add 18823.

²) sed in cod monac 122 (? Photii) χωρεπισκοπους . . . πρεσβυτερους πολως . . . εν ετερα εκαστη επαρχα (sic).

κχι Περὶ τῶν ἀλογευσαμένων ἢ καὶ ἀλογενομένων, ὅσοι πρὶν εἰκοσαετῆς γενέσθαι ἡμάρτον, πέντε καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν ὑποπεσόντες κοινωνίας τυγχανέτωσαν τῆς εἰς τὰς προσευχάς, εἰτα ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ διατελέσαντες ἔτη πέντε, τότε καὶ τῆς προσφορᾶς ἐφαπτέσθωσαν· ἐξεταζέσθω δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ ἐν 5 τῇ ὑποπτώσει βίος, καὶ οὕτως τυγχανέτωσαν τῆς φιλαθρωπίας· εἰ δέ τινες κατακόρως ἐν τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι γεγόνασι, τὴν μακρὰν ἐχέτωσαν ὑπόπτωσιν. ὅσοι δὲ ὑπερβάντες τὴν ἡλικίαν ταύτην καὶ γυναῖκας ἔχοντες περιπεπτώκασι τῷ ἁμαρτήματι, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεσιν ὑποπεσόντες, κοινωνίας 10 τυγχανέτωσαν τῆς εἰς τὰς προσευχάς, εἰτα ἐκτελέσαντες πέντε ἔτη ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν εὐχῶν τυγχανέτωσαν τῆς προσφορᾶς. εἰ δέ τινες καὶ γυναῖκας ἔχοντες καὶ ὑπερβάντες τὸν πεντηκονταετὴ χρόνον ἡμάρτον, ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξόδῳ τοῦ βίου τυγχανέτωσαν τῆς κοινωνίας. 15

κχι 1 Περὶ] *add* δε γ (*exc* O₁ P₉) 4 εἰτα] *add* καὶ V₁ γ (*exc* O₁ P₉)
P₁₁ f bals ἐτη πεντε *hinc incipit* P₅ om της [προσφ.]
R₁ P₁ P₂ O₃ 8 οσοι δε] *hic incipit novus canon* O₂ V₅ R₂
12 ἐτη] *add* ετερα δ (*exc* P₁₁) joh 1 2 4 (joh 3 6 om ετερα) *altero quinquennio isid in qua quinquennio durantes dion*

κχι 1 ἀλογευν. O₄ P₁₁ ἀλογεν. F₁ L om καὶ [αλογ.] O P₁₃ Mon joh 2 3
zon 2 3 bals 3 2 ἔτεσιν] ἐτη zon 3 κοινων. . . προσευχ.] κοινωνήτωσαν
των προσευχων O₇ om κοινων. τυγχ. L τυγχανέτωσαν O₁ τυγχανέτω M₂
προσευχ.] *add* εἰτα καὶ ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ διατελέσαντες κοινωνίας τυγχανέτω-
σαν της εἰς τὰς προσευχας V₁* της] τοις V₂ 4 ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ κοινωνίας
V₄ διατελέτωσαν M₃ καὶ [τοτε] O₁ om τοτε O₆ 5 om ἐξετα-
ζέσθω . . . φιλαθρωπ. R₂ O₇ (in marg O₇) om δε F₁ 6 υποπτ.]
υποστασει M₂ ἐκοπτώσει L 7 κατακ.] κακουργως bals I* 3 4 ἁμαρτημ.]
add τουτοις e 8 εχετωσαν την μακραν ἐν R₆ υποπτωσιν εχετ. ἐν P₁₁
joh 2 3 6 9 om ταυτην P₁₀ om καὶ [γυν.] P₁₁ joh 3 γυναικα
P₁₁ zon bals 4 10 ἁμαρτημ.] *add* τουτω M₂ L zon-com om
ετεσι P₁₁ ἐτη joh 2 ετ. υποπεσ.] ἐτη υποπεσετωσαν καὶ O₆ 11 τυγ-
χαν.] αξιουσθωσαν L της] την R₅ om της εἰς τας . . . τυγχανετ. P₁₄
ευχας V₁ joh 1 2 6 12 ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ] της κοινωνίας L ευχαν] προσευχων
V₅ συντυγχανετωσαν O₂ V₅ om της [πρ.] O₆ προσφορ.] κοινωνίας L O₆
13 εἰ δε τιν.] οἱ τι τινες P₉ υπερανabαντες O₅ P₁₄ om καὶ υπ. F₁*
14 πεντηκοταετη R₂ πεντε καὶ εικοστον P₁₁ πεντηκοστον bals 2 (! O₆)
πεντηετη F₁* της κοινων. τυγχ. ἐν V₄

xvii Τοὺς ἀλογευσαμένους καὶ λεπροὺς ὄντας ἦτοι λεπρώσαντας, τοὺτους προσέταξεν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος εἰς τοὺς χειμαζομένους εὐχέσθαι.

xviii Εἰ τινες ἐπίσκοποι κατασταθέντες καὶ μὴ δεχθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς παροικίας ἐκείνης, εἰς ἣν ὠνομάσθησαν, ἐτέραις βούλονται παροικίαις ἐπιέναι καὶ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς καθεστῶτας καὶ στάσεις κινεῖν κατ' αὐτῶν, τοὺτους ἀφορίζεσθαι· ἐὰν μέντοι βούλονται εἰς τὸ πρεσβυτέρειον καθέζεσθαι, ἐνθα ἦσαν 5 πρότερον πρεσβύτεροι, μὴ ἀποβάλλεσθαι αὐτοὺς τῆς τιμῆς· ἐὰν δὲ διαστασιάζωσι πρὸς τοὺς καθεστῶτας ἐκεῖ ἐπισκόπους, ἀφαιρεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου καὶ γίνεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκκηρύκτους.

xix Ὅσοι παρθενίαν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἀθετοῦσι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, τὸν τῶν διγάμων ὄρον ἐκπληροῦντων· τὰς μέντοι συνερχομένας παρθένους τισὶν ὡς ἀδελφὰς ἐκωλύσαμεν.

xviii 1 Οἱτινες P₂ O₃ O₆ P₃ C M₃ V₄ P₁₃ P₁₄ 3 εγ[καθεστῶτας] δ (exc P₁₁) joh 4 6 4 εαν μεντοι hinc deficit R₆ 6 αποβαλεσθαι R₂ O₁ δ (exc M₃ P₁₁) 7 διαστασιασουσι V₄ διαστασιαζουσι F₂ F₁ στασιαζωσι C R₂ * Mon P₁₃ L O₆ f bals 4 matt 8 οτ και [την τιμ.] R₆ O₇ F₈

xix 1 Οσοι hinc incipit denuo P₈ επαγγελ. α (R₁ P₁ O₂ P₄ V₁ V₆) cum β (exc R₃ P₆ P₈) γ Mon P₁₃ O₈ f joh 6 zon zon-com bals επαγγελομενοι F₂ R₃ P₆ P₈ P₁₁ V₄ L P₁₄ joh 3 επαγγελαμενοι P₂ O₃ O₆ δ (exc P₁₁) joh 1 2 4 aristenus professi, polliciti isid quanti promiserunt prisca promittentes dion 2 ουτοι [τον] δ joh (cum joh 7): deest in latt 3 οτ ως R₁ O₃ αδελφοι f bals matt aristenus αδελφους L tanquam sorores latt

xvii 1 αλογευσμ. R₆ 2 εαυτους P₁₁ προεταξεν R₂ προσεταξεν τουτους tr V₁ bals 3 προσευχεσθαι P₁₁ f joh

xviii 1 υπο] παρα V₄ bals 3 2 βουλονται O₆ βουλονται zon 3 3 επιεναι] εισιεναι F₂ απιεναι L f 4 συστασεις O₂ V₅ καθ εαυτων O₆ αφορ.] add ενθα ησαν προτερον πρεσβυτεροι F₁ 5 καθεζεσθαι V₅ καθ. εις το πρ. tr P₁₃ προτεροι V₄ 6 οτ της O₆ F₁ 7 οτ εαν διασταζ. ... την τιμην P₁₁ προς] πρως O₄ επισκ.] επιτροποις P₁₀ 8 αυτοις L πρεσβυτερου C Mon P₁₃ P₁₆ bals 3 matt 9 οτ αυτους L P₁₄ εκκηρυκτους V₃

xix 1 επαγγ] add καν ανδρες ειεν καν γυναικες (ex comit. Zonarae) P₁₃ 2 τω ... ορω L πληρουτ. L P₁₄ εκπληρ. ορον tr R₂

- xx 'Εάν τινος γυνή μοιχευθῇ ἢ μοιχεύσῃ τις, ἐν ἑπτὰ ἔτεσι
δεῖ αὐτὸν τοῦ τελείου τυχεῖν κατὰ τοὺς βαθμοὺς τοὺς προ-
άγοντας.
- xxi Περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν ἐκπορνεουσῶν καὶ ἀναιρουσῶν τὰ
γεννώμενα καὶ σπουδαζουσῶν φθόρια ποιεῖν, ὁ μὲν πρότερος
ὅρος μέχρις ἐξόδου ἐκάλυπεν, καὶ τούτῳ συντίθεται· φιλαν-
θρωπότερον δέ τι εὐρόντες ὥρισαμεν δεκαετὴ χρόνον κατὰ
τοὺς βαθμοὺς τοὺς ὠρισμένους. 5
- xxii Περὶ ἐκουσίων φόνων, ὑποπιπτέωσαν μὲν, τοῦ δὲ τελείου ἐν
τῷ τέλει τοῦ βίου καταξιούσθωσαν.
- xxiii Ἐπὶ ἀκουσίων φόνων, ὁ μὲν πρότερος ὅρος ἐν ἑπταετίᾳ κε-
λεύει τοῦ τελείου μετασχεῖν κατὰ τοὺς ὠρισμένους βαθμούς·
ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τὸν πενταετὴ χρόνον πληρῶσαι.

xx 2 δει α cum γ δ V₄ Mon joh phot bals δοκει β (P₅ def) P₁₃ e f zon
reddatur isid consequi oportet dion oportet prisca προσαγοντας
R₅* R₂ O₁^a O₇

xxi 2 σπουδασων δ (exc M₃ P₁₁) πρωτος δ (exc P₁₁) joh 3 (joh 1
2 4 6 προτερος) πρωτερος P₁₁ antiqua isid dion primum constitu-
tum prisca 3 συντιθεται γ (exc P₉) V₄ f joh 2 4 συντιθεσθαι
P₉: latt om και τουτ. συντιθ. 4 χρονον] add πληρωσαι F₁^a δ
joh 1 2 3 4 ωρισμεν.] add πληρωσαι V₁ γ f phot bals: πληρ. deest
in latt

Ordo cc. xxii, xxiii invertitur in P₈ P₁₃ e f zon bals matt

xxiii 1 Επι α cum β (exc O₄ P₈) γ P₁₁ V₄ Mon joh 2 3 6 phot Περι O₄ P₈
C δ (exc P₁₁) P₁₃ e f joh 1 4 zon bals 3 εκπληρωσαι δ (exc P₁₁)
explere dion

xx 1 τινος] τις V₁ 2 om τυχειν F₁* κατα τους προ. βαθ. P₁₃

xxi 1 om των L πορνεουσων V₁ εκπορνεουσων V₅ P₁₁ αναιρουντων O₄
2 γεννομενα O₄ R₂ M₂ P₁₁ V₄ γενομενα V₁* R₂ F₁ M₂ O₅ P₁₁ γεγεννημενα L
και [φθορια] C φθοροποιειν P₁₁ joh 3 3 εκάλυπε phot 4 om δε
P₁₁ om τι O₅ R₃* ευρ.] ποιουντες P₁₃ P₁₆ bals matt 5 ad finem
add τη αγια συνωδ V₄ τον του προσκλαιοντος τον ακρωμενον του υποπεσον-
τος τους συνεστατας (schol. in M₁ ex comm Zonarae) M₃

xxii 1 των [εκουσ.] F₁ P₈ bals 4 υποπιπτετ. R₃ μεν] δε L του τελ.
δε tr f zon 3 bals τελειου] τελους L προς τω τελει P₁₁ joh
2 αξιουσθωσαν L

xxiii 1 ακουσ.] add δε Mon πρωτερος F₁* M₁ P₁₃ V₅ πρωτος F₂ M₂ joh 4
επτα ετη P₁₁ επταετι F₂ 3 om τον O₅ O₇

XXIV Οἱ καταμαντευόμενοι καὶ ταῖς συνηθείαις τῶν ἔθνων ἑξακο-
λουθοῦντες ἢ εἰσάγοντές τινας εἰς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν οἴκους ἐπὶ
ἀνευρέσει φαρμακειῶν ἢ καὶ καθάρσει, ὑπὸ τὸν κανόνα πιπτέ-
τωσαν τῆς πενταετίας κατὰ τοὺς βαθμοὺς τοὺς ὠρισμένους,
τρία ἔτη ὑποπτώσεως καὶ δύο ἔτη εὐχῆς χωρὶς προσφορᾶς. 5

XXV Μνηστευσάμενός τις κόρην προσεφθάρῃ τῇ ἀδελφῇ αὐτῆς,
ὥς καὶ ἐπιφορῆσαι αὐτήν· ἔγμεν δὲ τὴν μνηστὴν μετὰ ταῦτα,
ἢ δὲ φθαρεῖσα ἀπήγξατο· οἱ συνειδότες ἐκελεύσθησαν ἐν
δεκαετίᾳ δεχθῆναι εἰς τοὺς συνεστῶτας κατὰ τοὺς ὠρισμένους
βαθμούς. 5

xxiv 1 χρονων P₅ P₆ P₆* F₁* O₅ P₈ C V₂ κατακολουθ. P₁₁ f bals
3 αναιρεσει V₄ Mon P₁₃ L O₅ f matt ανερευνησει P₁₁ joh 2 (αναιρευ-
νησει joh 3) om και O₂ P₄ V₁ V₅ V₄ L f bals 1 3 4
5 της [υποπτ.] δ (ex P₁₁) joh 1 4

xxv 1 εαν [προσεφθαρῃ] γ (ex R₂ : O₇^a del εαν) V₄ si quis sponsam
habens isid sed quidam sponsam habens cod monac 6243 et dion
2 επιφορησαι α (ex R₁ P₁*) cum R₃ P₆ F₁* O₇^a δ (ex M₂ M₃) V₄
Mon^a P₁₃ L joh 2 3 6 7 phot bals επιφορεσαι R₁ P₁* β (ex R₃ P₆)
Mon* O₈ P₁₄ joh 1 zon εμφορησαι γ (επιφορησαι O₇^a εφορησαι F₃)
επιφορτισαι (ex schol M₁) M₂ M₃ joh 4 8 επιφωρασαι f 3 η δε
αδελφη η φθ. δ joh : η αδελφη deest in latt 4 δεκα ετεσιν P₁₃
e f zon

xxiv 2 οικους αυτων M₁ οικ. αυτ. joh 3 3 om η F₂ joh 2 3 4 η και και O₄
καθαρσει] ανευρεσει O₁* 4 πεντα.] εξαετίας L 5 om ετη [ευχης] P₁₁ e
om ευχης P₁₁ P₁₃ joh 2 3 4 om χωρις F₁* της [προσφ.] P₁₁

xxv 1 εαν τις πρ. O₁* προεφθαρῃ P₁₀ f joh 2 προσεφθαρει δ (ex P₁₁) V₄ joh 3 4
2 om και [επιφορ.] C επιφορτησαι schol. in M₁ V et in marg V₃ et in
textu joh 8 μνηστευθεισαν M₃ μεταυτα V₃ 3 om δε P₁₁
oi] add δε R₂ M₁ συνειδοτες O₇ 4 δεκατια P₃ om δεχθηναι R₂ O₇*
(in marg O₇) eis] αυτους P₁₁ 5 θειους [βαθμ.] V₄

In textu P₁₃ ἔρμηνεῖαι ex comm. Zonarae sequuntur cc. x, xiv, xv; in textu
C ἔρμηνεῖαι quae nec in Zonara nec in Balsamone reperiuntur, sequuntur
cc. vi (σκοπεῖ πῶς τὴν κοινωνίαν κ. τ. λ.), x (δοκεῖ μάχεσθαι κ. τ. λ.); cf. etiam
cc. i, vi.

B. ESSAY.

The aim of the present essay is to offer a small contribution to the work of forming an accurate text of the Canons: a work which has indeed yet to be begun. For the great editors of the Canons from Justel downwards have practically omitted that part of their labours: they have consulted but few MSS, and in their editions have as a rule specified the authorities neither for their text, nor for the variants which they have added. It is true that Cardinal Pitra felt the deficiency and set himself to the task; but his *apparatus criticus* is not only inadequate, and by no means exhaustive, but also incorrect, some of the readings he cites from Vatican MSS being certainly wrong¹. Thus in the want of a critical edition errors have become stereotyped in the printed text; for example, confining ourselves in this essay to the Canons of Ancyra, I have been able to find no MS authority whatever for two readings in the edition at present most accessible, I mean that of Bruns², viz.: cc. xv ἀναβαλεῖσθαι, xxiv om τοὺς [ὠρισμένους]; his reading ξτη ὑποπεσέτωσαν καί (c. xvi) only occurs in one MS, O₅; other readings have only very weak, or late authority, e. g. in c. xiii, χωρεπισκόπους, ἀλλὰ μηδέ. Again, many of the variants given in his footnotes I have come across in no MS, e. g. c. i προσαχθῶσι, iii περισκεθέντας, ἀμαρτήσαντας, x γαμείν, xvi Περί τῶν ἀλόγως κ. τ. λ., xxi συνπίθενται, while most of the readings cited from Beveredge are really due to Balsamon, as Beveredge's text was simply a reprint of a fourteenth century MS of Balsamon's commentary (bals 2).

¹ E. g. in his *app. crit.* on the Ancyran Canons, c. ii *τεπὰς om vatic.* 2 (= R₂), iii *ὑπὸ τινων, cum vatic.*, iv *σφοδρτέρῳ vatic.* 2, vi *om τις vatic.* 2, 3, xiii *χαρεπισκόπους vulgo, ἐν ἐκάστη vatic.* 2, xx *ἐάν τις γνή vatic.* 2, are certainly wrong.

² *Can. Apost. et Concil. recognovit H. T. Bruns.* Berlin, 1839. His text is based on Mansi's edition of 1759.

For the present *apparatus criticus* we have collations of 45 MSS of the Councils and about 12 MSS of editors and commentators, the printed texts of the commentators and Latin versions, with a few readings from MSS of the latter. The examination of these authorities points to some preliminary considerations.

(a) The early MSS, at least those of the tenth and eleventh century, very readily fall into three distinct groups, α, β, γ : in the five oldest of our MSS, of the tenth century, we have an extreme and exclusive type of each of these groups. However as the MSS get later, we find the lateness of date marked not only by a great increase in the number of variants and in inaccuracy, but also by confusion between the group readings. In the twelfth century, for instance (when also a new and distinct group δ comes first within our view), a MS of α, V₁, begins to show several distinct readings of γ and δ ; e.g. it reads with γ δ c. viii *κοινωνείτωσαν*, xiv *βδελύσσονται*, xxi *add πληρώσαι* : with δ, c. vi *μόνη* (*cf.* γ), xv *πεπραγμένων* : with γ, c. iii *προσδεχθήτωσαν*, vii [*ἴδια*] *δέ, x καθιστάμενοι ὅσοι διεμαρτύραντο, παρασιωπήσαντες*, xv [*Περὶ*] *δέ, xvi [εἴτα] καί*. In β also we find for the first time signs of connection with δ, e.g. P₈ reads c. iii *περισχεθέντας, ἐμβالόντων*, and with C v *κοινωνείτωσαν*, xxiii *Περὶ*, C also has xiv *βδελύσσονται*. In the next century, our α MS O₆ has characteristics both of β (c. ii *ἱερὰς, τούτους*, iv *σφοδρότέρῳ*) and of δ (c. i *ἀναπαλαίσαντας*, iii *ἐμβalόντων*, viii *κοινωνήτωσαν*, xiv *βδελύσσονται*, xv *πεπραγμένων*, xix *ἐπαγγειλάμενοι*). We also reach some MSS which might be assigned to α, but have so many agreements with other families, that they are best left apart. E.g. V₄ has c. ii *τούτους* with β, cc. v and viii *κοινωνείτωσαν*, xv *πεπραγμένων* with δ, and c. ii *ἄρτου*, viii *κοινωνείτωσαν*, xv *τῷ κυριακῷ*, xxi *συντίθεται*, xxv *ἐὰν προσεφθάρῃ* with γ—but on the other hand c. xiv *εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλονται* with α : V₄ is also marked by a number of interpolations, e.g. *φησιν, ὡς εἴρηται, τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ*, etc. Mon. has some marked coincidences with β, e.g. c. iii *προσάγεσθαι*, vi *om τις*, xv *εἰσοδον*, but also c. v

κοινωνείτωσαν with δ, xiv βδελύσσονται with γ δ. Further these later MSS have a number of entirely new, or exegetical, readings. This confusion then of group readings occurring only in late MSS ought not to affect our division of the earlier MSS. It will only serve to show (1) that these readings are likely corrections or errors, and so were such in their origin, or (2) that the existence of certain various readings and recensions had become known and exercised influence. At the same time in our treatment of the groups we must bear in mind the distinction between these two classes of variations: (1) those peculiar to the group, or 'group readings,' (2) those supported by other groups or external evidence, which may accordingly be, not marks of a group, but the right reading.

(b) There is another cause to which probably a great number of the various readings are due. From very early times, from John of Antioch in the sixth century onwards the Canons have been subject to the operations of numerous editors and commentators: editors who have arranged the Canons in collections (*συντάγματα*) according to their subject-matter, such as John Scholasticus, presbyter of Antioch, patriarch of Constantinople in 564, Photius, patriarch in the ninth century, Symeon the Logothete, and the *hieromonachus* Matthew Blastar (c. 1335), and commentators who have written commentaries on the text, such as John Zonaras, *drungarius* and *protos a secretis*, who wrote before 1120, Alexander Aristenus, and Theodore Balsamon, patriarch of Antioch, disappointed of the patriarchate of Constantinople about 1190. If these numerous editors have not arbitrarily emended the text, yet their glosses and interpretations may easily have caused variants, as in some MSS their actual words have crept into the text: thus comments of Zonaras occur in the text of M_3 (cc. v, xxi), of $LO_8 P_{14}$ (c. vii), and of P_{13} (c. xix); other scholia are found in P_8 (c. i) and C (cc. i, vi). Hence if we find a variant in some MSS agreeing with the text of a commentator, and not of older date, we shall not err in ascribing it to his influence;

and in fact we shall not err in assigning to that source the great mass of late variants. To confirm this presumption we give a list of readings occurring in late MSS and also in Zonaras and Balsamon and possibly due to them :—

- c. iv *om* *μόνης* bals V₁
 v *add* *χρόνος* zon P₁₃ O₈ P₁₄
 add *ἔρει* bals f
 vi *τὴν ἐξαερίαν* bals e f
 vii *ἡ [καὶ φάγ.]* zon bals matt P₁₃ e f
 ἕκαστον μ. τῆς προσφ. zon bals P₁₃ e f
 ἐστι τὸ [δοκιμ.] bals f
 xi *ὑπ. ἀλλ. ἀρπ. μετὰ ταῦτα (tr)* bals V₁ f
 μνηστευσάμενους zon bals 3 matt F₃* L P₁₃ P₁₄ f
 xiii *χωρεπίσκοπον* bals-com matt P₁₃
 πρεσβύτερον zon 2 3 bals-com (matt) C P₁₃
 xiv *om* *καὶ [ἀπεχομ.]* zon bals P₁₃ e f
 [κρατεῖν] αὐτῶν zon 2 bals f
 om *ὡς μηδέ* bals f
 xv *εἰ προσήκει* bals f
 xvii *προσέταξεν τούτοις (tr)* bals V₁
 xix *ἀδελφοῖς aristenus* bals matt f
 xxi *ποιῶντες* bals matt P₁₃ (P₁₆)
 cc. xxii, xxiii *invert* zon bals matt P₈ P₁₃ ef
 xxii *τοῦ τελ. δέ (tr)* bals f
 xxiv *κατακολουθῶντες* bals P₁₁ f
 xxv *δεκά ἔτεσιν* zon P₁₃ e f

The following readings are probably due to Matthew Blastar :—

- c. xiii *διὰ γραμμῶν* matt f
 xiv *εἰ δὲ μὴ ὑπέκειεν* matt f
 xviii *τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου* matt f
 cf. c. xxiv *ἀναρίσει* matt V₄ Mon P₁₃ L O₈ f

The following readings, which are certainly not right, should also be noticed :—

- c. v *τριετία* O₃ P₈ C V₂ F₃* Mon e f zon bals aristenus
 vi *[συνόδου] αὐτῆς* P₈ F₁ C f zon bals
 τὴν τῆς ἐξαερίας P₈ F₁ C Mon P₁₃ zon
 x *ἐμαρτυρήσαντο* P₈ F₁* C Mon* L f zon

Readings which may be due to Photius are:—

- c.vii ἐκάστω . . . ἐξέστω phot O₆
 xiii ἐπισκόποις πόλεως phot R₂ O₁ P₆ C₇^a
 xxi [ῥοισμ.] πληρῶσαι phot V₁ γ f bals

The close relation between the texts of John of Antioch and group δ will be considered later on.

(c) The extent of the difficulty caused by the influence of editors and commentators will be seen, when we realize that we have no independent MS prior to their work. Zonaras and Balsamon are indeed late (twelfth century), but we have no MS older than the ninth century, in which Photius lived, while John of Antioch dates three centuries earlier, and the MSS of his *Syntagma* are about as old as those which we possess of the Canons themselves. Thus we have no independent MSS, and in fact the families of the MSS do seem to correspond to the texts of these editors: the text of John Schol. and of δ are very similar; the same might almost be said of α and Photius; and, though indeed there is not the same extent of similarity, yet the texts of Zonaras and Balsamon seem based on those of β and γ respectively—at least there are several coincidences which point to this conclusion; lastly, some striking coincidences imply that the text of f with its numerous fresh variants is that of Matthew Blastar. To form an estimate of the trustworthiness of these editors we can only argue from (1) internal evidence and (2) the renderings of the versions.

Of the versions, the most important is the Latin, which we possess in three forms, in the so-called Isidorian and 'Prisca' versions, and in the translation of Dionysius Exiguus. This evidence ought to be important, as the versions were made early; the Isidorian in the first half, and the Prisca in the second half of the fifth century, while Dionysius must have translated the Canons before 523, when Pope Hormisdas died¹. On the other

¹ For all statements concerning the Latin versions and mss reference is made once for all to Maassen *Geschichte der Quellen in der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande*.

hand, the Latin is not so helpful as it ought to be, (a) because of the variety of the translations: of the so-called Isidorian version there are two very different forms¹; the two MSS² of the *Prisca* by no means agree; and of Dionysius' text there are four distinct recensions³. Further, of these versions themselves we possess at present no critical edition, the desirability of which will be seen when we come to discuss the thirteenth Canon of Ancyra. (b) The early translators seem to have been very ignorant of Greek, or at least very often quite unable to understand the meaning of the Ancyran Canons. Hence, not only do we have wrong translations, as e.g. in c. vii for τὸ δὲ εἰ χρὴ μετὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς κ.τ.λ. the *Prisca* gives us *quia oportet et post oblationem unumquemque episcopum probare*, but the translators give such free renderings or paraphrases as to throw little light on the original Greek. The difficult passage in c. iii περισχισθέντας ἦτοι εἰς χεῖρας was too hard for them, and they afford us no help; for c. xiv the Isidorian translators give a lengthy paraphrase, while the *Prisca* so abbreviates it that we cannot tell whether βδελύσσοντο was read or no. In the Isidorian text we have lengthy explanations of ἀλογενομένων in c. xvi and of διγάμων in c. xix, while it renders ὡς καὶ ἐπιφορῆσαι αὐτήν in c. xxv *eique inhaerit tamquam suae et sibi expetendam esse coniunctionem*: ἐάν τινος γυνὴ μοιχευθῇ in c. xx, and καὶ τοῦτῳ συντίθενται in c. xxi it omits altogether. Even Dionysius, in spite of his claim to greater accuracy, is by no means immaculate, thus e.g. ἐφ' ἐκάστου (c. vii) he renders *et singulos actus*, μετὰ γραμμάτων (c. xiii) *vel litteris*, καὶ μὴ ὑπέκκειν (c. xiv) *tamquam non consentientes*; καὶ τοῦτῳ συντιθένται in c. xxi he also omits⁴.

To turn now to the MSS themselves, as has been already said, the early MSS readily fall into three families α, β, γ,

¹ The vulgate text, and the older form found in the Freising ms (cod. monac. 6243) and the Wurzburg ms (cod. mp. th. f. 146).

² Codd. vatic. reg. 1997 and bod. mus. 101, 102, 103.

³ The first and second editions by Dionysius himself, the Dionysio-Hadrian edition, and the Bobbian Dionysius.

⁴ Cf. the Latin renderings given on pp. 186, 187.

and a fourth distinct family δ appears in the twelfth century: in the case of β and γ , it is true, it is hard to form a fixed line of demarcation and a fixed text, but there are distinct classes of passages where we may expect variations in each group respectively, and the MSS in each group all tend towards a definite type of text. It is then time to give the characteristic readings of each group.

α . As this essay does not profess to restore the original text of the canons, the text of one of the groups has been printed, and that of α chosen on the assumption, to be subsequently verified, that it is the nearest representative of the original text. And this on the following grounds: (1) its MS authority, including three MSS of the tenth century, is as good as or better than that of the other families; (2) these MSS give a very definite type of text; (3) this text is the easiest one to assume as the basis of the others, as it occupies a middle position from which the other three groups diverge in different directions, whereas each of the other groups possesses a number of distinctive readings which would have to be discarded before it could serve as the starting point for variation in the directions of the other groups; (4) in many cases the internal evidence is distinctly in favour of α . The MSS are $R_1 P_1 P_2$ (s. x) $O_2 O_3 P_4 F_2$ (s. xi) V_1 (s. xii) O_6 (s. xiii) V_8 (s. xv); and the text differs from that of Bruns as follows:—

α c. ii	ιερατικῆς	Bruns: ιερᾶς
	συνείδουεν	συνίδουεν
iii	προάγεσθαι	προσάγεσθαι
vi	εἰ μέντοι τις κίνδυνος	εἰ μέντοι κίνδυνος
vii	ἐξετάσαι	ἀξιῶσαι
xiii	χωρεπισκόποις	χωρεπισκόπους
	ἀλλὰ μὴν μηδέ	ἀλλὰ μηδέ
xiv	εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλουτο	εἰ δὲ βούλουτο
	καὶ μὴ ὑπέικοιεν	καὶ εἰ μὴ ὑπέικοιεν
xv	ἀνακαλείσθαι	ἀναβαλείσθαι
	εἴτε	εἵπερ
	πρόσοδον	εἵσοδον
xvi	ἔτεσιν ὑποπεσόντες	ἐτη ὑποπεσέτωσαν καὶ

c. xx δει	δοκεῖ
xxiv ἔθνων	χρόνων
τοὺς βαθμοὺς τοὺς ὠρισμένους	τοὺς βαθμοὺς ὠρισμένους
xxv ἐπιφορῆσαι	ἐπιφορέσαι

This text has a great similarity to that of Photius¹, which however presents the following variants:—

c. i ἀναπαλαίσαντας	x [ἐπιτραπήναι] αὐτοῖς
ii τοὺτους συνίδοιεν	xiii ἐπισκόποις πάλεως
οτι τῆς τε [τοῦ ἄρτου]	xiv εἰ δὲ βδελύσσονται
iii ἀνάγκης	xv [τιμὴν] τοὺς κακῶς ὠνησαμέ-
προεξητάσθη	νους [εἴτε]
v [δ] προέχων [βίος]	xviii Οἷτινες (tit I, sed in tit 8
vi οτι ἡμέραν	Εἴ τινες)
πληρώσω	xxi ἐκώλυε
οτι τις	[ὠρισμένους] πληρώσαι
vii ἐκάστῳ . . . ἐξέστω	

Within the group we have these variants in more than one MS:—

c. i ἀναπαλαίσαντας P ₂ * O ₃ O ₆ cum P ₆ * δ e joh phot etc	
ii τοὺτους O ₂ P ₄ O ₆ V ₆	β P ₉ M ₃ * P ₁₁ V ₄ phot
ἐμβολόντων F ₂ O ₆	P ₈ O ₁ δ P ₁₃ O ₈ P ₁₄ zon etc
iii προεξητάσθη P ₄ F ₂ V ₆	F ₁ P ₉ P ₁₁ V ₄ f phot
vi ἐπιτρεψάντων R ₁ P ₁	
vii ἢ ἐν τόπῳ F ₂ V ₆	F ₁ * V ₂ δ joh
viii τριετίαν O ₃ F ₂	C V ₄ Mon
ὑποεσάτωσαν R ₁ P ₁ P ₂	R ₂ O ₁ P ₁₁
κοινωνείτωσαν V ₁ O ₆	P ₁₀ γ δ V ₄ L R ₆ f joh etc
xiv εἰ δὲ βούλονται R ₁ P ₁ *	β P ₁₃ P ₁₄ zon
εἰ δὲ βδελύσσονται V ₁ O ₆	C γ δ Mon joh phot latt
xv οτι καὶ [μῆ] R ₁ P ₁ P ₂ O ₃	R ₂ R ₆
πεπραγμένων V ₁ O ₆	δ V ₄ O ₈ P ₁₆ P ₁₇
οτι τὴν [τιμὴν] P ₂ O ₃ O ₆	P ₁₁
xvi οτι τῆς [προσφ.] R ₁ P ₂ P ₆ O ₃	
ὅσοι δὲ ἰνσὶρ που can O ₂ V ₆	R ₂
συν[τρυχανέτωσαν] O ₂ V ₆	
xviii Οἷτινες ² P ₂ O ₃ O ₆	P ₃ C M ₃ V ₄ P ₁₃ P ₁₄

¹ For whose text, however, we have to rely on the accuracy of Card. Mai's printed edition: cf. p. 141.

² This reading is not significant. The illuminator seeing *τινες* might readily suppose it to be the familiar *Οἷτινες*.

- c. xviii συστάσεις O₂ V₅
 xix ἐπαγγελάμενοι P₂ O₃ O₆ δ joh 1 2 4
 om ως R₁ O₃
 xxiv om καί O₂ P₄ V₁ V₅ V₈ V₄ L f bals
 xxv ἐπιφορέσαι R₁ P₁* β Mon* O₆ P₁₄ zon

The following significant readings occur in single MSS:—

- in V₁ c. iii προσδεχθήτωσαν cum γ bals
 vi μόνη R₃ R₆ F₃ δ P₁₃ joh
 vii [ἴδια] δέ γ
 x καθιστάμενοι ὅσοι . . .
 διεμαρτύραντο γ (bals)
 παρασιωπήσαντες (!R₆*) F₃ bals
 xv [Περὶ] δέ γ
 xvi [εἶτα] καὶ γ P₁₁ f bals
 xvii προσέταξεν τούτους tr bals
 xxi [ᾠρισμ.] πληρῶσαι γ f phot bals (cf δ)
 in O₃ c. v τριετία¹ cum P₈ C V₂ Mon e f zon bals
 in F₂ c. iii προσάγεσθαι (1a m.) cum β R₅ O₇ F₃ M₂ M₃ P₁₁ Mon e
 vii ἐκάστου P₈* R₂ O₁ P₉ P₁₁ joh 2 3 4 6
 ix κοινωνείωσαν F₁ P₁₀ C R₂ O₁ M₃ V₄ P₁₃ R₆ f
 xv τῷ κυριακῷ γ P₁₁ V₄
 xix ἐπαγγελλόμενοι R₃ P₆ P₈ P₁₁ V₄ L P₁₄
 in O₆ c. ii ἱερᾶς cum β P₁₃ e zon
 iv σφοδρτέρῳ (1a m.) P₃ P₆* F₁* O₆ V₂
 viii ἐκάστῳ . . . ἐξέστω phot

Among the MSS we notice a close agreement between perhaps the two oldest MSS of all—R₁ P₁, in fact they only differ in two places, c. vii ἐορτῇ τῇ ἐθν. R₁ and c. ix om ἔτη R₁. Thus our two oldest MSS, and they of the tenth century, having been copied from the same archetype (hardly from one another, being of the same age), their text, which is practically α, is carried back to a much earlier date. It is to be marked that these MSS agree with β in two significant places, cc. xiv, xxv. V₅, our latest MS included in the group, is most probably a copy of O₂, as it only varies from it in reading c. iii προεξ-

¹ O₃ also reads τριετίαν in c. viii, Mon. agreeing with it in both places: the readings here probably affected one another.

τάσθη, c. vii ἡ ἐν τόπῳ. In O_3 we see for the first time the undoubted hand of the corrector, viz. in c. v *τριετία*; and the group further shows how the variants and agreements with other families creep in. Thus a later MS, O_6 (s. xiii), has distinctive readings both of β , γ , and δ , the value of which will be examined later; O_6 also has an emendation of Photius in c. vii (cf. also c. xiv). Lastly, V_1 has a very close agreement with γ , only it retains α 's readings on some most decisive points; it shows a remarkable agreement in these variations and others with Balsamon, cf. the lists on p. 20.

β . This group shows a gradual deflection from α , so that it is difficult to give an exact text, but the following list of variants will show the direction and the degree of the divergence. The MSS are P_3 (s. x) R_3 R_4 O_4 P_5 P_6 F_1 O_6 (s. xi) P_7 P_8 P_{10} C (s. xii) V_2 (s. xiii), but in P_6 cc. i–xvi, and in P_8 cc. vi–xviii are wanting, so that they are not counted in the following table.

Variants from α in 11 MSS:—

c. xx *δοκεῖ omn* + P_8 *cum* P_{13} e f zon

in 10 MSS:—

xv *ἐπερ* P_3 R_3 R_4 O_4 F_1 O_6 P_7 } *Mon* P_{13} e zon { *Congr.*
 P_{10} C V_2 } *cum* α P_6

in 9 MSS:—

ii <i>τούτους</i> P_3 R_4 O_4 P_6 F_1 O_6 }	O_2 P_4 O_6 V_5 P_9	
P_7 P_{10} V_2 (<i>R_3 τούτο</i>) }	M_3^* P_{11} V_4 phot	P_6 C
<i>συνίδοιεν</i> P_3 R_3 R_4 O_4 O_6 }	V_1 O_6 P_{11} Mon R_6	
P_7 P_{10} C V_2 + P_8 }	bals	P_6 F_1
iii <i>προάγεσθαι</i> P_3 R_3 R_4 O_4 }	F_2^* R_5 O_7 F_3 M_2	
F_1 O_6 P_7 C V_2 + P_8 }	M_3 P_{11} Mon e	P_6 P_{10}
xxv <i>ἐπιφορέσαι</i> P_3 R_4 O_4 F_1^* }	R_1 P_1^* Mon* O_3	
O_6 P_7 P_{10} C V_2 + P_5 P_8 }	P_{14} zon	R_3 P_6 (F_1^*)

in 8 MSS:—

vii <i>ἀξιῶσαι</i> P_3 R_3 R_4 O_4 F_1^*		
O_5 P_7 C		P_6 P_{10} V_2
xiv <i>εἰ δὲ βούλουτο</i> P_3 R_4 O_4		
F_1^* O_6 P_7 P_{10} V_2^*	R_1 P_1^* P_{13} P_{14} zon	R_3 P_6 (F_1^* V_2^*)

in 7 MSS:—

c. ii	ιερὰς P ₃ P ₆ F ₁ O ₅ P ₁₀ C		
	V ₂ + P ₈	O ₆ P ₁₃ e zon	R ₃ R ₄ O ₄ P ₇
vi	οτ τις P ₃ P ₆ F ₁ O ₅ P ₁₀ C V ₂	V ₃ Mon P ₁₃ e f zon bals	R ₃ R ₄ O ₄ P ₇
xv	εισοδον P ₃ P ₆ F ₁ O ₅ P ₁₀ C V ₂	Mon	R ₃ R ₄ O ₄ P ₇

in 6 MSS¹:—

xiv	ει [μή] P ₃ * P ₆ F ₁ O ₅ P ₁₀ V ₂	P ₉ ^a	P ₃ * R ₃ R ₄ O ₄ P ₇ C
xxiv	χρόνων P ₃ P ₆ * F ₁ * O ₅ C V ₂ + P ₅ P ₈		R ₃ R ₄ O ₄ P ₇ P ₁₀ (P ₆ ^a F ₁ ^a)

in 5 MSS:—

iv	σφοδροτέρω P ₃ P ₆ * F ₁ * O ₅ V ₂	O ₆ *	R ₃ R ₄ O ₄ F ₁ ^a P ₇ P ₁₀ P ₈ C
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These readings also are to be noticed:—

c. ii	τῆς μ. ἄλλης τιμῆς μετέχειν P ₆ V ₂ ^a cf R ₆ matt	
	οτ πάσης F ₁	cum P ₁₁ R ₆
	οτ τῆς [ιεράς] P ₁₀	O ₇ δ Mon
	ἄρτου P ₃ F ₁ P ₁₀	P ₉ V ₄
iii	περισχεθέντας P ₃	O ₁ O ₇ δ L O ₈ R ₆ f joh
	ἐμβαλόντων P ₃	F ₂ O ₆ O ₇ δ P ₁₃ O ₈ P ₁₄ zon
v	κοινωνείωσαν F ₁ P ₃ P ₁₀ C V ₂	P ₉ O ₇ δ V ₄ Mon P ₁₃ L f bals
	τριετία P ₃ C V ₂	O ₃ Mon e f zon bals
vi	μόνη R ₃	V ₁ R ₅ F ₅ δ P ₁₃ joh
	αὐτῆς P ₃ F ₁ C	f zon bals
	τὴν τῆς ἐξαετίας P ₃ F ₁ C	Mon P ₁₃ zon
vii	ἡ [ἐν τόπῳ] F ₁ ^a V ₂	F ₂ V ₂ δ joh 1 2 4 6
	ἐκάστου P ₆ ^a	F ₂ R ₂ O ₁ P ₉ P ₁₁ joh 2 3 4 6
viii	τριετίαν C	O ₃ F ₂ V ₄ Mon
ix	μὲν ἔτη tr R ₄ F ₁	P ₉ P ₁₁
	κοινωνείωσαν F ₁ P ₁₀ C (ητ)	F ₂ R ₂ O ₁ M ₃ V ₄ P ₁₃ R ₆ f
x	ἐμαρτυρήσαντο P ₃ F ₁ * C	Mon* L f zon
xiii	οτ μὴν O ₅	(Bruns)
	πρεσβύτερον C	P ₁₃ zon
xiv	βδελύσσονται C	V ₁ O ₆ γ δ Mon joh phot
xvi	ἔτη ὑποπεσέτωσαν καὶ O ₅	(Bruns)
xix	ἐπαγγελομένοι R ₃ P ₆ P ₈	F ₂ P ₁₁ V ₄ L P ₁₄
xxi	[χρόνον] πληρῶσαι F ₁ ^a	δ (γ)
xxii, xxiii	invert P ₃	P ₁₃ e f zon bals matt
xxiii	Περὶ O ₄ P ₃ C	δ P ₁₃ e f zon bals

The group seems to fall roughly into two divisions, measured by their divergence from α. Nearer to α we have R₃ R₄ O₄ P₇

¹ Also an itacism c. v. ἀνακλήσεως R₄ O₄ F₁ O₅ P₁₀ C + P₈.

which we may call β_1 , and of these R_3 is perhaps the closest to α . Further off we have β_2 , composed of $P_3 F_1 O_5 P_{10} V_2$, among which P_{10} is not so advanced as the others. We notice that these are later MSS, except P_3 , which appears to be the earliest MS of β , and which represents the extreme limit of its variation. P_6 is in a peculiar position, contradicting the order of the group, it has the peculiar marks of β_2 , but not those variations from α which are common to both β_1 and β_2 . F_1 has been much corrected, generally into agreement with α , e. g. c. iv *φαιδροτέρω*, vii *ἐξετάσαι*, x *ἐμαρτύραντο*, xiv *εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλ.* xxiv *ἐθνῶν*, xxv *ἐπιφορῆσαι* : but cf. also c. vii *ἡ ἐν τόπῳ*, xxi *add πληρῶσαι*. O_5 is the MS whose peculiar readings in c. xiii, xvi are followed by Bruns.

The first list of readings sufficiently marks off β as a family by itself, distinct from the other families. The only traces of connection are in the second class of readings, and they occur mostly in later MSS, are many of them easy corruptions or obvious mistakes (cf. especially c. ii *ἄρτου*, c. vi *τὴν τῆς ἑξαετίας*, c. xix *ἐπαγγελλόμενοι*, which are clearly transitional readings), and in any case are too sporadic to interfere definitely with the division into families.

The only seeming exception is P_8 , which in only twelve canons has several coincidences with δ , c. ii *τούτοις*, iii *περισχεθέντας*, *ἐμβalόντων*, v *κοινωνείτωσαν*, xxiii *Περὶ*, cf. also v *ἀνακλήσεως*, ii *θέλοιεν*, xix *ἐπαγγελλόμενοι*. The deficiencies of P_8 may perhaps be supplied by C. These two MSS agree remarkably in their contents, order, etc., so that probably they are copies of the same MS : this presumption is confirmed by the striking agreement in their readings, e. g. the insertion of the same scholion in c. i, *θέλοιεν, τούτοις, τριετία, κοινωνείτωσαν, Περὶ, etc.*, and so, confirming the tendency of P_8 , C alone of β reads *βδελύσσονται* in c. xiv. On the other hand, C does not read *περισχεθέντας, ἐμβalόντων, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι*, which is important as showing that these readings may have been variants from his copy made by P's scribe. Nor indeed was the scribe of C very careful, as is shown by the following

- c. xvi [Περὶ] δέ R₆ R₂ O₇ F₃ O₁ P₉
 [εἰτα] καὶ R₆ R₂ O₇ F₃ V₁ P₁₁ f bals O₁ P₉
 in 3 MSS :—
 iii προσάγεσθαι R₆ O₇ R₃ (R₂ def) F₂* β M₂ M₃ P₁₁ Mon e O₁ P₉
 vii ἐκάστου . . . ἕστω R₂ O₁ P₉ R₆ F₃
 xviii οὐ καὶ R₆ O₇ F₃ R₂ O₁ P₉
 xx προσάγοντας R₆* R₂ O₁* O₇ R₆* O₁* P₉ F₃

Compare also :—

- c. ii οὐ τῆς [ἱερατ.] O₇ cum P₁₀ δ Mon
 ἄρτου ἢ ποτηρίου O₁ O₇
 τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ τοῦ ἀναφέρειν R₂* F₃
 ἄρτου ἢ ποτήριον P₉ P₃ F₁ P₁₀ V₄
 τούτους P₉ O₂ P₄ O₆ V₅ β M₂ P₁₁ V₄
 iii περισχθέντας O₁ O₇ (R₂ def) P₈ δ L O₈ R₆ f joh
 ἐμβολόντων O₁ F₂ O₆ P₈ δ P₁₃ O₈ P₁₄ zon
 προεξητάσθη P₉ P₄ F₂ V₅ F₁ P₁₁ V₄ f phot
 τὴ εὐρίσκειτο R₆ F₃
 οὐ εὐρίσκ. et add συμπράττοι P₉ O₇ joh 1 2 3 6 cf δ
 v οὐ ὁ [μετὰ ταῦτα] R₂ P₉
 κοινωνήσωσαν P₉ O₇ (ητ) F₁ P₈ P₁₀ C V₂ δ V₄ Mon P₁₃
 L f bals
 τριετία F₃* O₃ P₈ C V₂ Mon e f zon bals
 φιλανθρωπέυσσας O₁* O₇
 vi μόνῃ R₆ F₃ V₁ R₃ δ P₁₃ joh
 οὐ ἕτη R₆ F₃ P₁₁
 vii ἐστὶ [δοκιμάσαι] O₇ P₆* δ e joh (cf f bals)
 viii ὑποπεσάτωσαν R₂ O₁ R₁ P₁ P₂ P₁₁
 ix κοινωνήσωσαν R₂ O₁ F₂ F₁ P₁₀ C M₂ V₄ P₁₃ R₆ f
 x παρασιωπήσαντες R₆* F₃ V₁ bals
 xiii χωρεπισκόπους R₆* P₁₁ L f bals
 χωρεπίσκοπος O₁* O₈
 πρεσβυτέροις [πὸλ.] R₆ F₃ δ joh
 xiv [καὶ] εἰ [μὴ] P₉* β₂
 xv πεπραμμένων O₁
 xvi οὐ ἐξετάζεσθω . . . φιλαῖας R₂ O₇* O₂ V₅
 "Οσοι δέ ἱερίου σου κανὼν R₂ δ
 xviii ἀποβαλέσθαι R₂ O₁ C Mon P₁₃ L O₈ f
 στασιάσωσι R₂*
 xxi συντίθεσθαι P₉
 xxv οὐ δεχθῆναι R₂ O₇*

Of this family R_5 gives us the extreme type, and it is the earliest MS (s. x)¹. F_3 is a copy of R_5 , for though they have both been much corrected, yet in all its readings F_3 only varies from R_5 in a long omission in c. iii, *ελοίεναι* in xviii, *ἐφορήσαι* in xxv, while a corrector has added *ῆ* in vii, and *τριετία* in v. As the readings in this group show transitional features, so the MSS themselves have undergone much correction, especially R_5 O_1 O_7 and that too in significant places. With regard to other groups γ gives us many of δ 's readings, especially in O_7 , which is the latest MS and also full of variations, many entirely wrong. P_9 seems to show a little tendency towards β , while it and O_1 are perhaps nearest to α , though the latter shows some of δ 's readings. V_1 is a MS very close to this group, being quite half way between α and γ . We also notice that several of γ 's readings are supported by Balsamon, while we remember that V_1 shows still closer agreement with his text.

δ consists of M_1 M_2 (s. xii, xiii) M_3 P_{11} P_{12} (s. xiii) V_3 (s. xiv), all of which, except P_{11} , have a very marked agreement, so much as to point to a single archetype. P_{11} possesses only about half of the distinctive readings of this group, but its own variations are so wide and so independent that it can be assigned to no other group. In consequence of the similarity of the text of John of Antioch, the readings of his MSS (for which cf. p. 141) are also given.

Variations from α :—

<i>tit.</i>	<i>ἀγίων καί</i>	<i>exc</i> P_{11} M_3	
i	<i>ἀναπαλαίσαντας</i>		<i>cum</i> joh P_2^* O_5 O_6 P_8^a e phot
	<i>om</i> [λειτουργεῖν] <i>τι</i>	P_{11}	joh 4 <i>Discrepant</i> joh 1 2 3 6
ii	<i>ὡσαύτως ἐπιθύσαντας</i>		joh
	<i>om</i> τῆς [ιερατικῆς]	P_{11}	joh 2 3 6 P_{10} O_7 Mon joh 1 4
	<i>θέλουεν</i>	P_{11}	joh 2 4 6 P_8 CR_8 O_7 Mon joh 1 3
	<i>ἀφελεῖν</i>	P_{11}	joh 1 2 4 6 (zon-com) joh 3
iii	<i>ιδίῳ</i>		joh 2 3 4 (joh 1 <i>ιουδαίων</i>) joh 6

¹ So also the extreme types of α and β are found in their earliest mss R_1 P_1 and P_3 respectively.

c. iii	περισχεθέντας		{ joh 2 3 4 6 7 P ₈ O ₁ O ₇ L O ₈ R ₆ f	joh 1
	ἐμβαλόντων	exc P ₁₁ M ₃	{ joh 4 F ₂ O ₈ P ₈ O ₁ P ₁₃ O ₈ P ₁₄ zon	joh 1 2 3 6
	βρώματα	P ₁₁	joh 4	joh 1 2 3 6
	οτι καὶ [ἐκωλύθ.]	P ₁₁	joh 2 4 6 e zon	joh 1 3
	διὰ τινων ἀγνοῖαν		joh 2 3 4 6	joh 1
	περιπεσόντες		joh	
	add ἡ συμπράττοι		{ joh 4 : add συμπράττοι joh 1 2 3 6 7 P ₈ O ₇	om εὐρίσκ. joh cum joh 7
iv	βίαις			joh
	ἐπιθυσάντων	{ P ₁₁ ἐπιθυ- μυσάντων	joh 1 2 3 4	joh 6
	[μὲν] οὖν		joh 1 3 4 6	joh 2
	δύο ἑτη (ἐτ)	P ₁₁	joh 1 2 4 6	joh 3
v	om [ὅσοι] δέ	P ₁₁	joh 4	joh 1 2 3 6
	ἀνακλήσεως	V ₃	joh 2 3 4 et al mss	joh 1 6
	κοινωνήτωσαν		{ joh 2 3 6 F ₁ P ₈ P ₁₀ CV ₂ P ₉ O ₇ V ₄ Mon P ₁₃ L f	joh 1 4
vi	μόνη		joh V ₁ R ₃ R ₅ F ₅ P ₁₃	
vii	ἡ [ἐν τόπῳ]		joh 1 2 4 6 F ₂ V ₅ V ₂	joh 3
	ἐστὶ [δοκιμάσαι]		joh O ₇ e (f bals)	
viii	κοινωνήτωσαν	P ₁₁	{ joh 1 2 3 6 V ₁ O ₆ P ₁₀ γ V ₄ L R ₆ f	joh 4
ix	τῇ [ἄλλῃ]	P ₁₁		joh
x	καὶ [μετὰ ταῦτα] (μετὰ δέ M ₂ P ₁₁)			joh
xii	[προάγεσθαι] δεῖν	P ₁₃	joh 1 2 3 4	joh 6
xiii	πρεσβυτέροις πόλεως	P ₁₁	joh 2 3 4 5 6 8 R ₅ F ₃	joh 1
	ἐκάστη		joh 1-8 γ omn codd latt	
xiv	βδελύσσονται (ἐβδελύσσονται P ₁₁)		{ joh 1 2 3 5 6 8 V ₁ O ₆ Cγ Mon phot omn codd latt	joh 4
xv	πεπραγμένον		joh 2 3 V ₁ O ₆ V ₄ O ₈ P ₁₆ P ₁₇	joh 1 2 6
xvi	ἑτη [ἑτερα]	P ₁₁	joh 1 2 4	joh 3 6
xviii	ἐγκαθεστῶτας	P ₁₁	joh 4 6	joh 1 2 3
	ἀποβαλέσθαι	P ₁₁ M ₃	R ₂ O ₁	joh
xix	ἐπαγγειλάμενοι	{ P ₁₁ (ἐπαγ- γελόμε.)	joh 1 2 4 P ₂ O ₃ O ₈	joh 3 6
	οὔτοι [τόν]		joh	
xxi	σπουδασῶν ¹	P ₁₁ M		joh

¹ This points to a very close connection between M₁ M₂ P₁₁ V₃.

c. xxi πρώτος	P ₁₁	joh 3	joh 1 2 4 6
[χρόνον] πληρώσαι		{ joh 1 2 3 4 F ₁ ^a , cf V ₁ γ f phot bals	joh 6
xxiii Περί	P ₁₁	{ joh 1 4 O ₄ P ₈ C P ₁₁ e f zon bals	joh 2 3 6
ἐκπληρώσαι	P ₁₁		joh
xxiv τῆς [ὑποπτῶσ.]	P ₁₁	joh 1 4	joh 2 3 6
xxv ἡ [δὲ ἀδελφῇ ἡ]		joh	

Besides σπουδασῶν the following itacisms, etc. occur: c. i τὸ δοκεῖν M M₂ M₃ P₁₁ V₃, iii προσεξετάσθη M₁ M₂ M₃ V₃, xiv ὑπήκοιεν omn. xxiv συνηθλαῖς, φαρμακίων M₁ M₂ M₃ V₃, xxv προσεφθάρει omn. exc. P₁₁. Further, in cc. v and xxi scholia of M₁ have crept into the text of M₃, and in c. xxv M₂ M₃ read ἐπιφορτίσαι, probably due to a marginal note of M₁ (or of M₁'s archetype) ἐπιφορτήσαι.

The following variations in the group are to be noticed:—

c. iii τοιαύτη M ₃ P ₁₁		προσάγεσθαι M ₂ M ₃ P ₁₁ cum joh 6 β R ₆ O ₇ F ₃ Mon e
ix κοινωνήτωσαν M ₃		joh 3 4 6 F ₂ F ₁ P ₁₀ C R ₂ O ₁ V ₄ P ₁₃ R ₆ f
ἐπιτηρεῖσθω P ₁₂ V ₃		R ₃
xxiii πρότερος M ₁ P ₁₂ V ₃		F ₁ [*]
πρώτος M ₃		joh 4 F ₂
xxiv οἱ καὶ [καθάρσει] V ₃		O ₂ P ₄ V ₁ V ₆ V ₄ L f
xxv ἐπιφορτίσαι M ₂ M ₃		joh 4 8

To finally characterize P₁₁, besides all the differences from the group already given, we have further variations, agreeing more or less with joh¹:—

c. ii τούτους συνίδουεν	cum joh 2 β etc
vii ἐκάστου	joh 2 3 4 6 F ₂ R ₂ O ₁ P ₂
ix τοὺς [ἀδελφούς]	joh 2 3 4 6
xiii χωρεπισκόπους	joh 2 3 8 R ₆ [*] L f
xvi ὑποπτ. ἐχέτ. (tr)	joh 2 3 6
οἱ καὶ [γυναῖκας]	joh 3
xvii προσεύχεσθαι	joh f
xxi φθοροποιεῖν	joh 3

¹ In all these readings (except one) P₁₁ agrees with joh 3.

c.xxii πρὸς τῷ τέλει	<i>cum</i> joh
xxiv ἀνερευνήσει	joh 2 (3)
om εὐχῆς	joh 2 3 4 P ₁₃

with other MSS, besides readings already given :—

c. ii om πάσης	<i>cum</i> F ₁ R ₆
iii προεξητάσθη	P ₄ F ₂ V ₆ F ₁ P ₉ V ₄ f
vi om [δύο] ἔτη	R ₆ F ₃
ix μὲν ἔτη (<i>tr</i>)	R ₄ F ₁ P ₉
xv τῷ κυριακῷ	F ₂ γ V ₄
om τὴν [τιμὴν]	P ₂ O ₃ O ₆
xvi [εἶτα] καί	V ₁ γ f bals

Besides all these variations it has 28 peculiar readings, or mistakes, which it would be superfluous to enumerate.

The text of δ is not identical with that of John of Antioch. All the MSS of John examined reject the readings βίας (c. iv) τῇ ἄλλῃ (c. ix) καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα (c. x) ἀποβαλέσθαι (c. xviii) ἐκπληρῶσαι (c. xxiii), and have further variants of their own in c. x τοὺς ἀδελφούς, xvii προσεύχεσθαι, xxii πρὸς τῷ τέλει. We have four MSS agreeing against δ in c. i om τι, ii ἐμβαλόντων, βρώματα, v om δέ, and in the new reading ἐκάστων (c. vii), while we have the agreement of 3 MSS against δ in at least 9 other readings.

It is important to examine the relation of the Latin versions to δ. Owing to the nature of these translations, as well as the minute character of the variations in the Greek, it is in most cases impossible to tell the Greek original. However, in the following instances we can compare them. All the Latin translations¹ agree with c. xiii ἐκάστη, xiv βδεύσσοιτο. The *Prisca* has *primum constitutum* in c. xxi (=πρῶτος): there is also much agreement with *πρεσβυτέριος* in c. xiii, but the Latin texts themselves are very uncertain (cf. p. 187 f.). δ may be supported by the following translations, in c. ii *per aliquorum ignorantiam* isid. *propter quorundam ignorantiam*, in c. xvi *altero quinquennio* isid. (?=ἐντέρε ἔτη ἑτερα), in

¹ Also all the MSS examined. Over fifty MSS have been consulted as to the readings in cc. xiii, xiv, and other important variations.

c. xix *professi, polliciti* isid., *quanti promiserunt* prisca (?=ἐπαγγειλάμενοι), in c. xxiii *explere* dion. (?=ἐκκληρώσαι).

On the other hand the Latin has *sacro* in c. ii (?=ιερός), Isidore and Dionysius both have *minis tantum* (μόνον) in c. vi, and *antiqua* in c. xxi (?=πρότερος). Dionysius and some MSS of Isidore have c. iii *aliquid cibi polluti* (=βρώμα τι); *ἕτερα* (c. xvi) is omitted in *in qua quinquennio durantes* dion; while there is no trace in any translation of c. vii ἡ [ἐν τόπῳ], xii δεῖν, xix οὔτοι, xxv ἡ δὲ ἀδελφή. Thus weighing both sides together the Latin is against δ.

Later MSS. After the preliminary remarks on the influence of editors etc. (pp. 156-159), not much need be said about the later MSS; their evidence for or against a reading will not in itself be of much weight; to their new readings is due the mass of variations in the *apparatus criticus*, and it will be sufficient in a few words to characterize the MSS.

V₄ is really an α MS, but it is marked by many interpolations (cf. p. 156) and some readings of other families, e.g. c. ii ἄρτου, xv τῷ κυριακῷ, πεπραγμένων, xxi συντίθεται, xxv ἐὰν προσεφθάρη.

Mon. is a more careful and accurate MS; it agrees generally (but not altogether) with β, cf. c. iii προσάγεσθαι, vi om τις, xv εἴπερ, εἰσοδον, xxv ἐπιφορέσαι, also x ἐμαρτυρήσαντο; but it reads βδελύσσοιγτο in c. xiv.

P₁₃ is marked mainly by agreement with Zonaras' text; it has incorporated some of his ἐρμηνεῖαι and prefixed his preface, and its text shows the same influence.

R₆, which ends in the 18th canon, distinctly belongs to α, but has the reading *περισχέθοντας* in c. iii with several late variations.

The MSS of e (L O₈ P₁₄) and f (P₁₅ P₁₆ P₁₇) present respectively distinct types of text, perhaps due to copying. These types are marked by confusion of the old family *differentiae* with the addition of a number of new readings. Thus e reads c. ii ιερᾶς, iii προσάγεσθαι, vi om τις, xv εἴπερ, xx δοκεῖ with β, but on the other hand c. i ἀναπαλαίσαντας, iii om καί, xxiii

Περὶ with δ: while f, the latest MSS in date, present at least a dozen quite new variations, e.g. c. ii *om* ἱερατικῆς, iii ἐμβalόντας, *om* τοῦ συμβάντος, vi μηδέ, ξννοιαν, ἀφορισθέντι, etc. Three of such readings, c. xiii διὰ γραμμάτων, xiv εἰ δὲ μὴ ὑπέλοιεν, xviii τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου, also occur in Blastar's *Synagma*, and this with other coincidences (cf. p. 185) seems to show that this text is due to his influence.

On the whole all these MSS can be best derived from the text of α, to which family V₄ P₁₃ R₆ certainly belong, while Mon. perhaps has closer affinities with β.

Having summarized the characteristics of the various types of text, it remains to settle their claims to represent the original. In the consideration of which we may disregard the later MSS and pass back at once to the earlier families, and returning in the reverse order, we come to δ first.

δ. The MSS of this group are few in number and late in date, none before the xiith century. One MS, P₁₁, is so full of errors, mistakes, and peculiar readings, as to be practically worthless—a peculiar version of its scribe, while the remaining MSS so strikingly agree that, if some of them are not copies of one another, yet all can very easily be assigned to one archetype. The text of this archetype is most definitely marked off from all the other groups; it has in the short 25 canons 45 variations from α; of which about 24 are entirely peculiar to itself, and are not met with elsewhere (i.e. in MSS of the councils: for 19 of these readings are to be found in MSS of John of Antioch). These two considerations at first sight would incline us to put δ at once aside like e, f, or Zonaras' and Balsamon's texts: for, though we attached little weight to the number and date of the MSS, it would seem incredible that so many readings of the original text should not only entirely disappear from the widely varying MSS, but also be unknown to the numerous commentators.

The case, however, is altered by the fact that for many of

these peculiar readings there is independent and early support, viz. that (a) of the Latin versions, and (b) of John of Antioch's *Synagoge*¹. This at least shows that some of these various readings were already in existence in the sixth century. How far then does this testimony carry us?

(a) The relation of δ and the Latin texts has already been examined, with the result that they by no means agree. We must bear in mind the division between the few variants of δ which have other support, and the characteristic readings peculiar to itself. It is chiefly in the former that it has the support of the Latin, e.g. in c. xiv βελεύσονται, xiii ἐκάστη, and perhaps πρεσβυτέροις. Of the second class of readings only a few have some partial support, e.g. c. xxi πρῶτος in the Prisca, perhaps c. xvi ἕτερα in Isid., c. xix ἐπαγγελάμενοι (of the former class) in Isid. and the Prisca, and διὰ τινων ἄγνοιαν in c. iii; while the Latin is directly opposed, either one or all of the versions, to e.g. c. i ὁμ τι, c. ii ἱερατικῆς, iii βρώματα, iv μὲν οὖν, vi μόνῃ, vii ἡ ἐν τόπῳ, xii δεῖν, xix οὔτοι, xxv ἡ δὲ ἀδελφῇ ἡ, and xix ἐπαγγελάμενοι (*promittentes*, Dionysius).

(b) There remains then only John of Antioch; and here we have a general agreement not only in the text, but also in the order of the councils, for the δ group differs from all the other MSS in inserting Sardica after Neocaesarea, and this order was due to John, who was the first to introduce the Sardican canons into the canon law of the East. The words 'general agreement,' however, have been used advisedly. The text of the *Synagoge* itself has not yet been critically examined; not only do there appear to have been two very distinct editions, but our collation of but a few MSS has already shown great differences existing between the various MSS. Where there is agreement between joh 1 2 3 4 6, there we frequently find disagreement with δ , as is shown on p. 172; and, taking the MSS singly, the lists on pp. 162-172 give us about 24 variants from δ in

¹ Συναγωγὴ κανόνων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν εἰς πεντήκοντα τίτλους διηρημένη, printed in Justel. *Bibliotheca Iuris Canonici Veteris*.

joh 1, 25 in joh 2, 29 in joh 3, 20 in joh 4, 29 in joh 6. Hence the texts of δ and of the *Synagoge* are by no means identical. On the other hand, it is remarkable that all the readings of δ except five are to be found in some MS of the *Synagoge*. What then are we to say of this general agreement? do δ and the *Synagoge* agree, because δ represents the original text which John found and worked upon, or because John in compiling his *Synagoge* was neither careful to cite the canons with extreme literal accuracy nor scrupulous in the use of an editorial hand, and the result of his work has exercised a reflex influence on a group of MSS of the councils? Our first presumption, on finding some peculiar readings in a few MSS coincide with those of a previous editor, is to assign them to his influence—a *vera causa* has been found: such indeed would be our treatment of variations which appear first in the text of Photius, Zonaras or Balsamon. This presumption is increased on finding so distinctive and numerous a class of variations: this definite class and the want of connecting links seem to point to a definite assumption of the task of editing; especially will this be borne out, if we find that many of the variants do possess the marks of emendation, and that too in the direction of improvement of the Greek. Further, if δ was after all the original text, how are we to account for its comparative disappearance and the growth of the other families? There is no gradual line of divergence between δ and the other groups, so that if δ is not due to the editorial influence of John, α must have been the handiwork of Photius. But already in the tenth century we find three distinct types of text, each apparently independent but all equally separated from δ ; did they all develop from Photius' text, or must we assume some more editors?

(c) These are however only presumptions, and it would be easy to argue and make out a case for whichever alternative we wish to adopt. But there is one court of appeal left, the readings themselves. Among these we, first, find some (a) certainly wrong readings (and here the support of John of

Antioch is generally wanting), e. g. c. iv βίας, ix τῇ [ἄλλη ἐξαετία], x καὶ [μετὰ ταῦτα], xv πεπραγμένων joh 2 3¹; and (b) some probable mistakes c. i om [λειτουργεῖν] τι joh 4, ii om τῆς [λειτουργίας] joh 2 3 6², iii βρώματα joh 4, iv [μὲν] οὖν joh 1 3 4 6 with v om δέ joh 4, xxi πρῶτος joh 3, probably due to the following δεύτερος, xxiii Περί joh 1 4 for the unusual 'Επί. Secondly, we have signs of an editorial hand (a) in exegetical additions c. vii ἐστὶ [δοκιμάσαι] joh, xvi [ἐτη] ἔτερα joh 1 2 4, xxi [χρόνον] πληρῶσαι joh 1 2 3 4, xxv ἡ δὲ ἀδελφῇ [ῆ] joh; and (b) in improvement of the Greek, making it more idiomatic, e. g. in the preference for the aorist, c. ii ἀφελεῖν joh 1 2 4 6, iii ἐμβαλόντων joh 4 (but v κοινωνήτωσαν joh 2 3 6, viii κοινωνήτωσαν joh 1 2 3 6), xviii ἀποβαλέσθαι, xix ἐπαγγελάμενοι joh 1 2 4; in the use of compounds c. ii ἐπιθύσαντας joh, iv ἐπιθυσάντων joh 1 2 3 4, xviii ἐγκαθεστῶτας joh 4 6, xxiii ἐκπληρῶσαι³. Cf. also c. iii περιπεσόντες, iv μὲν οὖν, xix οὔτοι. Μόνη (c. vi) is apparently a correction for the less obvious μόνον; c. vii ἡ [ἐν τόπῳ] is an error that may have easily crept in or been adopted.

Thus the examination of the readings peculiarly characteristic of the group⁴ would show that they are not original. For with regard to the style of the Greek, if the question arises between the ecclesiastical fathers at the Galatian Ancyra and John who was educated for, and for a long time pleaded at, the bar in Antioch (whence his name *Scholasticus*), we must give the preference to the style of John. Thus we are driven to accept the alternative that where they agree the peculiar characteristics of δ must be due to his influence, that therefore the value of δ is not high, and that in fact it has no claim to represent the original text; a conclusion which was our primary presumption afforded by the lateness of the MSS.

¹ σπουδασῶν in c. xxi is, of course, an error, but it only points to the close connection of M₁ M₂ P₁₂ V₃.

² v. *infra* p. 185.

³ On the other hand c. i ἀναπαλαίσαντας.

⁴ The readings, not peculiar to the group, c. iii περισευθέντας, xiii πρεσβυτέροις ... ἐκάστη, xiv βδελύσσονται will be examined later.

Against this conclusion we must not be prejudiced by the idea that we are defending a 'textus receptus' against superior critical claims, for α can hardly be called a 'textus receptus,' nor has δ any 'codex vaticanus' older than all existing MSS: on the other hand the archetype of R₁ P₁ (p. 163) can carry back the text of α to the sixth century, or the age of John. To conclude the argument, can we account for the genesis of δ? The fact that two of the MSS (M₂ M₃, p. 193) came from Magna Graecia conveys a valuable hint. The δ MSS, as we have seen, come from a single archetype: this may have been the work of a scribe writing in Italy, who, as in Italy Greek MSS would not abound nor could the Greek canon law be in constant reference, may have had but one copy and that possibly inferior or corrupt. Writing in Italy, his greater familiarity with the Latin versions would have suggested emendations where the Greek was difficult, as in cc. xiii and xiv; and again writing in Italy, the popular authority on the councils would be John of Antioch rather than the schismatic Photius, and very probably from a MS of the *Synagoge* our scribe may have introduced still further emendations of his possibly corrupted text.

γ. The claims of γ are not strong. For, first, the MSS have nearly all undergone a great deal of correction, especially in the significant places: e.g. R₅ in c. ii, xiii (χωρεπισκόπους), xiv (-λυσο- in βδεύσσουντο), and there are marks of erasure in c. vii εἰ... χρή, x... σιωπήσαντες, xvi ἐξεταζέσθω... δέ, xx προ. άγοντας; O₇ in cc. vii, xiii, xvi, xxv; and O₁, cf. espec. xxv ἐάν... σπροσεφθαρη, vi μετοικισίας, xxi προσάγοντας. The MSS are further characterized by many special readings of their own which are obviously wrong, espec. O₇, cf. e.g. c. v om μεταξύ, δεχθήσονται, φιλανθρωπέυσασθαι, χρόνος τοῦ βίου, vii add ἐστίν, transpositions in cc. vii and viii, c. xvi κοινωνήτωσαν τῶν προσευχῶν; and O₁ which is most carelessly written, cf. e.g. c. ii φεύοντας, iv όσοίμενοι, xiii χωρεπίσκοπος, xv ἐπάλεισαν, xiv κανώνι and tit. κανώναι. Thus the MSS show signs of having been written by careless and inaccurate scribes.

Secondly, γ can hardly be original for there is a difficulty in finding a definite text. There is indeed a definite class of passages in which we may expect to find variations, but the degree of variation is very gradual: in fact the group seems to be composed of a number of MSS in a transitional stage of variation towards a type of which R_5 perhaps represents the extreme limit. In accordance with this we find that often where they vary from α , the MSS do not agree among themselves, *cf.* e. g. the different readings for c. ii ἄρτον ἢ ποτήριον, c. xiii πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως, and the variations of orthography in c. xiv βδελύσονται, βδελύσσονται, βδελύσονται; so in c. xxi P_9 also varies from α , but gives συντίθεσθαι. Again, the readings themselves are often transitional: thus ἄρτον ἢ ποτήριον P_9 is half way between ἄρτον ἢ ποτήριον and ἄρτον ἢ ποτηρίου $O_1 O_7$, R_5^* giving a further advance τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ τοῦ ἀναφέρειν; πεπραμμένων O_1 lies between πεπραμένων and πεπραγμένων; O_1 also shows how another reading arose ἐὰν προσεφθάρη (*v. infra*) and in c. x gives a decided mark of transition in διάκονοι ὅσοι καθίστανται . . . διεμαρτύραντο, which makes no sense.

But in the readings in which there is more or less agreement does γ show signs of retaining the original text? In c. xiii ἐκάστη and xiv βδελύσσονται and the rejection of πρεσβυτέρους in c. xiii γ agrees with δ and other authorities; and these readings will be examined later on their own merits. But among γ 's special readings are

(a) Certain mistakes, as c. iii προσδεχθήτωσαν, unless the fathers committed an anacoluthon, iv κοινωνείτωσαν, xx προσάγοντας (in $R_5^* R_2 O_1^* O_7$) and vi χωρὶς ἢ μετοικησίας (*cf. infra*).

(b) Obvious emendations are to be found in c. vii ἐκάστων . . . ἔστω, xiii ἐπισκόποις (probably due to Photius), xxi ἀδ πληρῶσαι (with δ , but in a different place), xxv ἐμφορῆσαι, where in F_3 ἐφορῆσαι the μ has dropped out, and xxv ἐὰν προσεφθάρη. Here some scribe did not see that the canon was a decision on a particular case, and so he generalized it

by inserting an *ἐάν*. The scribe of O₁ inserted the full phrase *ἐάν τις*, and it was only afterwards seen that *τις* occurred twice. Some of the Latin translators were guilty of the same liberty: cf. Isid. *si quis sponsam habens*, Prisca *si desponsatus aliquis*, but Dionysius renders *quidam sponsam habens*, which is the reading too of the oldest form of the Isidorian version.

(c) Other readings appear not to be original as their genesis can be explained. c. vi *χωρὶς ἡ μετοικησίας* indeed is hard to account for. Is it a reminiscence of Can. Nicaen. xi *ἡ χωρὶς ἀφαιρέσεως ὑπαρχόντων ἡ χωρὶς κινδύνου*? Or does the Latin also point to some word having dropped out in the ordinary text: cf. Isid. *aut bonorum ablatione aut transportationis poena deterriti*, Dionys. *aut privatione facultatum territi aut demigratione*? We can however see the origin of γ's reading in c. x—*εἰ ἐμαπτόντο* might very easily become *διεμαπτόντο*, giving us the text of O₁ *δοσοὶ καθίστανται . . . διεμαπτόντο*. But this would necessitate further changes: it might be emended by the insertion of a second *δοσοὶ* after *καθίστανται*, or by the change of *καθίστανται* into *καθιστάμενοι*. A confusion between these emendations would give us both the reading of Balsamon *δοσοὶ καθιστάμενοι δοσοὶ* (in bals 1 the second *δοσοὶ* has been erased) and that of γ *καθιστάμενοι δοσοὶ*.

c. xxi *συντίθεται* can be explained, the change of *τούτῳ* into *τοῦτο* in a difficult phrase (omitted by the Latin translators altogether) caused the change of *συντίθενται* into *συντίθεται*. On the other hand the change of *το* into *τω* will explain the change of *τῷ κυριακῷ* for *τὸ κυριακόν* in c. xv, though the Latin Isid. Dionys. *ad iura ecclesiastica (ius ecclesiasticum) revocari* seems to point to *τῷ κυριακῷ*: but the early Isid. cod. monac. 6243 has *ut ius ecclesiasticum revocarent* and the Prisca *revocare atque repetere dominicam*.

Thus as in the case of δ internal evidence has again verified primary presumptions, based in this case on the character of the scribes and their work, and we accordingly set aside the claims of γ.

β. Before examining the value of this group we must

notice, and work upon, the division of this family into two classes according to the extent of their variation from α . P_5 and P_8 are fragmentary, and the character of P_6 is peculiar, otherwise we have two distinct groups β_1 R_3 R_4 O_4 P_7 and β_2 P_3 F_1 O_5 P_{10} V_2 , of which the latter possesses all the variations from α in the former with additional variations of its own.

β_2 is marked off from β_1 by six readings: c. ii $\text{ιε} \rho \acute{\alpha} \varsigma$, vi $\text{om} \tau \iota \varsigma$, xiv $[\kappa \alpha \iota]$ $\epsilon \iota$ $[\mu \acute{\eta}]$, xv εἰσοδον and we may add iv $\text{σφοδρ-} \tau \acute{\epsilon} \rho \omega$, xxiv χρόνων . The last four are entirely without other support (except εἰσοδον in Mon., $\kappa \alpha \iota \epsilon \iota \mu \acute{\eta}$ in P_5^a , and $\text{σφοδρ-} \tau \acute{\epsilon} \rho \omega$ in O_6^*) and mark β_2 out as the extreme of β ; so that if we do decide in favour of β , the extreme isolation of β_2 is against its being the original form. Further, of the readings themselves— $\text{ιε} \rho \acute{\alpha} \varsigma$, which will be examined later, is probably a correction, $\text{σφοδρ} \tau \acute{\epsilon} \rho \omega$ (? through $\text{σχήματι σφαιδρ} \tau \acute{\epsilon} \rho \omega$) a mistake, while χρόνων (of which there is no trace elsewhere) is probably a substitution of a reference to astrology for a reference to paganism, when obsolete; against the omission of $\tau \iota \varsigma$ in c. vii we have the Latin *quodsi quodlibet mortis periculum* (isid.) *si autem aliqui periculum* (prisca), *si quod autem periculum* (dion.).

β_1 which remains is very close to α , in fact it has only seven variations from it: c. ii τούτους συνίδοιεν , iii προάγεσθαι , vii ἀξιῶσαι , xiv $\epsilon \iota \delta \epsilon \beta \acute{o} \lambda \omicron \iota \nu \tau \omicron$, xv εἴπερ , xx δοκεῖ , xxv $\text{ἐπιφο-} \rho \acute{\epsilon} \sigma \alpha \iota$. And some of these readings receive much support among later MSS and editors, and that the stronger because the more varied. The readings have good internal probability, εἴπερ and προάγεσθαι ¹ are indecisive, and with two of them ($\epsilon \iota \delta \epsilon \beta \acute{o} \lambda \omicron \iota \nu \tau \omicron$ and $\text{ἐπιφο} \rho \acute{\epsilon} \sigma \alpha \iota$) agree the best MSS of α , viz. R_1 P_1 . Indeed the difference between α and β_1 is so slight that we should not divide them into two families but

¹ προάγεσθαι would seem to be the more natural term for the first enrolment of a laic in the $\kappa \lambda \eta \rho \omicron \varsigma$, πρόγεσθαι for his further advancement. But it is difficult to tell the usage of the canons, as in each case we are likely to have the same variation, and at present we are without critical editions. However in c. xii all the MSS agree in πρόγεσθαι except M_3 . In c. iii R_3 O_7 read προάγεσθαι , but this is discounted by their προάγοντας in c. xxi.

for the fact that β_2 agrees with β_1 in its variations: this shows that β_1 is already on the path of divergence and for that reason is not original—either α or β_2 must be the original starting point. Again the character of P_6 agrees with this conclusion, for discarding β_1 's variations from α it has those of β_2 ; it is much more likely that it was a short cut from α rather than a double corruption of β_1 in the way of loss and addition. Once more one of the readings of β_1 is against it, viz. ἀξιώσαι; it may be original, but it has entirely dropped out, being without any support elsewhere, unless indeed the *Prisca cognoscere* (cod. vat. reg. 1997) *agnoscere* (bod. mus. 103) points to it. The Latin also seems to be against δοκεῖ in c. xxi *reddatur, oportet*. However in any case α and β_1 are so close that each variation must be examined on its own merits; the fact however of α 's being on the whole nearest to the original giving a slight presumption against the evidence of β .

α only now remains. But before deciding on its authority, there is an objection to be considered. If we were inclined to think the text of δ influenced by John of Antioch, why should we not ascribe the text of α to the influence of Photius, who according to Card. Mai made not only a *σύνταγμα* of the canons according to their subject matter, but also a *συναγωγή* of the councils arranged chronologically, especially as the normal order agrees with his list as against that of John of Antioch? The full text of Photius exists apparently in only one MS, printed by Mai, so that we cannot argue from it with any certainty. However in that text we have several variations from α , just of the number and character we should expect from an editor reissuing an existing text. The full list is as follows: c. ii *om τῆς τε*, iii *ανάγκης, προεξητάσθη*, iv *προέχων*, vi *om ἡμέραν, πληρώσω*, x *αὐτοῖς*, xiv *μετὰ τῶν κρεῶν*, xxi *ἐκώλυε*—which we may consider errors; and, what is more important, c. vii *ἐκάστω . . . ἐξέστω*, xiii *ἐπισκόποις*, xv *add τοὺς κάκως ὠνησαμένους* certain, and c. ii *τούτους συνίδειν*, xiv *βδελύσσουτο*, xxi [*ὀρισμένους*]

πληρῶσαι possible emendations; c. i ἀναπαλαίσαντας and vi om τις are indecisive. These variations seem to be enough to mark the practical independence of α.

Thus the result of a long and tedious investigation seems to justify our assumption at starting, viz. that α is the closest representative of the original text. For

(1) The MS authority for α is as good and as early as that for the other groups.

(2) We have found no imperative claim on the part of any other group to represent the original.

(3) The text of α serves best for the groundwork of the other groups and MSS: and indeed this is the strongest argument on behalf of α. It seems to hold a central position between the other texts. From α we can trace a gradual divergence to the extreme types of β and γ, whereas β, γ and δ are each marked by a number of peculiar readings which have to be discarded before we reach another family, i. e. the text would so to speak have to first reach a common groundwork, resembling α, before the other families could be developed. If among the later MSS, of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and even in one or two of the twelfth century, we find the connecting links between β, γ and δ increase, yet they do not become so numerous as to outweigh their connection with α. So too, widely as the later MSS vary from α, it is easier to assume α as the basis than β, γ or δ. Take, for instance, P₁₁ through its numerous individual readings occupying a unique position, and widely differing from δ to which it is assigned: it is easier then to assume α as the groundwork of P₁₁ rather than β or γ, as it has none of their peculiar readings. So with P₆ which occupies a peculiar position in β, its origin is easiest to be found in α. This argument is borne out by examination of the individual readings, in all of which it is, if not necessary, at least as easy to derive the various readings from α than *vice versa*.

(4) Lastly, whereas, as it has just been remarked, β, γ, δ are each marked out by a class of peculiar readings, there are none

such to be found in α , i. e. there is no reading of α which is not supported by at least one other group. On the other hand again, there are very few readings which have the support of two groups against α . They are cc. viii *κοινωνήτωσαν*, xiii *ἐκάστη*, xiv *βδελύσσονται* occurring in $\gamma \delta$, with perhaps two imperfect agreements c. xiii the rejection of *πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως*, xxi the addition of *πληρώσαι*.

Thus our conclusion seems justified. But considering the lateness of our MSS, it would be irrational to suppose that α has preserved the original text absolutely unimpaired. Hence there are many passages where the readings must be examined on their own merits. Such would be (1) those where there is a consensus of authorities against α , and (2) readings where the inner nucleus of β (β_1) varies from α . Thus it will not be out of place to examine some readings individually.

c. i *ἀναπαλαίσαντας* is found in $P_2^* O_3 O_6 P_6^* \delta e$ Joh. Ant. Photius, Aristenus, and in Zonaras and Balsamon in their commentaries, but not in their text. *ἐπαναπαλαίω* is such an unusual compound (it is not given in Liddell & Scott) that it is likely to be original: the great support it has prevents its being a mistake, while the commentators support *ἀναπαλ.* because that is the usual phrase. On the other hand, the partiality of δ for compounds (p. 177) gives weight to its omission of *ἐπί* here. Notice also c. i *ἐπιθύσαντες*, *ἐπαναπαλαίσαντες*, c. ii *θύσαντες*, *ἀναπαλαίσαντες*.

c. ii *ιερατικῆς* $\alpha R_3 R_4 O_4 P_7 \gamma \delta V_4$ Mon R_6 joh phot bals
ιεράς $O_6 P_3 P_6 F_1 O_5 P_8 P_{10} CV_2 P_{13} e$ zon.

Here *ιερατικῆς* is undoubtedly right, especially as β_1 here agrees with α . The reading of β_2 *ιεράς* is however supported by all the Latin versions *sacro*, with one important exception, cod. monac. 6243 (the older Isidorian) *ab omni altaris ministerio*. There is an obvious pragmatic reason for the correction into *ιεράς* which will account also for its appearance in the later MSS, $O_6 P_{13} e$, and avowedly indeed in Pitra's

text; that is, the apparent assigning of a priestly function to deacons.

But the words mean no more than that these deacons are to take no part in *the* ἱερατικὴ λειτουργία of the Holy Eucharist, cf. the Freising MS *altaris ministerio*. Hence also the omission of τῆς (in δ etc.) is clearly wrong, it is not that the deacons are not to perform any priestly services, but not to take part in *the* priestly service. At the same time in the Canons ἱερατικός seems to have had a wide extension of meaning: in the Apost. Canons it is apparently coextensive with the whole κλῆρος, including the minor orders; cf. c. lxii (and l) εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος ἢ ὅλως τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ . . . εἰ δὲ λαϊκὸς εἴη with c. lxix εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος ἢ ὅλως τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν κληρικῶν . . . εἰ δὲ λαϊκός: but in the Canons of Laodicea ἱερατικός is confined to the higher orders (still, we notice, applied to deacons) and distinct from κληρικός; cf. c. xxiv οὐ δεῖ ἱερατικούς ἀπὸ πρεσβυτέρων ἕως διακόνων καὶ ἐξῆς τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς τάξεως ἕως ὑπηρετῶν κ. τ. λ. and c. xxvii ἱερατικούς ἢ κληρικούς ἢ λαϊκοὺς καλουμένους. Cf. also Can. Apost. viii, xiv, xvi, xvii, Laod. iii, iv, xix, xxx etc., Ant. iii.

c. ii τοῦτοις συνειδοιεν. Here we have obviously not the right reading: τούτοις would seem to be right as with most MSS of α we have γ δ and most of the later authorities, but some MSS of α agree with β in τούτους: συνειδοιεν which is very strongly supported may be for either συνιδιεν the reading of β, which agrees with τούτους, or for συνειδέιεν for which we have Zonaras, and the Latin *conscii sint* (isid. dion.).

c. iii περισχιθέντας. The difficulty of this reading is probably sufficient to account for its emendation into περισχεθέντας the reading of δ and John of Antioch, and which as a likely correction occurs in O₁, and also later MSS P₈ of β, O₇ of γ and L O₈ R₆ f. Further περισχιθέντας is not so entirely without parallels as to force us to conclude it to be an error. Zonaras understands τοὺς χιτώνας, and so it is not uncommon;



Stephanus gives e. g. ἐσθῆτα περισχίσαι out of Plutarch, εἴ τις τὰ ἱμάτια περιέσχισεν out of Lucian. But we have as well a striking instance of its use absolutely, in Epictetus *Dissert.* i. 25: περισχισον αὐτόν. τί λέγεις αὐτόν; τὸ ἱμάτιον λάβε, περισχισον. Cf. Schweighäuser's note. The Latin translators give no help, they were apparently quite unable to understand the Greek: cf. their renderings: *perseverante violentia ad id usque perducti sunt ut manus eorum adprehensas et violenter adtractas super sacrificia imponderent* isid., *tentos adque in manibus ferro violenter mittentes* prisca, *eo usque adstricti sunt ut manus eorum comprehendentes violenter adtraherent et funestis sacrificiis admovent* dionys.

c. iii ἐμβαλλόντων, ἐμβαλόντων. Here as elsewhere the very common variation between the present and aorist causes confusion among the groups. Cf. the variants κοινωνεῖτωσαν in cc. v, viii, ix, ἐπαγγελάμενοι in c. xix, and ἀποβαλέσθαι in c. xviii. We notice however that α is uniformly on the side of the present δ of the aorist (except κοινωνήτωσαν in cc. v, viii). ἀποβαλέσθαι has very little support; and the frequent reading ἐπαγγελλόμενοι points to the present being original. Again, if κοινωνεῖτωσαν best represents the continued state of κοινωνία, the aorist may equally well denote the entry upon that state of κοινωνία. The dropping out of σα may also explain the very frequent reading κοινωνήτωσαν. On προσάγεσθαι, προάγεσθαι, lower down, cf. p. 181, n.¹

c. vii. The variety of readings here serves to show the superiority of α's text, and it is a good canon for testing the character of the Latin versions. The readings are:—

μετὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς ἕκαστον τῶν ἐπισκόπων δοκιμάσαι α

”	”	ἐκάστου	”	”	F ₂ P ₁₁
”	”	ἐκάστῳ	”	ἐξέστω	δοκ. O ₆ phot
”	”	ἐκάστου	”	ἔστω	” R ₂ O ₁ P ₉
”	”	ἕκαστον	”	ἐστὶ	” O ₇ δ joh 1
”	”	ἐκάστου	”	”	” P ₆ ^a joh 2 4 6
”	”	ἕκαστον	”	δοκιμ. ἐστὶ	R ₆ zon 2

ἕκαστον μετὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς τῶν ἐπισκόπων δοκιμάσαι P₁₃ zon 1 3

” ” ” ” ἐστι δοκιμ. e

” ” ” ” ἐστι τὸ δοκιμ. f bals

μετασχῆν τῆς προσφορᾶς ἕκαστον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον δοκιμάσαι F₁^a

Τὴ δοκιμάσαι et ἐξετάσαι O₇

Latin: *Placuit eos biennio subiacere et sic suscipi quia oportet post oblationem unumquemque episcopum eos probare et vitam singulorum agnoscere [cognoscere vat. reg. 1997] (prisca). ita tamen utrum (ut utrum) cum oblatione recipiendi sint an ad solam communionem admitti debeant unusquisque episcoporum examinent uitae eorum praeteritae et praesentis habita consideratione (isid). unusquisque episcoporum probet uita uniuscuiusque habita consideratione (old form of isid). utrum uero cum oblatione singuli episcoporum probantes vitam eorum et singulos actus examinent (dionys).*

On c. x διακονοι κ.τ.λ. cf. p. 180.

Questions of interpretation have drawn attention to the various readings in c. xiii, which will merit a closer examination. In the Greek we have—

{ πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως α β V₄ Mon R₆ e f joh 1 zon 1 bals 1 3 4
 { πρεσβυτέροις ” R₅ F₃ δ (ex P₁₁) joh (ex 1) cum joh 8
 { πρεσβύτερον ” C P₁₃ zon 2 3 bals-com matt
 { διὰ πρεσβυτέρων ” P₁₁
 { ἐπισκόποις ” R₂ O₁ P₉ O₇ phot (cf. note ², p. 150)
 { ἐτέρῳ α β V₄ Mon P₁₃ R₆ e f phot zon bals
 { ἐκάστη γ δ joh latt

Cf. also χωρεπισκόπους R^{*}₅ P₁₁ L f joh 2 3 8 bals 2 -πος O₆ O₁^{*}
 -πον P₁₃ bals-com matt

Latin Versions—

Early Isidorian: cod. monac. 6243, s. viii (Freising MS)

Vicariis episcoporum quod greci ¹corepiscopos dicunt non licere presbyteros uel diaconos ordenare: sed nec ²presbyterum ciuitatis sine episcopi praeceptum amplius aliquid iuberet uel sine auctoritatem litterarum eius in unaquaque parrochia aliquid agere.

cod. virceb. mp. th. f 146

¹ corepiscopum

² presbyteris

Isidorian: cod. paris. 3848 A, s. viii, ix (Quesnel's MS)

^{1 2} *Vicarios episcoporum quos greci corepiscopos* ³ *dicunt non*
⁴ *licere presbyteros uel diacones ordinare: sed nec* ⁵ *presbyteris*
ciuitatis sine episcopi praecepto ⁶ *amplius aliquid imperare uel*
sine ⁷ *auctoritate litterarum eius in unaquaque parrocia* ⁸ *aliquid*
agere.

¹ Tit. in codd. paris. 3848 A, 3842 A *Vicariis* [os 3842 A] *episcoporum non*
licet ordinationes facere ² *Vicariis* oriel. 42^a aed. flor. 82^a paris. 3858 c
³ *uocant* veron. 60 ⁴ *licet* oriel. 42 *licent eis uel* veron. 60 ⁵ *presby-*
teris paris. 3848 A cum oriel. 42 (s. xii) paris. 3836 (s. viii) 4279 (s. ix) barber.
xiv. 52 (s. ix, x) aed. flor. 82 (s. x) paris. 1455 (s. x) 3858 c (s. xiii) veron. 60
(s. vii) sangerm. 936 (s. vi, vii) paris. 1451 (s. ix) veron. 59 (s. vii) flor. laur.
1554 (s. x-xii) *presbyteros* paris. 1454 (s. ix, x) 3842 A (s. ix, x) ⁶ *ali-*
quid amplius veron. 60 oriel. 42 ⁷ *litteris eius* laur. 1554 ⁸ *agere*
aliquid veron. 59 *agere quicquam* paris. 1451 *alig. agere in un. par.* laur.
1554

The Prisca: cod. bod. mus. 103, s. v, vi (Justel's MS)

Vt non sine episc. liceat quemquam ordinare ab his qui
dicuntur corepiscopi.

¹ *Corepiscopp. non licere* ² *praesb. aut diac. ordinare, sed neque*
³ *praesb. ciuitatis sine iussione episcopis sed cum* ⁴ *eisdem litteris*
eundi ad singulas parrocias.

cod. vat. reg. 1997 (Chieti MS) s. viii ¹ *corepiscoporum* ² *pres-*
biterum aut diaconem ³ *presbiterorum* ⁴ *om. eisdem.*

Dionysius Exiguus: first edit., cod. vat. pal. 577, s. viii, ix.

Corepiscopo non licere presb. aut diaconos ordinare: sed nec
praesbiteros ciuitatis sine episcopi praecepto vel litteris aliquid
agere in unaquaque paraecia.

second and Dionysio-Hadrian edition.

Chorepiscopis non licere presbyteros aut diaconos ordinare:
sed nec presbyteris ciuitatis sine praecepto episcopi uel litteris in
unaquaque parrochia (paroecia).

So, of the MSS of the 2nd edition, codd. bod. mus. 103 (s. x,
with a chorep.), paris. 3837 (s. ix); paris. 1536 (s. x) reads *pres-*
biteri; 3845 (s. ix) *prbt*; 3848 (s. xiii) *prbr*. In the Dionys-
Hadr. MSS, with the text are codd. paris. 8921*, 11710 (s. viii),
monac. 6244*, 14422, 14517, 6242*, paris. 3840, 3843, vallic.

A. 5 (of s. ix), vat. reg. 1043, monac. 14008, and bod. misc. 421^a (of s. x); monac. 5258 (s. x) reads *presbyteris* . . . *aliquid agere*; paris. 8921 (s. viii), 11711 (s. ix), both second hand, *presbyteris* (os 8921^a) . . . *aliquid imperare etc.*; monac. 14517, 6242, vat. reg. 1043 add second hand *aliquid agere*, or (monac. 6242) *imperare etc.* Codd. paris. 8921^a (s. viii), brit. mus. arund. 393 monac. 6355 (s. ix), 3860, bod. misc. 421* (of s. x), monac. 18217, 6241, 3852 (of s. xi) read *presbyteros ciuitatis*: monac. 6244, second hand, and 14407 (s. x), first hand, read *presbyteros* . . . *aliquid agere*; monac. 3860 A (s. x) and 5525 (s. xii) *presbyteros* . . . *amplius aliquid imperare etc.*

The Bobbian Dionysius, cod. ambros. s. 33 (s. ix) reads *presbytero* . . . *aliquid agere* with *aut amplius imperare licebit* in the margin.

The *Concordia* of Cresconius agrees with the Dionysio-Hadrian version in 3 MSS examined, with these variations: cod. vat. pal. 579 *presbyteros*, monac. 6288 *presbytero*, bod. misc. 436 *presbyteris*.

Now if we argued from the Greek MSS alone, from their numbers and authority, we should without hesitation accept the text of α: *χωρεπισκόποις μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴν μηδὲ πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπιτραπῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μετὰ γραμμάτων ἐν ἑτέρᾳ παροικίᾳ*. But it has been of late assumed (e.g. by Lightfoot¹ and others) as beyond question that the true reading is . . . *πρεσβυτέροις πόλεως . . . ἐν ἐκάστη παροικίᾳ* (the text of δ); apparently on the ground of (1) the support of the Latin, and of (2) the presumption that the countenance thus given to presbyterian ordination caused the corruption of the text, and perhaps, we may venture to add, through ignorance of the actual state of MS authority.

Against this assumption we may argue that (1) the evidence of the Latin versions is over-estimated. For (a) from the remarks made above the Latin versions are not helpful for

¹ *Dissert. on the Chr. Ministry in his Philippians*, p. 232.

our purpose; as translations they are very inferior¹, and it is but seldom that the Latin clearly shows of which of two variants it is the translation. (b) Such is the case with the present passage: the evidence of the Latin as to the original is altogether indecisive. The *Prisca* is no help; the Isidorian translator paraphrases the canon, so whether he renders *presbyteris* or *presbyteros* shows us nothing. When we come to Dionysius the MS evidence does seem to point to *presbyteris* being his reading; but there is much confusion, and in face of the many MSS which disagree, it is impossible to speak with certainty. In any case, the great confusion in the Latin versions, which is so very easy to account for without the necessity of a 'tendency,' practically nullifies their evidence on this point. (c) If the Latin did point to *πρεσβυτέροις*, it need not represent more than one or two archetypes. We know that Greek MSS of the Canons were not very common in the West; even a Pope (Zosimus) in 418 had not an accurate copy of the Nicene canons; and it is not necessary to suppose that the translators had an infallible copy before them.

(2) The second argument based on the anti-presbyterian tendency of the scribes is not borne out by any reference, allusion, or appeal. The fact of presbyterian ordination itself in early times is hypothetical; the few instances alleged by Dr. Hatch² have been answered by Mr. Gore³; while soon after the time of Ancyra, as soon as evidence begins to increase, we find episcopal ordination the absolute rule. And yet this presbyterian canon remains in the canon law of the Church, and it is never alluded to or quoted by any opponents of the Church's order, any anti-episcopal reformer, such as Aerius, or any supporter of a supposed ancient church order. Further, the 'tendency' has not been universal; the obnoxious

¹ It is quite conceivable that they might have translated *πρεσβυτέροις* *presbyteris*, thinking that it depended on *ἐκείναι*.

² *Bampton Lectures*, lect. iv.

³ *Christian Ministry*, app. note E.

reading has remained in some Greek MSS and in many Latin MSS; its inconsistency with the unquestioned law and order in the West was neither perceived nor felt.

(3) On the other hand we have the direct authority of the Greek MSS. Here we have an unanimous agreement of α and β supported by later authorities. In favour of *πρεσβυτέροις* we have only δ and two MSS of γ , $R_5 F_3$; of these F_3 is probably a copy of R_5 , while the δ MSS (P_{11} here reading *διὰ πρεσβυτέρων*) may easily be reduced to one archetype. The value of δ 's evidence has been examined at length, while γ , the family to which $R_5 F_3$ belong, has absolutely no claim to represent the original. In this canon its tendency to variation comes fully into play, cf. *χωρεπισκόπους* (R_5^*) -*ος* (O_1) *μήτε* (R_2). Further, it is this very group and this group alone which with Photius admits the undoubted emendation *ἐπισκόποις*. If *πρεσβυτέροις* were the original, it is hard to believe that one emendation in particular, *πρεσβυτέρους*, should have prevailed with such unanimity. On the other hand, *πρεσβυτέρους* being original, we have the variations we should expect, *πρεσβυτέροις*, *ἐπισκόποις*, *διὰ πρεσβυτέρων* in γ and δ , and later *πρεσβύτερον*. However, both γ and δ agree unanimously with the Latin and other authorities in *ἐκάστη*, which may be the right reading.

(4) The variants can be more easily derived from α than *vice versa*. E. g. *ἐκάστη* gives as good sense with *πρεσβυτέρους* as *ἐτέρῃ*, hence it is hard to see why a change from an original *πρεσβυτέροις* to *πρεσβυτέρους* should have caused a change from the accompanying *ἐκάστη* to *ἐτέρῃ*. On the other hand, *πρεσβυτέροις* with *ἐκάστη* is better than *ἐτέρῃ*, hence a change from an original *πρεσβυτέρους* into *πρεσβυτέροις* might easily change the original *ἐτέρῃ* into *ἐκάστη*.

Again, we have an easy explanation of the readings of γ and δ . The scribes of the archetypes of these groups made the very easy mistake of writing *πρεσβυτέροις* for *πρεσβυτέρους*. This made emendation necessary, hence some γ MSS substitute *ἐπισκόποις*; one δ MS gives *διὰ πρεσβυτέρων*. Other late

scribes and Zonaras, who had seen these variations now established, to make it clear write *πρεσβύτερον*.

(5) If *πρεσβυτέροις* be right and *ἀλλὰ μὴν μηδέ* translated, as is right and as Dr. Lightfoot insists, 'nor even,' then it is implied that city presbyters ranked higher than chorepiscopi, which is most improbable. Chorepiscopi attended councils, had the *χειροθεσίαν ἐπισκόπων* and at least claimed to ordain presbyters (Can. Antioch x); cf. also Can. Nic. viii *τόπον ἢ χωρεπισκόπου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου*.

(6) The text of α gives a very good sense, both with the correct translation of *ἀλλὰ μὴν μηδέ*, and without limiting the first *πρεσβυτέρους* to *πρεσβ. χώρας* (as by Routh, against which Lightfoot protests). There are constant conciliar prohibitions of bishops ordaining in other dioceses: how likely it is that country bishops should have been guilty of the same presumption, especially when the boundary line of two *παροικίαι* ran through obscure country districts (*χωραι*) at a distance from the *πόλεις*! The fathers of Ancyra intend to forbid such ordinations by country bishops *ἐν ἐτέρᾳ παροικίᾳ*. This raises another debated question—might country bishops ordain town presbyters within the limits of *their own παροικία*, i. e. the *παροικία* of the bishop of the *πόλις* to which their country districts (*χωραι*) were attached? Canon xiii, then, prohibits this also by the way: 'Chorepiscopi may not ordain (any) presbyters or deacons (of town or country)—but not even town presbyters (in their own parish) without the permission of their (town) bishop in writing—in another parish: *ἀλλὰ μὴν . . . γραμμάτων* being an afterthought. Perhaps however *χωρὶς . . . γραμμάτων* applies to both cases, ordination in the *ἐτέρᾳ παροικίᾳ*, and ordination of town presbyters in their own parish: if so then *τοῦ ἐπισκόπου* will include both the bishop of the neighbouring *παροικία* and their own town bishop. *ἐκάστη*, however, has very strong support; γ and δ are unanimous and there is no trace of *ἐτέρᾳ* in any Latin version; it may be right. Then if we adopt our former translation *ἐν ἐκάστῃ παρ.* will belong to the parenthesis, and the fathers

having entered upon a new subject have forgotten to complete their original prohibition with an ἐν ἐτέρᾳ παρ.; or if χωρὶς . . . γραμμάτων belongs to both clauses ἐν ἐκάστη παρ. will also do so without any difficulty.

c. xiv εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλονται α (P₁* P₂ O₂ O₃ P₄ F₂ V₅) R₃ P₆ F₁* V₂* V₄ L O₈ R₆ f joh 4 bals matt

εἰ δὲ βούλονται R₁ P₁* β (P₃ R₄ O₄ F₁* O₅ P₇ P₁₀ V₂*) P₁₃ P₁₄ zon

εἰ δὲ βδελύσσονται V₁ O₆ C γ δ Mon joh 1 2 3 5 6 8 phot

The Latin versions support εἰ δὲ βδελύσσονται, viz. Isid. *quod si tantum (in tant.) eas abominabiles iudicauerint (putauerint)*; Dionys. *quod si in tantum eas abominantur*. The Prisca is too abbreviated to give any help, cf. the Chieti MS: *placuit ut tangerent et si sic non obaudient canonem, placuit cessare*. In only one MS (cod. veron. 63 'epitome hadr.') out of over 50 has any trace been found of another reading: *quod si noluerint et in tantum eas abhominabiles iudicauerint*.

Here as in c. xiii, but much more decisively, we have γ and δ against α and β, and at first sight the reading seems the right one and it receives wide support, the Latin, John of Antioch, Photius, and some MSS in α and β.

On the other hand (1) βδελύσσονται is much the easiest reading: it is the word generally used in this connection, cf. Can. Apost. lii, Gang. pref., i, ix, xiv, xx; and familiar to the scribes from its use in the N. T.: cf. Rom. ii. 22, Apoc. xxi. 8, βδέλυγμα in S. Matt. xxiv. 15 (*et parall.*), Apoc. xvii. 4, 5, xxi. 27, βδελυκτός in Tit. i. 16. (2) The orthography varies very much, βδελύσονται, βδελύσσονται, βδελλύσσονται. (3) Against βδελύσσονται we have α and β, while the general decision against γ and δ weakens their authority here. (4) If βούλονται was the original reading we can understand the confusion with εἰ βούλονται, εἰ δὲ [μὴ] βούλονται, [εἰ] μὴ ὑπέκειεν, but with an original βδελύσσονται the ground of confusion is to a great extent removed.

Between εἰ δὲ βούλονται and εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλ. it is hard to

decide. However, (1) as in c. xxv R₁ P₁ agree with β: (2) β, γ, δ agree in the absence of μή: (3) εἰ δὲ βουλ. is much the hardest reading; we must supply οὕτως κρατεῖν ἑαυτῶν (or ἀπέχεσθαι with Zonaras), the οὕτως being explained by ὡς μηδὲ κ.τ.λ.: (4) while μή is a very obvious correction, and so is inserted in V₂ F₁ by a second hand. Hence the reading of β seems preferable.

The variations in c. xv τῷ κυριακῷ, πεπραγμένων, c. xxi τούτῳ συντίθεται, the addition of πληρῶσαι—have been already alluded to (pp. 179, 180).

As a concluding test of the accuracy of the MSS it would be well to refer to c. xxv. Here α and β agree in ἐπιφορῆσαι or ἐπιφορέσαι, one of which is most probably original, and, as in c. xiv, the two oldest MSS of α R₁ P₁ agree with β which is a presumption in favour of β's reading ἐπιφορέσαι. In γ we have ἐμφορῆσαι, an obvious emendation, but with γ's usual correction and inaccuracy—in O₁ εμ and η are corrections, O₇^a reads ἐπιφορῆσαι, in F₃ the μ has dropped out. The best MSS of δ agree with α, ἐπιφορῆσαι, but M₂ M₃ and joh 4 8 have adopted ἐπιφορτίσαι (a scholion in M₁). Lastly, among the late MSS we have a new variant, ἐπιφωρᾶσαι in f.

APPENDIX I.

THE SYRIAC VERSION.

IN the Text and Essay account has been taken of the Latin version alone, but since writing the above I have been enabled to give some contributions from other versions also. We have in Pitra's *Analecta Spicilegio Solesmensi*, vol. iv, a Syriac version from a MS in the Paris Library, cod. 62, saec. viii, and the Latin translation (P) is given below. This we can supplement by a translation (M) of a MS of the same version in the British Museum, cod. add. 14,529, which has been very kindly translated for the essay by Professor Margoliouth: the date of this MS is given as saec. vii or viii, but the version must have been made at a time when the office of chorepiscopus had become unfamiliar; cf. the title of c. xiii. An inspection of almost any canon will show that M follows the Greek more closely and is much more literal than P, a result which cannot be wholly due to the greater literalness of the Latin translation (cf. notes on cc. ii, iii, xiii, xiv, xv). Both versions are liable to errors of translation; besides a few enumerated below we find, in P—c. iii βωὼντάς τε κ.τ.λ. translated *eo quod . . . clamitarent*, xv ἀπολαβεῖν *emptoribus restituere*, xxiv ἐπὶ ἀνευρέσει *φαρμακείων ut obiecta deperdita reperiant*, in c. xiv the first εἰ βούλονται is omitted, while the translator seems to have misread or corrected the conclusion of c. vii, reading τότε for τὸ δέ: in M we have—c. iii τὰ ὑπάρχοντα and ἡ προλαβοῦσα omitted, v πρὸ πάντων δὲ ὁ βίος translated *omnium conversatio*. Both versions again show an *epezegetical* or explanatory tendency: in P, cf. c. x οὕτως μένει, ἐπιτραπήναι, xi αὐτῶν made to mean *raptores*, in xiii the addition of *licet celebrare*, in xxii of *integram vitam*. But especially is this the case with M, cf. particularly the explanation of τοῦ ἄφρονος ἢ ποτήριον ἀναφέρειν in c. ii, c. iii βρῶμά τι . . . δεξαμένους = *aliquid cibi . . . attulere ori eorum*, c. viii to explain μετὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς *simulac recipiantur* is added, in c. x κατάστασις and μετὰ ταῦτα are fully explained, and καταδεξάμενους

modified by *eo quod tacuerint*, cf. also *primum . . postea* in c. xiv, *mensuram xx annorum* = ἡλικίαν ταύτην in c. xvi.

With regard to the text they generally follow α, with the important exceptions of c. xiii ἐκάστη, xiv βδελύσσονται, and some agreements with γ. Besides these they read συνιδούν in c. ii, and we notice the following renderings or mistakes: in c. xviii καθεστῶτας is made transitive, while in xvii λεπρώσαντας is intransitive; ἐνθα in xviii is also translated wrongly, *ut* or *quales*; c. xxi καὶ τούτῳ συντιθένται = *quibus adhaeret praesens synodus* or *et cum hoc termino consentimus*, in the same canon τοὺς ὀρισμένους is qualified wrongly by *modo*, *supra*. We notice also that of χειμαζόμενοι (c. xvii) are those *qui probantur, qui tentantur a daemoniis*.

There are no traces of any of β's special readings (p. 164): *ιερᾶς, σφοδρότερον, ὅτι τις* (c. vi), *ἀξιώσαι* (except perhaps in *faciat hoc*, M), *εἰ δὲ βούλονται, δοκεῖ, χρόνων*.

The version has indeed a close connection with γ (cf. p. 167). It definitely agrees in making cc. iv, v into one canon, in c. xiii ἐκάστη, xiv εἰ δὲ βδελύσσονται, xv τῇ κυριακῇ, xxi *add* πληρῶσαι, xxv εἰς προσεφθάρη; c. x *qui ordinandi sunt, qui futuri sunt* may point to καθιστάμενοι; P seems to have found χωρὶς in c. vi, *absque tormentis*. But these readings are of the nature of corrections and would agree with the expegetical character of the version; and, on the other hand, we have clearly ἀρτὸν ἢ ποτήριον in c. ii, διαμαρτύραντο in x, ἡ is not omitted in iii, and in xiii πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως seems to have been the reading translated (cf. the note on the canon: Mr. Turner of Magdalen College suggests it as possible that the original ran ἀλλὰ μὴν μηδὲ πόλεως omitting πρεσβυτέρους altogether, and that this was the reading translated by M).

With δ (cf. p. 169) the Syriac agrees in the variations mentioned above in cc. xiii, xiv, also in xxi *add* πληρῶσαι, and in iv the Syriac represents ὅσοι μὲν οὖν; further M has a few more similarities—c. iii *recta et pulcra* may point to ἡ συμπράττοι, xix *qui professi sunt* to the aorist, and xii *decere* may be a translation of δέιν. But these are all, and the remaining variations of δ of which we can speak with certainty are clearly rejected, viz. c. i *om* τι, iii *περισχεθέντας* (at least M gives *et scissa sunt vestimenta*), vi *μόνη*, vii ἡ ἐν τόπῳ, ix τῇ ἄλλῃ, xv *πεπραγμένων*, xvi *ἕτη ἕτερα*, xxi *πρώτος*, xxv ἡ δὲ ἀδελφὴ ἡ, while P omits ἡ συμπράττοι in c. iii, and has ἐπαγγελλόμενοι in xix, and both seem to read πρεσβυτέρους in c. xiii (but see above for M).

To sum up, the Syriac practically is a version of α: its evidence as to the readings in cc. xiii, xiv of course is important, but on the

whole its tendency to agree with γ will only show that if δ represents a western recension of the canons, γ represents the emendations current in Antioch and the East.

TEXT.

PARIS. COD. 62 (P).

BRIT. MUS. COD. ADD. 14,529 (M).

Iterum canones xxiv qui Ancyrae in Galatia conditi fuerunt a synodo ibi adunata. Canones isti Nicaenis canonibus priores sunt tempore. At propter auctoritatem magnae sanctaeque synodi Nicaenae primo loco descripti sunt Nicaeni canones.

Synodi Ancyranae canones xxiv. Hi canones priores sunt iis qui positi sunt Nicaeae.

En nomina episcoporum qui in Ancyrae synodo adunati sunt : Vitalius Antiochiae, Marcellus Ancyrae, Agricolaus Caesareae, Lupus Tarsi, Basilus Amasiae, Philadelphus ¹ Heliopoleos, ² Eustathius Nicomediae, Heraclius Zoloni, Petrus Iconii, Nunechius Laodiceae, Sergianus Antiochiae in Pisidia, ³ Epiraorius Pergae, Narcissus Neroniadis⁴.

Isti porro episcopi, cum congregati fuissent, infra descriptos canones definierunt et sanxerunt.

I.

De sacerdotibus qui sacrificarunt.

De presbyteris qui sacrificaverunt.

De sacerdotibus illis qui, postquam sacrificaverunt, conversi denuo agonem non quidem

Sacerdotes ii qui sacrificaverunt, et rursus conversi doluerunt, non ab arte aliqua sed veri-

¹ Lat. Iuliopolitanus.

² Lat. Eustolus.

³ Lat. Epidaurus.

⁴ Lat. (codd. Paris. 8921, 11710, 11711) add. *Leontius Neroniadensis, Longinus Dicationensis, Amphion Alfus, Selaus Germanus.*

astutia quadam sed veritate impulsus inierunt, quique id antea non praeordinaverunt, ut cruciati crederentur, licet fictae tantum et apparenter tormentis obicerentur: de his placuit synodo, ut quidem gradus honore dignarentur, non autem ut offerrent, homilias haberent, aut sacerdotis quovis munere unquam fungerentur.

tate, neque cum prius composuerint dolum et finxerint et persuaserint, ut putarentur accipere tormenta, cum haec tormenta opinione tantum et figura afferrentur neque veritate: his visum est honor sedis suae ut esset iis; ut offerrent vero oblationem aut interpretarentur aut ullo modo impleant ministerium sacerdotii . . .

II.

De diaconis qui sacrificarunt.

Diaconis qui, cum simili modo sacrificaverint, postea conversi agonem subierunt, alius honor concedatur; verum ab omni sacerdotali ministerio abstineant necesse est; nec deferre panem aut calicem ad altare nec praedicare valent. ¹Quod si quibusdam episcopis propter illorum laborem humilitatem et mansuetudinem aliquid amplius illis dare aut aliquid demere utile visum fuerit, plena illis potestas conceditur.

De diaconis qui sacrificaverunt.

Diaconi rursus qui sacrificaverunt et postea conversi doluerunt, honor quidem alius est iis; sunt vero soluti ab omni ministerio sacerdotii, ab inferendo altari pane vel poculo et a dando corpore et sanguine et praedicanda oratione. Quod si homines de episcopis ²viderint in iis opera conversationum vel mansuetudinis vel suavitatis, et volent aliquid maius dare vel adimere, sit licitum iis.

III.

De illis qui dum aufugerent capti, ob violentiam quam passi sunt facti sunt ethnici.

Illos qui dum aufugerent capti aut a familiaribus traditi

De iis qui fugientes capti sunt et per vim accidit iis aliquid paganismi.

Ii qui fugientes capti sunt aut a familiaribus suis traditi

¹ Haec verba accuratius reddit D.S.M. Quod si homines de episcopis videbunt (συμβολοειν) iis (i. e. apud eos) laborem aliquem vel humilitatem mansuetudinis et volent etc.

² συμβολοειν.

sunt, aut alio quovis modo bonis possessionibusque privati, tormentis tentati, aut in carcerem coniecti sunt, eo quod se christianos esse clamarent; quique violenter tractati ab illis qui eos deducebant, aliquid ethnicam religionem redolens in propriis manibus deferre aut escam recipere violentia coacti sunt, licet se christianos esse confiterentur, tristitiamque ex iis quae acciderunt conceptam perpetuo ostenderunt tum demisso aspectu suo, tum humili veste atque ratione agendi: tales immunes a peccato existere certum est; unde a communione arcendi non sunt. ¹ Quod si ² a quibusdam repulsi sunt, sive ob nimiam cautelam, ³ sive ob ignorantiam, extemplo recipiantur oportet. Ita etiam decretum est de iis qui ad clerum et de iis qui ad statum laicalem pertinent. At ampliori disquisitione facta de laicis qui talibus in angustiis versati sunt, an ad ordines promoveri possint, placuit hos, utpote qui nihil peccaverint, ordinari posse, dummodo anteactae vitae mores reperti fuerint honesti.

sunt aut alias sublata sunt ab iis, toleraverunt autem tormenta et ceciderunt in carcerem, clamantes se esse christianos, et ⁴ scissa sunt vestimenta eorum et violenter res paganismi in manus eorum hi qui cogebant eos iniecerunt, et aliquid cibi per vim attulere ori eorum, confitentibus per omnia se esse christianos, et dolorem super his quae acciderunt sibi omni tempore ostendentibus omni praeparatione et humilitate et vita demissa: hi, tamquam homines qui non peccaverunt, ne prohibeantur omnino a communione. Quod si prohibiti sunt ab hominibus propter acurationem maiorem aut propter ignorantiam, continuo recipiantur, sive de clero sunt, sive de ordine laicorum. Quaerebatur vero et tentabatur etiam hoc, utrum possint laici illi qui in hanc necessitatem inciderint fieri clerici; et convenit etiam hos, tamquam homines qui nihil in hoc peccaverint, si inveniat conversatio eorum recta et pulchra, admitti ad impositionem manus quae in sacerdotio fit.

⁵ IV.

De iis qui ob diversas causas in quamdam idololatriam impeerunt.

De iis qui per causas varias aliquid paganismi egerunt.

¹ Quod si etiam, accuratius D.S.M.

² Gr. ἰπὸ τῶν.

³ aut etiam quorundam ignorantia accuratius D.S.M.

⁴ = περισχίθιντας.

⁵ cc. iv, v = c. iv cum γ.

Inter illos qui vim passi sacrificarunt aut in templis idolorum manducarunt, ¹ omnes illi qui, dum incederent, festivo apparatu aut pretiosioribus vestibus usi sunt, quique cenae indifferenter participes facti sunt, placuit synodo, ut anno integro inter auditores remaneant, iii annis genua flectant cum paenitentibus, ii annis orationibus tantum participant, et ita demum ad id quod perfectum est admittantur.

De iis qui per vim sacrificaverunt, et cum his etiam ederunt aede idolorum: eos quidem qui, cum ducerentur illuc, schemate laeto ascenderunt et vestimentis ornamenti usi sunt et communicaverunt facile in cibo qui paratus erat, convenit annum unum esse infra auditores, et iii annos paenitentes, et ii annos communicare in oratione communicantium non admissos, et tunc venire ad illam quae perfecta est.

(V).

Omnes autem illi qui lugubri veste accesserunt, quique, reclinati ut manducarent, per integrum cenae tempus lacrimantes visi sunt, cum iii paenitentiae annos degerint, ad omnia recipiantur praeterquam ad oblationem. Quod si non comederint, cum ii annis paenitentiae vacaverint, tertio anno orationi participant, non autem oblationi, ita ut quarto anno id quod perfectum est accipiant. Episcopis autem, cum conversionis modum scrutati fuerint, ampliorum liceat eis ostendere caritatem aut ampliorem imponere paenitentiam; ante omnia autem attendatur priori posteriorique eorum conversationi, et ita illis, prout decuerit, ostendatur humanitas.

Qui autem in vestimentis doloris et aegrimonia ascenderunt, et accubuerunt et ederunt dolentes et lacrimantes per omne tempus, cum impleverint iii annos in paenitentia, admitti sine oblatione. Quod si accubuerunt tantum neque ederunt, ii annos esse in paenitentia et in tertio communicare orationi communicantium sine oblatione; ad eam vero quae perfecta est admitti quarto anno. Liceat autem episcopis, scrutantibus genus paenitentiae, aut misericordia uti aut tempus maius paenitentiae adicere; omnium autem examinetur conversatio pristina et ea quae postea, et sic misericordia mensuretur iis.

¹ = Gr. ὅσοι μὲν οὖν (D.S.M.) cum δ.

V (VI).

De illis qui minis tantum cesserunt.

Siquidam ministantum devicti et absque tormentis bonorum direptione aut exilio sacrificaverunt, neque usque ad hanc diem conversi paenitentiam egerunt, nunc autem coadunata synodo accedentes conversionis manifestarunt volitionem: illos placuit usque ad diem magnam inter auditores recipere, elapsa autem die magna, iii annos inter paenitentes consistere, iique alios annos orationi participare, quin oblationi intersint, atque ita ad id quod perfectum est annis vi elapsis admitti. Quod si quidam ante synodum ad paenitentiam admissi sunt, ab hoc tempore sexennii computari initium oportet. Si quis autem in periculum quoddam mortisque expectationem ex morbo aliave causa incidit, recipiatur iuxta decretum necesse est.

De iis qui ob timorem tantum pagani facti sunt.

De iis qui propter minas tantum tormentorum vel rapinae possessionum suarum vel exilii a loco concesserunt et sacrificaverunt, et adhuc non paenitentes facti sunt neque conversi sunt, sed hoc tempore synodi surrexerunt et ostenderunt mentem paenitentiae: convenit usque ad diem magnam admitti eos infra auditores et postea esse iii annos in paenitentia, et post hos duos communicare orationi cum communicantibus sine oblatione, et tunc veniant ad eam quae perfecta est, ut impleant tempus vi annorum. Quod si sunt homines qui ante hanc synodum admissi sunt ad paenitentiam, tunc computetur iis tempus vi annorum. Quod si periculum aliquod aut opinio mortis a morbo aut ab alia causa acciderit, sub conditione admittantur.

VI (VII).

De illis qui in diebus festis ethnicorum cum ethnicis comederunt.

Relate ad eos qui comedunt in locis ethnicis reservatis, dum ethnici festum celebrant, licet escas secum allatas manducaverint, placuit synodo ut ii annis inter paenitentes exactis¹ deinde,

De iis qui in locis idolorum vescuntur.

De iis qui ederunt in festis paganismi in loco strato paganis, cum cibos suos secum latos ederint, convenit ii annos eos paenitentiam agere et recipi. Utrum vero deceat etiam obla-

¹ ? διετίαν ὑποπεσόντας δεχθῆναι τότε, εἰ χρῆ, μετὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς ἕκαστον κ.τ.λ.

si opportunum visum fuerit, ad oblationem admittantur. Unusquisque episcoporum disquiret et diiudicabit quomodo in uniuscuiusque casu sit agendum.

tionem simulac recipiantur accipere permissum voluntati uniuscuiusque episcoporum ut, cum examinaverit conversationem eorum, ¹ faciat hoc.

VII (VIII).

De illis qui pluries sacrificarunt.

Qui bis vel ter sacrificaverint, violentia compulsi, iv annos agant inter paenitentes, iique iterum annis orationi intersint, non autem oblationi, septimoque anno demum plene recipiantur.

De iis qui saepius sacrificaverunt.

Ii qui bis terque coacti sacrificaverunt, iv annos sint in paenitentia, et ii annos communicanto in oratione sine oblatione, et anno septimo perfecte recipiantur.

VIII (IX).

De illis qui aliis sacrificandi causa exstiterunt.

Omnes illi qui non solum errarunt sed qui in ceteros fratres insurgentes illis vim vel intulerunt vel ut illis inferretur causa exstiterunt, iii annos inter auditores remaneant, vi annos deinde inter paenitentes agant, perque alium annum ad orationem admittantur, non autem ad oblationem, et ita demum, completo decennio, ad id quod perfectum est recipiantur; in eo autem ipso tempore eorum reliquam agendi rationem observare oportet.

De iis qui etiam aliis causa erant ut sacrificarent.

Ii qui non solum ipsi declinaverunt, sed etiam surrexerunt et coegerunt alios et fuerunt aliis causa ut abnegarent, hi iii annos in loco inferiore auditoribus et vi annos alios in loco paenitentium et annum alium accipiant communionem orationis sine oblatione, et cum compleverint tempus x annorum communicanto ei quae perfecta est, examinata cum his etiam conversatione vitae eorum.

¹ ? = ἀξιῶσαι.

IX (X).

De diaconis qui matrimonii convincuntur post suam ordinationem.

Omnes diaconi, qui ordinandi sunt, si in ipso ordinationis momento interrogati dixerint se, quia sine uxore vivere non possunt, velle uxorem ducere, postquam matrimonium inierint, in officio permaneant, cum uxorem ducendi ab episcopo acceperunt licentiam. Qui vero silentes ¹ita ordinem susceperunt, si deinceps matrimonium contrahant, ab officio deponantur.

De diaconis qui, accepturi impositionem manuum, antea testantur de matrimonio.

Omnes ii qui futuri sunt diaconi si eo tempore quo admittuntur ad impositionem manuum testati dixerunt oportere eos communicare, quia non possint ita perseverare: hi, etiam si postquam acceperint impositionem manuum communicant, maneant in ministerio, propterea quod ab episcopo ceperunt veniam ad hoc. Quod si homines tacuerint quo tempore accipiebant impositionem manuum, et receperint eo quod tacuerint, se sic perstaturos esse et postea venerint in matrimonium, solvantur ministerio.

X (XI).

De feminis quae postquam desponsatae sunt ab aliis violatae fuerunt.

Puellae quae postquam desponsatae fuerunt ab aliis sunt raptae, placuit ut reddantur iis qui prius eas desponsarunt, etiamsi raptores illis vim intulerint.

De iis quae postquam desponsae sunt corruptae sunt ab aliis.

Virgines quae desponsae sunt et postea ab aliis raptae, convenit sponsis suis pristinis reddi, etiamsi per vim quid acciderit iis.

XI (XII).

De catechumenis et de auditoribus qui sacrificaverunt.

Illi qui, cum ante baptismum sacrificaverunt, postea baptis-

De iis qui, cum essent auditores, sacrificaverunt.

Eos qui ante baptismum suum sacrificaverunt et postea bap-

¹ = καταδεξάμενοι μένειν οὕτως.

mum susceperunt, placuit ut ad ordines recipiantur, quia peccatum abluerunt.

tizati sunt, convenit ¹decere venire ad ordinem cleri, propterea quod se purgaverint baptismo.

XII (XIII).

De chorepiscopis.

Chorepiscopis sacerdotum diaconorumque ordinationem non licet peragere, nec civitatum ³presbyteris, absque licentia episcoporum per scriptum data, licet ⁴celebrare in ⁵quovis loco.

Quod non deceat sine episcopo urbis fieri clericum ab iis quibus ruri secundum consuetudinem antiquam nomen episcopi est.

Chorepiscopo non licet presbyteros aut diaconos facere, neque ruri neque ⁶in urbe sine venia episcopi, quae fit ⁵omni loco per literas.

XIII (XIV).

De clericis qui carne abstinent.

Qui in clero perstant sive presbyteri sive diaconi, et ab esu carnum abstinent, placuit ut comedant et ita ⁷salvent semetipsos. Quod si carnem ita ⁸impuram habuerint ut etiam holera cum carne cocta non comedant et canonici se submittere nolint, ab officio deponantur.

De clericis qui se abstinent esu carnis.

Qui sunt in clero presbyteri et diaconi qui renuntiant esum carnis, convenit primum edere et postea, si volent, continere se ipsos; quod si ⁸impuram perhibeant eam ut ne holus quidem coctum cum carne edant neque oboediant canonici, solvantur a gradibus suis.

XIV (XV).

De bonis ecclesiae propter necessitatem alienatis.

Facultates ecclesiae, quas va-

De rebus ecclesiae quae propter necessitates ecclesiae venierunt.

Res quae propriae sunt eccle-

¹ ? = προάγεσθαι δεῖν.

² malit presbyterorum D.S.M.

³ male interpretatum: rectius presbyteros D.S.M.

⁴ malit ordinare D.S.M.

⁵ = ἐκάστη.

⁶ ? = πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως.

⁷ vel melius teneant vel cohibeant D.S.M. εἰ βούλονται omittitur.

⁸ = βδελύσσονται.

cante sede episcopali abalienaverint presbyteri, ¹ecclesiae reddantur, ²ita ut penes episcopum sit pretium emptoribus restituere vel non, quoniam multoties emptoribus in magnum lucrum cessit rei venditae proventus.

siae, quae cum deesset episcopus a presbytero venierunt, reddantur ¹ecclesiae. Illud vero, utrum deceat pretium sumere annon, sit in arbitrio episcopi: quod saepe fructus eorum quae veniere rependit iis qui emerunt pretium maius.

XV (XVI).

De iis qui cum bestiis commiscentur.

Relate ad eos qui se commiscuerunt vel se commiscunt cum bestiis, vigeat canon sequens: Qui antequam vigesimum annum attingerent peccarunt, xv annos inter paenitentes cum degerint, postea orationibus intersint; et, cum in hac communione v annos expleverint, etiam oblationem recipiant: attendatur tamen eorum vitae, dum paenitentiae vacant, ita ut humane tractentur. Quod si quidam ad satietatem usque in hoc peccato vixerint, diuturniori poena plectantur. Omnes autem qui praedicta aetate transacta in hoc peccatum inciderint, etiam cum haberent uxores, xxv annos in paenitentia perseverent, postea orationibus communicent, atque, cum v annos in hac communione consummaverint, oblatione digni habeantur. Quod si viri habentes uxores transacto quinquagesimo anno in hoc peccatum

De iis qui cum bestiis adulterantur.

De iis qui cum bestiis communicaverunt vel communicant statuimus nos omnes eos qui antequam xx annos nati fuerint peccaverunt, xv annos paenitentiam agere, et postea communicare orationi, et cum fuerint in communione v annos tunc etiam oblatione dignos haberi: probetur vero etiam conversatio eorum in paenitentia, et sic digni habeantur misericordia. Quod si homines ad satietatem perseveraverunt in peccato hoc, paenitentia protracta decernatur in eos. Qui vero praeterierunt mensuram xx annorum et uxores habentes inciderunt in peccatum hoc, paenitentiam agant xxv annos, et tunc recipiantur ad communionem orationis, et cum impleverint v annos in communione orationis, digni habeantur oblatione. Quod si homines uxores habentes et tempus l annorum praetervecti peccaverunt

¹ = τῷ κυριακῷ (?).

² accuratius in iudicio vero episcopi sit D.S.M.

inciderint, in extremis tantum oblatione donentur.

ad finem vitae suae digni habeantur communione.

XVI (XVII).

De illis qui postquam cum bestiis se commiscuerunt leprosi facti sunt.

Illos qui cum bestiis se commiscuerunt sunt vel ¹facti sunt leprosi, iussit synodus inter ²eos qui probantur orare.

De iis qui cum bestiis vel cum maribus polluti sunt vel adhuc polluuntur.

Qui polluti sunt cum bestiis vel cum maribus et adhuc polluuntur et ¹contabescunt, his imperavit synodus ut sint orantes cum iis qui ²tentantur a daemoniis.

XVII (XVIII).

De episcopis consecratis qui repulsi sunt.

Quod si quidam episcopi, postquam consecrationem acceperint, a locis quorum titulares existunt, eo quod accepti non fuerunt, ad alium locum migrare voluerint, episcopos ³qui eos consecraverunt conturbantes et vexantes, excitando contra illos tumultus, tales segregentur. Si autem ⁴pacifice se gerere voluerint in sacerdotio, ⁵ut sacerdotes antea existebant habeantur nec a gradu deponantur. Sin autem tumultus cierint adversus episcopos ibi existentes, ab illis auferatur etiam sacerdotis munus, denuntiatisque se noscant.

De iis qui fuerunt episcopi neque recepti sunt.

Quod si homines qui fuerunt episcopi neque recepti sunt in locis quibus nominati erant, et ad alia loca volent ire, cogentes et excitantes turbas contra eos ³qui se fecerunt, hi sint circumscripti. Quod si volent rursus fieri presbyteri ⁵quales fuerunt antea, ne alienentur honore suo. Quod si turbaverint adversus episcopos ²qui fecerunt se, adimatur iis etiam honor presbyterii et sint proscripti.

¹ Gr. λεπρώσαντας.

³ Gr. τοὺς καθ'εστῶτας.

² Gr. τοὺς χειμαζομένους.

⁴ Gr. καθέζεσθαι.

⁵ Gr. ἐνθα ἦσαν κ.τ.λ.

XVIII (XIX).

De illis qui, postquam virginitatem voverunt, in mundum redierunt, sive viris sive feminis, et de mulieribus cohabitantibus.

Omnes qui virginitatem voverunt votaue frangunt, canonibus bigamos respicienti submittantur. Virgines quae sororum more cum quibusdam commorantur, arcemus.

De iis qui propter virginitatem abnegaverunt mundum et de mulieribus iis quae sub schemate sororum habitant cum viris.

Li¹ qui professi sunt virginitatem et violant professionem suam, terminum qui statutus est in eos qui ducunt duas uxores impleant. Virgines vero illas quae sub specie sororum habitant cum hominibus prohibuimus.

XIX (XX).

De laicis quorum uxores, vel ipsi, adulteria commiserunt.

Quod si cuiusdam uxor vel ipse adulterium commiserit, post vii annos ad id quod perfectum est admitti possunt, iuxta gradus antea descriptos.

De iis quibus sunt uxores adulteratae vel qui adulterantur.

Si fiet ut uxor hominis adulteretur, aut homo cum uxore alterius adulterium faciat, post vii annos digni censeantur communione oblationis.

XX (XXI).

De mulieribus quae pueros suos necant.

Mulieres quae, cum scortatae fuerunt, pueros occidunt aut tentant fetum opprimere, ad finem vitae usque excommunicatione plectebantur iuxta priores canones, ² quibus adhaeret praesens synodus. Attamen, cum hoc decretum aliquatenus rigidum visum fuerit, decrevimus

De iis quae varie occidunt liberos suos a stupro.

De feminis quae constuprantur et occidunt liberos suos, et iis quae callide agunt et perdunt fetus suos, terminus prior usque ad exitum earum de mundo prohibet eas; ² et cum hoc termino consentimus. Sed inventa re clementiore hoc tempus x annorum definivimus

¹ ? = ἐπαγγελόμενοι.

² Gr. καὶ τούτῳ συντίθενται.

ab istis mulieribus x annos se-² ut impleant, secundum gradus
 cundum gradus ¹ modo definitos ¹ supra distinctos.
² esse explendos.

XXI (XXII).

De homicidis voluntariis.

Qui volentes homicidia per-
 trant inter paenitentes in-
 tegram vitam agant: sed ad id
 quod perfectum est in extremis
 admittantur.

De iis qui sponte sua occidunt.

Ii qui sponte sua occidunt
 sint in paenitentia omne tempus
 vitae suae: ea vero quae per-
 fecta est in exitu suo e mundo
 digni censeantur.

XXII (XXIII).

De homicidis involuntariis.

Homicidis involuntariis vetus
 canon vii annos praescribebat
 antequam ad id quod perfectum
 est iuxta gradus definitos ad-
 mitterentur: secundus autem
 canon v annos tantum prae-
 scribit.

De iis qui non sponte sua occidunt.

De caedibus quae accidunt
 citra voluntatem, mandatum
 prius vii annos statuit in actiones
 eorum secundum gradus supra
 positos: hoc vero alterum tem-
 pus v annorum definivit in eos
 ut impleant.

XXIII (XXIV).

De ariolis.

Qui divinationis artem exer-
 cerunt aut ethnicorum mores
 imitantes in domos suos divinos
 inducunt, ² ut obiecta deperdita
 reperiant vel ut puritatem con-
 sequantur, canon i v annos de-
 finienti iuxta gradus praescriptos
 subiaceant, iii annos in paeni-
 tentia iique annos in oratione
 explentes, absque tamen parti-
 cipatione in oblatione.

De praestigiatoribus et iis qui
 praestigiatores sunt et consue-
 tudines paganismi sequuntur et
 iis qui introducunt homines in
 domos suas ut ad inventionem
 magicæ vel ad purgationem:
 sub canone v annorum ponantur
 secundum gradus ibi definitos:
 iii annos in paenitentia et ii in
 oratione sine oblatione.

¹ Gr. τοὺς ἀρισμένους.² = πληρῶσαι (?).³ Gr. ἐπὶ ἀνευρέσει φαρμακείων ἢ καὶ καθάρσει.

XXIV (XXV).

*De illis qui virgines violant
et de illis qui fetus opprimere
tentant.*

*De iis qui norunt de corrup-
tione virginis.*

¹ Quod si quis adolescentulae
sibi desponsatae sororem viola-
verit ita ut fructum ab ea
habuerit, postea tamen despon-
satam duxerit, et illa quam
violavit sibi necem intulerit:
de illis qui ita scienter agunt
praescribit synodus ut, x annis
expletis, cum eis ² qui simul
orantes adstant iuxta gradus
definitos admittantur.

¹ Si factum est ut desponsarit
homo puellam et postea corrup-
erit sororem eius, eaque ab eo
conceperit, et rursus duxerit
sponsam suam; ea vero quae
concepisset suspenderit se ip-
sam: iis qui norant actionem
imperatum est ut post x annos
veniant ² ad communionem ob-
lationis iuxta gradus definitos.

*Desinunt canones xxiv in
synodo Ancyrae conditi.*

APPENDIX II.

THE ARMENIAN VERSION.

THE appended translation (as literal a one as possible) of the Armenian version of the canons has been very kindly made for me by Mr. Conybeare, of University College, from a MS in his own possession, and to him I am also indebted for the following information.

In his history of the Armenian versions (Venice, 1890), P. Karékim assigns the sixth and eighth centuries as the limits for the translation of the Armenian book of canons, which he further supposes to have been made partly from the Greek, and partly from the Syriac. No grounds are given for either opinion; but the Armenian of the version would appear to be of about the seventh century, and this is borne out by internal evidence, thus the office of chorepiscopus requires explanation (c. xiv), *diocesis* is used in its later sense as equivalent to *παρoικία*, and, more significantly, 'Roman' is used for 'Greek' in c. xiv. Again, the spelling of the names in the preface would support a Syriac original, for the transliteration direct from the Greek is usually

¹ = ἐὼς προσεφθάρη.

² Gr. εἰς τοὺς συνεστῶτας.

much more exact, but comparison with the Syriac versions in App. i does not at all support this supposition. The Armenian has never been published. There are MSS of it at Venice and Jerusalem, but not of an early date; the best are in Edschmiadzin, but even they appear to be only of the fourteenth century.

The version, as will be seen at once, varies so much from the Greek as to afford hardly any evidence as to various readings in the original. The last six canons are missing, but the loss is balanced by the insertion of a new canon (x) and of much new matter, e. g. in cc. ix, xi, xvii, xx. Canon xv supports an original *βδελύσσονται*; but on the other hand *πρεσβυτέρους* may have been read in c. xiv, which is closer to the Greek than most of the canons, though *ἐν ἐρέσῃ παροιμία* is omitted.

On other grounds the version is very interesting. Its chief characteristic is an increase in *severity*: the terms of penitence are much heavier than in the Greek, cf. e. g. cc. iv, viii, ix, xvii; the presbyters and deacons, in cc. i and ii, must have undergone great violence to excuse their fall; deacons who break their pledge of celibacy suffer a heavy penance in addition to deprivation (c. xi); the sterner view is taken as to the eating of meats or idolothyta in c. x; and lastly the sin of apostacy and of causing others to apostatize is regarded as most heinous, under the 'first canons' death was the penalty for the latter, but the fathers at the peril of seeming contradiction to Holy Scripture¹ permitted the offenders to receive the viaticum. On the other hand they appeal to the *misericordia Christi* as the ground for leniency in cc. iii, xvii (? vii). So too almsgiving and *munificentia erga pauperes* is insisted upon as an indispensable sign of penitence, cf. cc. vii, viii, ix, x, xi. Technical terms are fully explained, e. g. *ἐκκληρύκτους* in c. xix and the stages of penance in cc. iv, xx. Among such explanations we notice in c. i that *ὁμολεῖν* is rendered *ad interpretationem sedere*, the *interpretatio* being the translation of the Greek or Syriac lections into the vernacular; also that *testamentum legere* is a 'liturgical' function of the presbyters, as to this day the reading of the Gospel is restricted to priests or deacons. The Armenian word for *clerus* in c. iii (as for *clericus* in xv. tit.) means 'covenant,' or 'vow,' and so denotes all those who have taken vows, and thus includes monks also and at times even all the faithful as being bound by baptismal

¹ Viz. to the words of Christ, *Negabo et eum coram patre meo*: but perhaps the original signified obedience to the divine precept, viz. to the remission of sins, *quaecumque solveritis, etc.* Cf. note.

vows; hence the *cleri pueri* are not the families of the clergy, but the children of the church (cf. Acts iii. 25). Ordination is *unctio* (c. xi, xiv), but it is also marked by laying on of hands (c. xiv tit. etc.). The *chorepiscopus* is regarded as possessing full episcopal powers, only differing in point of dignity from the town bishops who are *valde magni*.

The consistent alteration of the terms of penitence in the direction of greater severity, and the supplementary character of the new matter introduced, as well as the definition of penance before left vague (e. g. in c. xx) suggests two conclusions: (a) that the canons were still in practical force in Armenia at the date of the version and that would be due to the close proximity of and wars with the Arabs; this will also explain the stern view taken of apostacy in c. ix, with the allusion to the sentence of death which could have only been enforced under a Christian government: (b) that in the present version we have an authoritative revision of the original canons by a council, or some other authority, in Armenia; such a council, and not that of Ancyra, would be the *secundum concilium* of c. ix, and the *primi canones* be those of a previous Armenian synod, as their enactment is certainly not in the canons of any Greek council.

EXORDIUM.

Hi canones priores sunt quam illi qui Nicaeae instituti sunt. Qui enim Nicaeae instituti sunt, ut ¹ antiquiores instituti sunt propter grave maximumque concilium quod congregatum est in urbe Nicaea.

Qui undique congregati sunt in concilium Ancyranum, eorundem nomina subscripta sunt istis: Marcellus Ancyranus, Agricolaes Caesariensis, ² Paulus Tarsensis, Vitalia Antiochensis, ³ Barselius ex Amasia, Philadelphus Iuliopolitanus, ⁴ Eustolius Nicomedensis, Heraclius Zelonensis, Petrus Iconensis, Nunechius Laodicensis, Sergianus ab Antiochia Pisidica urbe veniens ⁵. Convenientes ergo Ancyram, unanimiter congregatis orthodoxis, dissolutionis causa Lyciae impietatis quae ad idolothyta sollennia invitos cogebat presbyteros, instituerunt secundum peccata terminum modumque paenitentiae, viginti capita canonum qui isti sunt.

¹ Haec verba Armenice aequiparant *πρὸ βέλτερον* 'to be better, more important.'

² *Lupus* syr. et lat. isid.

³ *Basilius* syr. et lat. isid.

⁴ *Eustolus* lat. isid.

⁵ Syr. add. *Epiaorius Pergae* (? *Epidaurus*), *Narcissus Neroniadis*, et lat. isid. etiam in quibusdam mss. *Leontius Neroniadensis*, *Longinus Dicationensis*, *Amphion Alfius*, *Selaus Germanus*.

I. De presbyteris qui ethnicorum violentia usque ad tormenta mortisque minas provecta ipsi propter metum sacrificaverunt, posteaque laboraverunt et solliciti sunt et revera redierunt: de talibus placuit sancto concilio, ut honorem cathedrae secundum ordinem habeant, sed ad interpretationem sedere vel oblationem offerre vel testamentum legere ne liceat.

II. Idem canon et diacono constituatur, si ab invito factum sit sacrificium et sine voluntate, sique sit reditus sincerus. Placuit magno concilio: in sacerdotium ne accedant, sed in ordine ministerii remaneant; si vero cruciatus et supplicium ab iniquis graviter inciderint reditusque sincerus fuerit, episcopus sit arbiter ¹presbytero et diacono an digni sint qui sui quisque gradus ministerio fungantur.

III. De laicis et de cleri juvenibus: si quis coactus fuerit impiorum violentia ad sacrificandum et direptis eorum bonis aliisque permaximis mortibus illatis, sique illi conclamaverint se christianos esse et de deo alio quodam nihil plane cognoscere, et si coacti ederint idolothyta maesti et animo contristati, non sine plangore lacrimisque, ²iis per misericordiam Christi venia detur ut mortalibus et infirmis: talibus in ordinem ministerii obsignari liceat. Si quis vero de clero sit, dignus est qui adducatur in gradum sacerdotii; praesertim si prior vita recta fuerit, ut accipiantur placuit maximo concilio.

IV. De iis qui violentia abducti sunt ad sacrificandum, posteaque cum pervenissent in locum volenter hilares solutique per luserisue lascivierunt in eorum templis, tunc autem in paenitentiam adducti sunt: placuit propter amorem dei erga homines ut duo annos audiat, et iii annos in vestibulo particeps sit precum, duoque annos ingressus ecclesiam cum paenitentibus egrediatur; vitam perquisitus eucharistiam participet.

V. Qui pullo amictu iverunt et inter accubitionem epularem ederunt, sed diem totum toro accumbentes fleverunt paenitueruntque, cum segregati substratique compleverint paenitentiam, triennium sine eucharistia accipiantur. Si vero non comederint, biennium segregentur; tertio iam anno participant sine eucharistia, ita ut quod perfectum praecipuumque est post tres annos accipiant, id est eucharistiam. Episcopos penes sit, cum morem reditus spectaverint, peccantem indulgentius tractare vel et aliquantulo spatium paenitentiae proferre. Praecipue et ante omnia quae fuerit anteacta

¹ Arm. *eritsoun tḡ presbyterḡ*.

² ¹ vel et per misericordiam Christi venia data sit vitae eorum mortali, i. e. ita ut tormenta corporis non passi sint.

vita peccantis et in quibus versatus sit omni modo investigatio fiat et probatio, secundum quam et indulgentia aestimabitur.

VI. De iis qui minis coacti suppliciove seu bonis mulctati seu exsultantes oboedierunt sacrificaveruntque, neque adhuc redierunt neque exomologesin fecerunt, nunc autem et ante tempus concilii animum induerunt paenitentis redeuntisque: placuit usque ad diem Pascharum audiant tantam, post autem magnam diem, Pascharum dico, sub disciplina sint iii annos; at peracto biennio participant sine eucharistia, et hoc modo usque ad rem perfectam veniant; eo ut omnino vi annos compleant. Si quis autem ante concilium ut paenitens exceptus sit, ab eo tempore aestimetur eidem initium vi annorum complendorum. Si cui vero periculum vel exspectatio mortis inciderit propter morbum vel aliam causam, is accipiat sub definitione.

VII. De iis qui ethnicorum in domos iverunt, ubi et locus paratus est sese impurandi causa, praesertim si et suos cibos attulerint ibique se lasciviae dediderint: etenim de talibus liber dicit, ¹*commisti sunt inter gentes et didicerunt opera eorum*: de his placuit ut triennium audiant, bienniumque ²substrati participant preces; ad episcopi tandem placitum per misericordiam compassionemque erga pauperes participant eucharistiam.

VIII. De iis qui iterum tertioque euntes idolothyta comederunt, suosque cibos tulerunt obtuleruntque, postea vero exhortante episcopo ipsoque animo, in exomologesin paenitentiamque venerunt: placuit vii annos sub disciplina sint, et duo annos preces participant, ut paenitentes substrati; deinde spectati et posteram vitam et sinceritatem paenitentia afflictione et misericordia beneficentiaque erga pauperes comprobantes ad episcopi placitum eucharistiam participant.

IX. De iis qui ipsi non abstinuerunt a sacrificiis sed et fratres et amicos suos dolo seduxerunt ut una cum ipsis perderentur, propuleruntque eos praecipies in imam foveam, perinde atque scriptum est, ³*foveam suis fodit, in eandem cadat quam fecit*: tales et primi canones interfici iusserunt, sed ⁴secunda vice placuit unanime maximo concilio ⁵offendere divino praecepto, *qui autem negaverit me coram hominibus, negabo et ego eum coram patre meo qui est in coelis* et ⁶*quaecumque solveritis super terram erunt soluta*

¹ Ps. cvi. 35.

² Arm. *ünd dzeramb* = sub manu.

³ Ps. vii. 16 (?).

⁴ forte legendum: *secundo placuit unanime maximo concilio*.

⁵ insulsa lectio videtur *offendere*, nisi particula negativa antecedit, quae deesse videtur, vel vox ipsa *adhaerere* possit significare.; vide autem pag. 210.

⁶ S. Matt. x. 33 et xviii. 18.

in coelo ; itaque placuit cuncto maximo concilio ut vivant neque moriantur ; si facto reditu salutis usque ad plenam exomologesin adducti fuerint insaniae magistri qui familiares ad insaniam ad-e-g-e-r-un-t, prae gravi paenitentia magnaue tribulatione viaticum accipiant. Quos autem insanos reddiderunt, quinquennium ¹ sub disciplina sint, iv vero annos substrati preces participant, prae munificentia erga pauperes eucharistiam participant.

² X. De iis qui comedunt sine discrimine et indifferenter cibos ethnicorum : placuit concilio magno deumque amanti dicere ³ *omnia munda mundis, coinquinatis autem omne immundum*, id esse quodcunque dignum sit iis comedere licere. Si fieri possit, ne degustet omnino ; sin gulam audeat, caseum carnemque quae viro catechumeno mactata sit ne comedat ; sed omnem cibum potumque et frugem et cramben etiam quae idolis cunque oblata fuerint, ne degustet omnino ; quae vero per sacrificium labe haud maculata fuerint, panis, vinumque, lac, fruges, crambe, vestimenta, bestia, libera sint. ⁴ *Nolite tamen dare sanctum canibus, cibos cleri sanctae ecclesiae* ⁵ homini, ⁶ cui character domini non impressus sit, canones vetant. Sin vero mavis id agere quod ab apostolo dictum est, ⁷ *omne quod in macello venit, manducate*, audi continuo, *si quis autem dixerit, hoc immolatum est idolis, nolite manducare*. Si quis vero praecepto huic offendat et gulae obtemperet, paenitentia et eleemosyna peccatum expiet, unum annum substernatur, sed ⁸ cleri pueris ne omnino socius fiat ; nonne scriptum est, ⁹ *in sapientia ambulate ad eos qui foris sunt, ne nomen domini per vos blasphemetur inter gentes ?*

XI (X). Diaconis qui cum ad unctionem adducti sint conclamaverint se castos esse nequire, sancte nubere fas est, quia ¹⁰ *honorabile connubium et torus immaculatus* ; posteaque ad sacerdotium promoveantur et palam libereque episcopo administrent. At si qui in unctione ipsa tacuerunt et in approbatione idcirca professi sunt ut confirmarentur in gradu, postea autem nupserunt, a sacerdotio cessent et ab ordine ministrantium ecludantur ; vii annos inter audientes et duo annos substratus munificentia erga pauperes expiet

¹ Arm. und kargoğ ad lit. = sub iussis.

² Hic canon non in graecis reperitur.

³ Tit. i. 15.

⁴ S. Matt. vii. 6.

⁵ per facilem emendationem M. Baronian, textus enim armenius hic corruptus est.

⁶ id est non baptizato ; cf. I Cor. i. 16 arm.

⁷ I Cor. x. 25 et 28.

⁸ id est filiis ecclesiae ; cf. Acts iii. 25.

⁹ Col. iv. 5 et Rom. ii. 24.

¹⁰ Heb. xiii. 4.

peccata; sed examinatus spectatusque paenitentiam ab episcopo participabit eucharistiam, sed in ordinem et ministerium ne intret.

XII (XI). Sed quaecumque desponsae sint virgines nuptaeque repertae sint, postea vero ab aliis raptae sint, placuit ut restituantur iis quibus erant desponsae, vel si ob violentiam refugiant ne liceat.

XIII (XII). Qui ante baptismum sacrificaverunt posteaque baptizati sunt, placuit in gradum promoveantur tales, ut qui fonte lustrati sunt.

XIV (XIII). Chorepiscopi ne liceat presbyteros diaconosque unguere, neque autem creare seu unguere ¹ presbyteros in ulla urbe sine permissu episcopi seu per litteras seu ipsa voce mandantis. Etenim qui in regionibus sive pagis episcopales erant, tales appellat chorepiscopos: chorepiscopus enim ² Graece appellatur inspector pagi, factoque discrimine eorum qui valde magni sunt, nempe qui civitatibus praefecti sunt, episcopi appellantur regionum.

XV (XIV). Qui de clero sint presbyteri vel diaconi aut alio quidem munere in ministerio fungantur, abstineantque sese carne, sed appetitu ad gustandam adducantur, palam neque clam comedant; si autem maluerint, abstineant: et hoc et illud canones permittunt. Si quis tamen ³ pro impuro habeat sive cramben sive panem propter carnis contagionem, eum ecclesiae canones non accipiunt.

XVI (XV). De facultatibus quae ecclesiae esse definitae sunt, quodcumque sit, sive domus seu ager seu arvum, antequam episcopus in vico esset, sed presbyteri vendiderunt, potestatem habeat easdem ab iis exigendi: postea vero episcopus aestimabit et ius et pretium rei, utrum pretium oporteat adimere an reddere.

XVII (XVI). De iis qui sese bestiarum stupro polluerunt: si quis iuvenis veluti xv annos natus peccaverit, xv annos audiat posteaque quinquennium subternatur; paenitentiaque eius investigetur perquiraturque; is, si lacrimis et corde paenituerit, eleemosynaque peccatum expiaverit, dignus fiat qui participet eucharistiam. Sin vero adultus peccaverit veluti xx annos natus, xx annos audiat quinquenniumque subternatur; si tamen in peccatis perseveraverit, spatii plus addatur paenitentiae; fervorem et eleemosynam spectetur et eucharistiam participet. Si tamen uxorem habens sese polluerit, usque ad vitam peractam inter audientes sit cum gemitu et afflictione eleemosynaque; placuit magno concilio propter *humani generis amorem* ut in discessu vitae accipiat viaticum. Bestiam vero, si ad edendum sit idonea, canes comedant lac carnemque.

XVIII (XVII). Qui corpus maculosum seu lentigine sive alio quo

¹ ? πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως.

² Arm. *Horome* i. e. *Romane*.

³ ? βδελύσσονται.

⁴ ? φιλανθρωπία (Tit. iii. 4).

morbo habent, si clanculum alios contagione morbosos reddiderint, inter daemoniacos teneantur.

XIX (XVIII). Qui episcopi erant institutique, repudiati autem a dioecesi quae deputata est, in alteram dioecesin adire voluerunt vique alterius dioecesis episcopum cogere, adducta re in contentionem turbamque, tales fas est ab ecclesia pellere et occludere. Si tamen velint in ordine cuius erant presbyteratus sedere et nomen presbyterale habere, digni sunt acceptione. Sin episcopo obviam eant et resistant, omnino ab honore presbyteratus pellantur et coram ecclesia sit publica expulsio, eo ut omnibus notificetur.

XX (XXI). Qui iam adulti castitatis professionem fecerunt, posteaque vota non servaverunt et fornicati sunt, tales abhinc casti esse nequeunt: velut si duas feminas duxerit, talis habeatur; subiiciatur condicionibus paenitentiaeque; biennium in vestibulo substernantur, unum vero annum iam in ecclesiam ingressi cum paenitentibus egrediantur; animum et cor paenitentis ostendant et participant eucharistiam; sed ad unctionem sacerdotalem ne promoveantur. Virginibus autem quae quibusdam veluti sorores sese consociabant, diutius ne consocient, interdiximus.

ANCYRANI CANONES, CAPITA XX.

- I. *De sacerdotibus qui necessitate immolaverunt.*
- II. *De diaconis idem facientibus.*
- III. *De cleri pueris qui vi coguntur ad idolothyta comedenda.*
- IV. *De iis qui volenter sacrificaverunt.*
- V. *De iis qui hilariter manducaverunt.*
- VI. *De gavisis qui quominus paeniterent morati sunt.*
- VII. *De iis qui in domos iverunt ethnicorum atque comederunt.*
- VIII. *De iis qui perseveraverunt in peccatis.*
- IX. *De iis qui et ipsos et alios deceperunt.*
- X. *De non dando in oblationibus cibos infidelium.*
- XI (X). *De diaconis qui feminam ducunt.*
- XII (XI). *De iis qui abripiunt virgines desponsatas.*
- XIII (XII). *De iis qui post sacrificeationem baptizati sunt.*
- XIV (XIII). *De manus imponentibus chorepiscopis sacerdoti.*
- XV (XIV). *De clericis qui voluerunt carnem gustare.*
- XVI (XV). *De facultatibus quae ecclesiae appellatae sunt.*
- XVII (XVI). *De animalia struprantibus.*
- XVIII (XVII). *De iis qui corpore maculoso sunt.*
- XIX (XVIII). *De episcopo qui alienam dioecesin occupat.*
- XX (XIX). *De iis qui castitatem profitentur.*

VI.

THE CHELTENHAM LIST OF THE CANONICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT AND OF THE WRITINGS OF CYPRIAN¹.

[W. SANDAY.]

The following articles may be consulted :—

Mommsen, *Zur lateinischen Stichometrie*, in *Hermes*, Bd. xxi. pp. 142-156,

J. Weiss, *Ein neugefundenes Kanon-Verzeichniss*, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*

f. Wiss. Theol., Jahrg. xxx. (1887), pp. 157-171.

Harnack, review of Mommsen in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, Jahrg. xi. (1886), cols. 172-176.

Zahn, review in *Zeitschr. f. kirchl. Wissenschaft*, 1886, pp. 113-118.

I have not seen an article by Volkmar in *Theol. Zeitschr. aus der Schweiz*, 1886, p. 184 ff. Zahn seems to promise a special 'Beilage' on the subject in the forthcoming second volume of his *Gesch. d. newest. Kanons*. [Appeared Oct. 1890].

WE in England are too often indebted to foreign scholars for the discovery of our own treasures. When Prof. Mommsen was in England in the autumn of 1885 he found in the Philipps Collection at Cheltenham (since in part dispersed) a MS. of no great value in itself, but which derives a certain value, as Prof. Mommsen was not slow to recognise, from a list inserted in it of the Books of the Old and New Testaments and of the writings of Cyprian. The interest of this turned of course mainly upon the substance of the list, but it was enhanced by the occurrence of a note which seemed to give it a date, and that a date as early as the year 359 A.D.

The MS. was numbered 12266 in the Philipps Collection,

¹ The substance of this essay was read on Feb. 22, 1886. It has been re-written, in view of the materials which have accumulated in the interval, but the part relating to Cyprian is left much as it was.

and is ascribed to the tenth century. I saw it after Prof. Mommsen in the summer of 1886, and took some notes, which have not however been verified. The lists are quite correctly given by Prof. Mommsen, whose proofs were revised by Mr. Fenwick, Jun., son of the owner of the library. The only point on which a question may be raised (as to the interpretation of the data for Cyprian's *Testimonia ad Quirinum*) will be noticed below. The MS. is thus described in the late Sir Thomas Phillipps' Catalogue, from which an extract is given in Zangemeister's *Durchforschung der Bibliotheken England's* (Vienna, 1877), p. 99. I keep Zangemeister's numbering.

- (1) Eusebii Cronica de Generationibus Bibliae¹.
- (2) Persecutiones octo contra Christianos.
- (3) Prophetiae ex Sacris Libris.
- (4) Virtutes Eliae Prophetae.
- (5) p. ysel Eio² (*sic*) do.
- (6) Comparationes³ Hominum.
- (7) Liber Generationis Hominum.
- (8) Nomina Regum Samariae.
- (9) Nomina Prophetarum et Sacerdotum.
- (10) Patriae Levitarum.
- (11) Interpretatio Nominum Hebraicorum.
- (12) Index Librorum Canonicorum Vet. et Novi Test⁴.
- (13) De Locis Hebraicis.
- (14) Alia Interpretatio Nominum Hebraicorum.
- (15) Excerpta ex Cassiani Collationibus.

¹ The opening words of the MS. are *Chronica Eusebii Caesariensis epi Incipiunt Generationes totius Bibliothecae*. Sir T. Phillipps clearly did not profess to reproduce exactly the titles in the MS. My notes are not quite sufficient to allow me to give a revised list, or I would do so: the principal points are noted below.

² My notes have distinctly *Incipiunt etiā helisei virtutes*.

³ *Contropationes* (= ἀντιθέσεις?) Cod., i.e. distinctions of persons bearing the same name, as Adam the protoplast, Adam *filius barao* (*Adad filius Badaad* Vulg. in 1 Chron. i. 46; the various reading will be noticed), etc.

⁴ The list of the writings of Cyprian is omitted.

- (16) Augustinus de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio.
 - (17) Augustinus de Correptione et Gratia.
 - (18) De Origene, qui scripsit Mille et Sexcentos Libros.
- Fol. min. mb. s. x. folio 105.

There is nothing I believe really by Eusebius in the MS. The first 100 pages are a miscellaneous compilation consisting of lists of various kinds, digested and classified, such as did duty for biblical and chronological science in the early Middle Ages. The larger portion (beginning on p. 66) is taken from the so-called *Liber Generationis*, itself a statistical account of the sons of Noah, their dispersion and the regions which they occupied, the mountains and rivers of Scripture, the judges, kings of Judah, kings of Rome, prophets, prophetesses, high priests, and the like. The learned opinion of the present day seems to be on the whole favourable to the view that Hippolytus was the author of this work¹. Another and still better MS., No. 1829², in the Phillipps Catalogue, was also at Cheltenham, and is now, I suppose, with the other Meerman MSS. at Berlin. Both MSS. were derived from the same archetype, but the older MS. was differently dated and had not the lists of books. On p. 77 of the

¹ So Mommsen, Krusch, and Duchesne (*Lib. Pontif.* p. iii). Zahn expresses dissent (*Z. f. kirchl. Wiss.* 1886, p. 113), but he has not yet, so far as I know, published his reasons. If it is not by Hippolytus himself, it seems at least to belong to the time of Hippolytus. The leading MS. is dated in a number of places the thirteenth year of Alexander Severus (206 from the Passion, A.M. 5738 = 234 A.D.). The work circulated in two forms, sometimes separately and sometimes incorporated in the larger compilation which passes under the name of Fredegarius (Duchesne, *ut sup.*). It has been published at various times by Canisius, *Thesaurus Mon. Eccles. et Hist.*, tom. ii. 147 ff. (ed. Basnage, Amsterdam, 1725), Labbe, *Nova Bibl. MSS.*, f. 298 ff. (Paris, 1657), and recently (from an inferior MS., but with an attempt to restore the lost Greek original) by Pitra, *Analecta Sacra*, ii. 274 ff. (1884).

² Mommsen by a slip of the pen says 1895. The MS. in question is the same from which the *Liber Generationis* was originally published by Labbe, and the same also with the Codex Middlehillensis of Jerome's Chronicle (Schoene's *M*; described on p. xiv of his edition): it was written in the eighth century, Ruehl conjectures at Verona, and came into the Meerman collection from the Jesuit Collège de Clermont. The *Liber Generationis* begins on p. 183.

younger MS., inserted among the Hippolytean matter, is a chronological calculation which is brought down to the consulship of the two brothers Eusebius and Hypatius (*eubium et typasium*, *frs* Cod.) in the year 359, which tallies exactly with a further calculation, that from the founding of Rome to the *imperium* of G. Julius Caesar was 705 years, and from Julius Caesar to the consuls Eusebius and Hypatius an additional 406 years ($705 + 406 = 1111$ A. U. C. = 358/9 A. D.)

This note comes at the end of a list of the kings of Rome¹. Then follow names of prophets and prophetesses, kings of Israel, and high priests; then on p. 81 some interpretations of Hebrew names (not from the work of Hippolytus); then on p. 82 begins the list of the Books of the Old Testament; on pp. 83, 84 the lists of the Books of the New Testament and of the works of Cyprian; and at the end of these continuously in the same line some more interpretations from the Hebrew. These are not, I believe, taken directly from Jerome. A confused mass of such interpretations was floating about at the time when the MS. was written, though they would no doubt be less common in the year 359.

There is an interval of five pages between the chronological note and the Biblical and Cyprianic lists; and the text which connects them is not all taken from the same work. It will be seen therefore that there is but a very small presumption that the lists in question proceeded from the same hand as the note. We are thrown back upon the internal evidence of the lists; and though there are features in them which would agree sufficiently well with such a date as 359, there are others which have the appearance of being somewhat later.

Dr. Mommsen, as he explains, was hurried in his examination of the MS.; and he does not mention the fact that it contains another note of time not quite consistent with that which he has given. On p. 66, at the beginning of the table

¹ Not, I think, 'kings of Judah' (as Mommsen, p. 143): the kings of Rome come between.

of contents of the *Liber Generationis*, occurs the following:—*Haec sunt diutissime per diversa quaesita; sic dinumeratio temporum et annorum a generatione saeculi, ab Adam usque in consulatum Valentiniani et Valentis; anni sunt. V. DCCCC. XX. VIII.*¹

It is hard to reconcile the two parts of the date. The first consulship of Valentinian and Valens is A.D. 365=A.M. 5857/8 according to the era of Alexandria (invented by Julius Africanus). But this does not at all resemble the reading of the MS. (V̄DCCCLVII compared with V̄DCCCCXXVIII). The era of Constantinople (V̄DCCCLXXIII) would be nearer the mark². But the era of Constantinople was not in use in the time of Valentinian; so that if the calculations were made in accordance with that era it would not be contemporary, and no conclusion could be drawn from it.

On the other hand, A.M. 5928=A.D. 436 according to the era of Alexandria, or 420 according to that of Constantinople. The consuls for the first of these years were Fl. Anthemius Isidorus and Senator; Emperors Theodosius II and Valentinian III; the consuls for the year 420 were the Emperors Theodosius II and Constantius III. There is nothing in either year or in the near neighbourhood of either year to suggest any obvious emendation or explanation. I can only for the present leave the discrepancy as it stands. Clearly the consulship of Valentinian and Valens is the more fixed point of the two. Numbers are always liable to corruption. We may accept then provisionally the year 365 as the date of the note, which will at least serve to verify the statement that the surrounding matter was collected from various sources. At the same time it will not escape us that the two dates 359 and 365 are near each other; so that to a certain extent the one lends support to the other, and would make it appear that the compiler or compilers were

¹ The punctuation is that of the MS., but the contractions are resolved.

² [Mr. Turner suggests the era of Hippolytus (V̄DCCCLXXIII), which would be nearer still and not open to objection.]

busy about that period. More than this we cannot say. The lists certainly cannot be labelled '359' without further question; but they may be approached with a fair presumption that they belong, if not to the year 359, yet to a date not far removed from that year¹.

We have now to put the reader in possession of the lists. These are reprinted from Mommsen's article, to which, as I have said, I have nothing to offer by way of correction. The Latinity and clerical errors of the MS. are reproduced as they are.

Incipit indiculum veteris testamenti qui sunt libri canonici
sic

Genesis ver n̄

Exodus ver n̄

Numeri ver n̄

Leviticum ver n̄

Deuteronomium ver n̄

Ihū Nave ver n̄

Iudicum ver n̄

fiunt libri VII ver n̄ XVIIIIC

Rut ver CCI

Regnorum liber I ver IIICC

Regnorum liber II ver IIIC

Regnorum liber III ver IID

Regnorum liber IIII ver IIICCL

fiunt versus VIIIID

Paralipomenē lib. I IIXL

lib. II ver IIC

¹ It was customary to insert dates in compilations of this kind. That which goes by the name of *Fredegarius* bears a double date: the first 613, the second marking a further revision in 642 (or 641 ?): see Duchesne, *Lib. Pontif.*, p. 18 etc. The Harley MS. 5251 (eighth or ninth century) appears to contain the latter date: *Fuit ab adam usque ad eracleum imperatorem regnante annorum XXXI. Omnes anni v milia CXLVI.* (Zangemeister, *Durchforschung*, etc. p. 26). A very slight correction (VI for v) brings this right: A.M. 6146 = A.D. 641, which is the thirty-first year of Heraclius.

Machabeorum lib. I $\overline{\text{ver}} \overline{\text{IICCC}}$

lib. II $\overline{\text{ver}} \infty \text{DCCC}$

Iob $\overline{\text{ver}} \infty \text{DCCC}$

Tobias $\overline{\text{ver}} \text{DCCCC}$

Hester

Iudit $\overline{\text{ver}} \infty \text{C}$

Psalmi David CLI $\overline{\text{ver}} \overline{\text{V}}$

Salomonis $\overline{\text{uer}} \overline{\text{VD}}$

profetas maiores $\overline{\text{ver}} \overline{\text{XVIICCLXX}}$ numero *IIII*

Y

**saia*s $\overline{\text{uer}} \overline{\text{IIIDLXXX}}$

Ieremias $\overline{\text{uer}} \overline{\text{IIICCCCL}}$

Daniel $\overline{\text{ver}} \infty \text{CCCL}$

Ezechiel $\overline{\text{ver}} \overline{\text{IIIDCCC}}$

profetas XII $\overline{\text{IIIDCCC}}$

erunt omnes $\overline{\text{ver}} \overline{\text{n LXVIIIID}}$

Sed ut in apocalypsis Iohannis dictum est: 'vidi XXIIII seniores mittentes coronas suas ante thronum,' maiores nostri probant hos libros esse canonicos et hoc dixisse seniores.

Item indiculum novi testamenti.

euangelia IIII Matheum $\overline{\text{vr}} \overline{\text{IIDCC}}$

Marcus $\overline{\text{ver}} \infty \text{DCC}$

Iohannem $\overline{\text{vr}} \infty \text{DCCC}$

Luca $\overline{\text{vr}} \overline{\text{IIICCC}}$

fiunt omnes versus X

ep̄lae Pauli $\overline{\text{n}} \text{XIII}$

actus ap̄lorum $\overline{\text{ver}} \overline{\text{IIIDC}}$

apocalypsis $\overline{\text{ver}} \infty \text{DCCC}$

ep̄lae Iohannis III $\overline{\text{ur}} \text{CCCC}$

una sola

ep̄lae Petri II $\overline{\text{ver}} \text{CCC}$

una sola

Quoniam indiculum versuum in urbe Roma non ad liquidum¹, sed

¹ So Mommsen corrects: *aliqui dum Cod.*

*et alibi avariciae causa non habent integrum, per singulos libros computatis syllabis posui numero XVI versum Virgilianum omnibus libris numerum adscribi*¹.

Indiculum Cecili Cipriani.

1. *ad Donatum CCCCX*
2. *ad virgines D*
3. *de lapsis DCCCCLXXX*
4. *de opere et elemosyna DCLXX*
5. *ad Demetrianum DXXXV*
6. *de aeclesiae unitate DCCL*
7. *de zelo et liuore CCCCXX*
8. *de mortalitate DL*
9. *de patientia DCCCLX*
10. *ad Fortunatum DCCXL*
11. *de domini oratione*
12. *ad Quirinum libri III; I DL.*

II DCCCL
III DCCLXX
13. *ad Antonianum DCL*
14. *de calice dominico CCCCL.*
15. *de laude martyrii DCCCXXX*
16. *ad confessores martyrum CXL*
17. *Moyse et Maximo LXX*
18. *ad eosdem alia CXX*
19. *de precando deum CX̄C*
20. *ad clerum LIIII*
21. *Aurelio lectori pro ordinato CXL*
22. *Celerino C*
23. *ad Iobianum DL*
24. *ad Quintum C*
25. *Ade pr̄b XIII n̄ . XXX*

¹ There is evidently some corruption here; see p. 263 below, where it is proposed to omit *posui* (with Mommsen) and to take *versum Virgilianum* as standing for gen. plur.—partly by the use of a vernacular form (*versum* = *versuum*), partly by corruption.

26. *Ade prb n̄ . CXX*
27. *sententiae episcoporum DXX*
28. *ad Pompeium CCXC*
29. *ad Stephanum C*
30. *ad Fidum CVI*
31. *ad Magnum CCLXXXVIII*
32. *ad Martialem CCCL*
33. *Luci ad Eucratium XL*
34. *Felici et ceteris XX*
35. *de Numidia conf. XXX*
36. *ad Florentium CCVII*
37. *ad presb LXXII*
38. *ad eosdem et diae XXV*
39. *ad clerum urb LXX*
40. *Romani resc (so) CCXV*
41. *adversus Iud CCXC*
- 42-50. *ad Cornelium VIII ∞ CVIII*
51. *vita Cypriani DC*
fiunt omnes versus r̄ XVIIIID

It will have been observed that the lists are themselves broken by interpolations. Both of these are suggestive, and throw light on the character and motive of the lists. The first is a comment on the number of Books in the Old Testament; the second explains the purpose of the stichometry by which the lists are accompanied. The subjects which we shall have to discuss are : (1) the Canon and Order of the Books of the Old Testament; (2) the Canon and Order of the Books of the New Testament; (3) the Note on the Stichometries and the Biblical Stichometries; (4) the list of the writings of Cyprian.

I. THE CANON AND ORDER OF THE BOOKS OF THE
OLD TESTAMENT¹.

The closer study of this part of the list I leave to those in whose department it falls more directly than it does in mine. It will be enough to indicate in broad outline the bearings of the Cheltenham list. This will perhaps be done best by placing it in comparison with other lists which mark the different stages and ramifications in the history of the Old Testament Canon. We must not assume that the order of development and the local order will necessarily correspond; I have therefore placed together those lists which have any real affinity to each other apart from the geographical relation of the Churches which they represent. As a simple basis for such an arrangement we may take the varying total assigned to the number of the Books. This however is only given where attention is expressly called to it by the list in question. The numbering also is that of the lists themselves. For the sake of further illustration the order of the Books in the Hebrew Canon is prefixed. In the case of the German and Spanish Rites the arrangement is typical: deviations from it will be found in individual MSS. Books which are not included in our present Canon are marked +.

¹ The lists are drawn up mainly from the texts given by Westcott and Credner. Hody has been compared, but is not very trustworthy. The first of the Jewish lists is put together from Fürst, *Kanon d. A. T.* (Leipzig, 1868), compared with Hamburger, *Real-Enc. f. Bib. u. Talm.*, s. v. Bibel (Strelitz, 1883-1886); for the second and third see Riehm, *Einleitung in d. A. T.*, p. 63 (Halle, 1889). Riehm explains the titles 'Earlier' and 'Later' Prophets as applying not to date but to position in the Canon. The reason assigned in the Talmud for the order of the Major Prophets turns upon their subject-matter: *cum libri regum finiantur in desolatione, et Jeremias totus versetur in desolatione, Ezechiel vero incipiat in desolatione et finiat in consolatione et Iesajas totus versetur in consolatione, copulaverunt desolationem cum desolatione et consolationem cum consolatione.* Examples of the variations in the MSS. may be seen in Dr. Neubauer's *Catalogue of Heb. MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, Nos. 5, 7, 17, 2323.

I. Tabulated Lists exhibiting the Canon of the Old Testament—(A) in the Eastern Church,
(B) in the Western Church.

(A) EASTERN CHURCH.

HEBREW CANON. Talmud.	Spanish Rite.	German Rite.	Josephus, c. 40. i. 8 (c. 95 A.D.)	Melito, Ep. Sard. (c. 180 A.D.), ep. Eus. H. E. IV. 26.	Origen (183 A.D.), ap. Eus. H. E. VI. 25.	Athanasius (473 A.D.), Ep. Fed. xxii.
I. Law : 5 books. II. Prophets : 8 books. i. Earlier Prophets : Josh. Jud. Sam. Kings. ii. Later Prophets : Jer. Ezek. Isa. iii. Prophets : Keth. : Prov. Job Psa. Ruth Prov. Job Sam. Kings. ii. Little Keth. : Ezek. Jer. Isa. iii. Last Keth. : Dan. Chron. Ezr. — Nehem. = in all 24 books, numbering of which is alle- gorically ex- plained. (First, Canon d. A. T., p. 3.)	Gen. . . . Jer. Ezek. Isa. xii Proph. : Chron. Psa. Job Prov. Ruth Cant. Ecl. Lam. Ezr. — Nehem.	Gen. . . . Isa. Jer. Ezek. xii Proph. : Psa. Prov. Job Cant. Ruth Lam. Ecl. Ezr. — Nehem. Chron.	I. Law : 5 books. II. Prophets : 13 books. III. <i>ἑνὸν εἰς τ. θ. καὶ τ. δ. θ. βίον :</i> 4 books = 22	Pent. Gen. Ex. Num. Lev. Deut. Josh. Jud. Ruth 4 Kings 2 Chron. Psa. Dav. libb. Sol. Prov. (i.e. 'Wisd.'; v.l. + 'Wisd.') Ecl. Cant. Job Proph. Isa. Jer. xii Proph. Dan. Ezek. Esd. [= 22] Melito enquires : <i>πόσα τὸν ἀρχαῖον καὶ δευτέρον τὴν τρίτην.</i>	Pent. Josh. Jud. 1, 2 Kings 3, 4 Kings 1, 2 Chron. 1, 2 Esd. Psa. Prov. Ecl. Cant. Isa. Jer. + Ep. Dan. Ezek. Job Ezr. = 22 Heb. Lett. Macc. xii Proph. is omitted by mis- take. [Ruf. H. E. vi. 18, inserts them after Cant.]	Pent. Josh. Jud. Ruth 4 Kings 2 Chron. 2 Esd. Psa. Prov. Ecl. Cant. Job xii Proph. Isa. Jer. + Bar. Lam. + Ep. Ezek. Dan. = 22 Heb. Lett. N.B.—τῇ τὰς αὐ καὶ τῷ ἐνὸν μαρ.

EASTERN CHURCH (*continued*).

Gregory Nazianzen (†391 A.D.), <i>Carm. Seccl.</i> 1. xli. 5 ff.	Amphilochius, Episc. Icon. (c. 380 A.D.), <i>Iambi ad Seleuc.</i>	Leontius of Byzantium ¹ (or Theodorus, end of cent. vii.), <i>De Sectis Act. II.</i>	Nicephorus, Patr. Constantin. (†888 A.D.), <i>Chronog. Brev.</i> ²	Cyril Hierocol. (†86 A.D.), <i>Galath. iv. 35-40</i>	Epiphanius, Ep. Salamin. (†403 A.D.), <i>Pond. et Mens.</i> 4.	Epiphanius, Ep. Salamin. (†403 A.D.), <i>Haer. viii. 6.</i>	Joannes Damascenus (†750 A.D.), <i>De Fid. Orth.</i> iv. 17.
12 libb. histor.: Oct. Kings (3 vols.) Chron. Ead. 5 libb. metr.: Job Pss. Dav. 3 libb. Sol.: Ecol. Prov. 5 libb. prophet.: = 23 Heb. Lett.	Pent. Josh. Jud., Ruth 4 Kings. 2 Chron. 2 Ead. 5 libb. metric. xii Proph. min. 4 Proph. mag. Esth.	12 libb. histor.: Pent. Gen. Ex. Num. Lev. Deut. Josh. Jud. Ruth 4 Kings (2 vols.) Chron. Ead. 5 libb. prophet.: Isa. Jer. Ezek. Dan. xii Proph. 4 libb. hortat.: Job (acc. to some by Josephus) Prov. Sol. Ecol. Cant. 1 libb. hymn. (<i>αὐτὸ τὸ ψάλλειν</i>) Pss. = 23	Pent. Josh. Jud., Ruth 1, 2 Kings 3, 4 Kings 1, 2 Chron. 1, 2 Ead. Pss. Prov. Sol. Ecol. Cant. Job Isa. Jer. + Baruch Ezek. Dan. xii Proph. = 22 + 3 Macc. + Wisd. + Ecclus. + Pss. & Od. Sol. Esth. + Judith + Susan. + Tobit	12 libb. histor. Pent. Josh. Jud., Ruth 1, 2 Kings 3, 4 Kings 1, 2 Chron. 1, 2 Ead. Esth. 5 libb. metr.: Job Pss. Prov. Ecol. Cant. 5 libb. prophet. xii Proph.: Isa. Jer. Cant. Ezek. Dan. Jer. + Bar. Ecol. Ezek. Dan. Ead. Esth. = 23 Heb. Lett. Dan. = 22	4 Pentateuchs + 2 libb. 5 <i>βιβλ. νομικὰ</i> 5 <i>συναγίταις</i> 5 <i>γραφεῖα</i> or <i>ἀγιογράφα</i> : Josh. Jud., Ruth 1, 2 Chron. 1, 2 Kings 3, 4 Kings 5 <i>συναγίταις</i> : Job Pss. Prov. Sol. Ecol. Cant. 4 Kings 2 Chron. xii Proph. Isa. Jer. Lam. + Ep. + Bar. Ezek. Dan. Ead. Esth. = 23 Heb. Lett. Lett. (22 + 5 doubled). + Wisd. + Ecclus.	Pent. Josh. Jud. Ruth Job Pss. Prov. Sol. Ecol. Cant. 4 Kings 2 Chron. xii Proph. Isa. Jer. Lam. + Ep. + Bar. Ezek. Dan. Ead. Esth. = 27 Heb. Lett. (22 + 5 doubled). + Wisd. + Ecclus. + Wisd. (<i>ἡ Παράφρασις</i>) + Ecclus.	5 Pentateuchs + 2 libb. 5 <i>νομικὰ</i> or <i>ἀγιογράφα</i> : Josh. Jud., Ruth 1, 2 Kings 3, 4 Kings 5 <i>συναγίταις</i> : Job Pss. Prov. Sol. Ecol. Cant. 5 <i>συναγίταις</i> : xii Proph. Isa. Jer. Prov. Sol. Ecol. Cant. 5 <i>συναγίταις</i> : xii Proph. Isa. Jer. Ezek. Dan. Jer. Ezek. Dan. Ead. Esth. = 27 Heb. Lett. (22 + 5 doubled). + Wisd. + Ecclus.

¹ See Loo's *Leontius v. Byzanz. (Texte u. Unters. iii. 203)*.² Probably found by Nicephorus in connexion with a list of the Patriarchs of Antioch (Oreder, *Kan. p. 242*).

EASTERN CHURCH (continued).

<p>Ebed Jeu (†1218 A.D.). <i>Catal. Libr. Omn. Eccles.</i></p>	<p><i>Synops. Sac. Script.</i> (attributed to Chrysostom and thought to be his by Credner, <i>Can.</i> p. 228 f.).</p>	<p>Julinius (c. 537 A.D.), following Paul of Nisibis, who probably follows Theodore of Mopsuestia, <i>Isa. Regul.</i> <i>De. Leg.</i> 1. 3-6.</p>	<p><i>Catal. Cod. Baroc.</i> 206 (more probably Anastasius Sinaita [Credner, <i>Kan.</i> p. 240] than Nicephorus [Coxe]).</p>	<p>ἀποκρίματα of <i>Apostolic Consti- tutions</i> (not ne- cessarily in order).</p>
<p>Pent. Josh. Jud. Sam. Kings Chron. Ruth Psa. Dav. Prov. Sol. Eccel. Cant. + Eccelus. + Wisd. Job Isa. Hos. Joel Amos Obad. Jer. Mic. Nah. Hab. Zeph. Hagg. Zech. Mal. Jer. Ezek.</p>	<p>libb. histor.: Oct. 4 Kings Esd. libb. didact.: Prov. + Eccelus. Cant. libb. prophet.: 16 Proph. Ruth (<i>his</i>) Psa. Dav.</p>	<p>12 libb. histor.: ['adj. quidam' + Wisd. Cant.] [2 Kings ap. Heb.] 17 libb. prophet.: 150 Psa. Hos. Isa. Joel Amos Obad. Jon. Mich. Nah. Hab. Zeph. Jer. Ezek. Dan. Hagg. Zech. Mal. Prov. Sol. + Eccelus. doct. simp. Eccel. —</p>	<p>Pent. Josh. Jud., Ruth 4 Kings } Chron. } Job } Psa. } Prov. } Eccel. } Cant. } Esd. } Hos. } Amos } Mic. } Joel } Jon. } Obad. } Nah. } Hab. } Zeph. } Hagg. } Zech. } Mal. } Isa. } Jer. } Ezek. } Dan. } = 34</p>	<p>Hept. Kings Chron. Esd. Job Sol. 16 Proph. Psa.</p>

EASTERN CHURCH (continued).

Can. Apost. (ratified 692 A.D.)	Conc. Icodicenum (363 A.D.) list probably added later)	Cod. N.	Cod. A (Index).	Cod. B.	Cod. C.
Hept. Ruth 4 Kings 2 Chron. 2 Ead. Esth. Judith 3 Macc. Job 150 Pas. Prov. Eccl. Cant. Ecclus.	Pent. Josh. Jud., Ruth Esth. 1, 2 Kings 3, 4 Kings 2 Chron. 2 Ead. 150 Pas. Prov. Sol. Eccl. Cant. Job xii Proph. : Isa. Jer. Bar. Lam. Epp. Ezek. Dan. = 22	Fragments of Gen. } Num. } Chron. } 2 Ead. } Neh. } Esth. } + Tobit } + Judith } + 1 Macc. } + 4 Macc. } Isa. } Jer. } Lam. } Joel } Obad. } Jon. } Nah. } Hag. } Zeph. } Zach. } Mal. } 151 Pas. } Prov. } Cant. } Eccl. } Cant. } + Wisd. } + Ecclus. } Job	Oct. 6 libb. histor. : 4 Kings 2 Chron. 16 libb. prophet. : xii Proph. : Isa. Jer. } Bar. } Lam. } + Ep. } Ezek. } Dan. + Esth. + + Tobit } + Judith } + 1 Ead. } 2 Ead. } Neh. } + 4 Macc. } 151 Pas. (+ Cant., including Orat., Manass.) Job Prov. Eccl. Cant. + Wisd. + Ecclus.	Oct. 4 Kings 2 Chron. + 1 Ead. 2 Ead., Neh. 151 Pas. Prov. Eccl. Cant. Job + Wisd. + Ecclus. + Esth. + + Judith xii Proph. Isa. Jer. } Bar. } Lam. } + Ep. } Ezek. Dan. Cod. B has the sub- scription <i>βιβλ. ψαλμ.</i> <i>πρ</i> , but gives Pa. cli. over the page ; Codd. N A give the number as <i>πρ</i> α	There still remain portions of Job Prov. Eccl. Cant. + Wisd. + Ecclus.

(B) WESTERN CHURCH.

Jerome († 420), <i>Prolog. Galat.</i>	Index Cheltonianus († 359 A.D.)	Conc. Carthaginense III. (397 A.D.)	Augustine († 430), <i>De Doct. Christi</i> , ii. 12.	Index Cod. Claromont. (Cent. vi.)	<i>Antiqua translatio</i> , ap. Casiodorus (c. 540-563), <i>Inst. Div. Lit.</i> , 14.
Pent. 8 libb. prophet. : Josh., Ruth Jud., Ruth Sam. Kings Isa. Jer. Ezek. xii Proph. 9 Hagiographa Job Psa. Dav. libb. Sol. Prov. Eccl. Cant. Dan. Chron. Ezer. Esth. = 22 Heb. Lett., or 27 adding the 5 double books. Some make 24 (= Elders of Apoc.) by counting Ruth and Lam. among Hagiographa.	Hept. Gen. Ex. Num. Lev. Deut. Josh. Jud. Ruth 4 Kings 2 Chron. Job Psa. Dav. 5 libb. Sol. xii Proph. Isa. Jer. Ezek. Dan. Tobit Esth. 151 Psa. [5] libb. Sol. 4 Proph. Maj. : Isa. Jer. Dan. Ezek. xii Proph. = 24 Elders of Apoc.	Hept. Ruth 4 Kings 2 Chron. Job Psa. Dav. 5 libb. Sol. xii Proph. Isa. Jer. Ezek. Dan. Tobit Esth. 2 Esd. + Macc.	Pent. Josh. Jud. Ruth 4 Kings 2 Chron. Job Tobit Esth. + Judith + 2 Macc. libb. prophet. Psa. Dav. 3 libb. Sol. : Prov. Cant. Eccles. + Wisd. + Eccles. xii Proph. Ezek. Dan. 1, 2, 4 Macc. Isa. Jer. Dan. Ezek. = 44	Oct. 4 Kings 2 Chron. Psa. ¹ 5 libb. Sol. : Prov. + Wisd. + Eccles. Eccl. Cant. Isa. Jer. Ezek. Dan. xii Proph. Job Tobit Esth. + Judith + 2 Esd. + 2 Macc. = 44 70 books in all of O. & N.T. = palm-trees of Elmh.	

¹ Lib. i. (*Inst.*), libb. v. (*Cod. Amiat.*)

WESTERN CHURCH (*continued*).

Hilary of Poitiers (†360), <i>Prolog. in Psal.</i> 15.	Rufinus Aquileiensis (c. 410 A.D.), <i>Comm. in Symb. Apost.</i> 36.	Innocent I. (405 A.D.), <i>Ad Extrap.</i>	Decretum Gelasianum (496 A.D.) ¹	Cassiodorus, <i>Inst. Div. Lit.</i> 1-9.
Pent. Josh. Jud., Ruth 1, 2 Kings 3-4 Kings 2 Chron. Esd. Psa. Prov. Sol. Eccl. Cant. xii Proph. : Isa. } Jer. } Lam. } + Ep. } Dan. Ezek. Job	Pent. Josh. Jud., Ruth 4 Kings [2 vols. in Heb.] Chron. Esd. Esth. Isa. Jer. Ezek. Dan. xii Proph. Job Psa. Dav. 3 libb. Sol. : Prov. Eccl. Cant. [= 22]	Pent. Josh. Jud. 4 Kings Ruth 16 Proph. 5 lib. Sol. Psa. libb. histor. Job + Tobit Esth. + Judith + 2 Macc. 2 Chron. The genuineness of this list is not entirely above suspicion, but seems probable.	Pent. Josh. Ruth 4 Kings 2 Chron. 150 Psa. 3 libb. Sol. : Prov. Eccl. Cant. Wisd. Ecclus. 16 Proph. Isa. Jer. Ezek. Dan. xii Proph. libb. histor. Job + Tobit Esth. + Judith 2 Esd. + 2 Macc.	Oct. 4 Kings libb. prophet. : Isa. Jer. Ezek. Dan. xii Proph. Psa. libb. Sol. : Prov. Eccl. Cant. Wisd. Ecclus. Hagiographa : Job Tobit Esth. Judith Macc. 2 Esd.

¹ The best view hitherto appeared to be that of Hefele, *Conc. Gesch.* ii. 619-622 (ed. 2, 1875), according to which the *Decretum* was composed at different times, the part containing the list of books in its earliest form going back to Damasus. It has however been recently argued, on grounds which are said to carry considerable weight, that the work is in no sense official, but of private origin, and not composed before 533 A.D. (see Krüger in *Theol. Jahrbuch*, 1880, *Kirchengesch.* p. 27). In any case there is much to be said for Dr. Westcott's caution that the list of Canonical Books has less authority than that of the books outside the Canon.

The lists thus collected furnish much matter for reflection. But before we approach the consideration of them in detail it is necessary first to say a few words by way of introduction. The variations of order in the Books of the Old and New Testaments point back to a critical moment in the history of the Biblical texts—the moment when they were transferred from rolls written for the most part on papyrus to *codices* written for the most part on vellum. The remains of ancient books which have been discovered among the ashes of Herculaneum and Pompeii and those which have been found in the Egyptian tombs are, if I mistake not, without exception in the form of the roll such as may be seen in the hands of the well-known Vatican Demosthenes. On the other hand, so far as I can remember, every single Biblical MS. now extant was originally whole or part, not of a roll but of a book which in outward shape and mechanical arrangement did not differ from our own. Even the fragments of the papyrus Psalter now in the British Museum, which Tischendorf thought to be as old as the oldest vellum MSS. (*quo nullus codicum sacrorum antiquior videtur*¹), but which the Palaeographical Society's editors more probably assign to the sixth or seventh century², I imagine are not an instance to the contrary. Neither I gather are the still smaller fragments of the supposed Apocryphal Gospel discovered among the Fayûm papyri³. Now the obvious difference between rolls and *codices* is that the latter might easily be made to hold much more written matter than the former. Hence while the roll, as a rule, only held a single book, and the length of books was adapted to the ordinary size of the rolls, a *codex* on the other hand would hold a number of books collected together in a single volume. The only bond of union for a collection of rolls was the case in which they were contained. But under these conditions there would be no particular order: one volume might

¹ *Proleg. in V. T. Græc.* p. lx.

² *Pal. Soc.* i. 38: see the Table of Contents for corrected date.

³ Bickell in *Texte u. Untersuch.*, v. 4. p. 487.

be taken out first at one time, another at another: the volumes might be numbered or marked in some way, but that had nothing to do with the structure of the case in which they were preserved. When the sheets of skin came to be folded and sewn together within the same binding all this was changed. Then the book which was written first always retained its place, and the others followed in regular sequence. Of course there might be a theoretical order in which the rolls were to be taken out of their case; and that order might, as we have said, be indicated upon the roll; but where there was no such theoretical order, which came first would be a matter of accident. The transference of a text from the roll to the *codex* was in that case the first step towards fixing the order of its different parts.

It is an interesting question at what date this transference took place. It was clearly an event which affected the whole body of literature, and in a special sense the Books of the Bible, because their order and sequence were not in many cases determined for them by their subject-matter. Birt, to whom belongs the honour of first bringing out the significance of these facts, placed the time of transition about the middle of the fourth century¹. Jerome, he said, was the first scholar to possess a whole library in *codices*. He also pointed out how Acacius and Euzoius in the middle of the century found it necessary to renew upon parchment the worn-out collection of Origen's books at Caesarea (*corruptam jam bibliothecam Origenis in membranis instaurare*)². These are no doubt two important landmarks. Yet in the case of the Bible at least we must go back beyond the middle of the fourth century. Bibles, which were in constant use, would need to be made of strong material; and the form of the *codex* would be more compact and convenient than that of the roll. Hence, as Birt remarks, the Sacred Books of the Christians (liturgical books as well as

¹ *Das antike Buchwesen*, p. 115.

² *De Vir. Ill.* cxiii. A trace of Euzoius' work still remains in a MS. of Philo (see Cohn. *Philon. Alex. Libell. de Opif. Mundi*, p. ii).

Bibles), and law-books would naturally be the first to be systematically written in bound volumes formed by the stitched sheets of vellum. There is abundant historical evidence that this was the case. The First persecuting Edict of Diocletian, issued in Feb. 303, was aimed specially against the Christian Books. But we have a number of documents—mainly Acts of Martyrs and documents relating to the beginnings of the Donatist controversy—which describe the course of the persecution which followed. These show at once what a number of *codices* the Christian Churches must have possessed. Take for instance the account of a police raid at Cirta (now Constantine) in Numidia, commonly known as the *Gesta apud Zenophilum* ¹. A demand is made for books: the library of the Church is found empty, but the police go on to pay domiciliary visits to the houses of the Church officials. One Catulinus brings out a ‘very large *codex*’ (*codicem unum pernimum majorem*: shall we say like the Codex Amiatinus?). Eugenius produces four *codices*; Felix, five; Victorinus, eight; Projectus, five large and two small (all *codices*, be it remarked). Victor the school-master (*grammaticus*) brings out two *codices* and four ‘quinions’ (i.e. apparently the loose sheets, or gatherings, not yet sewn together into a book). Coddeo is not at home, but his wife gives the constables six *codices*. All this is the product of a single round. And many other data of the same kind, though not perhaps quite so striking, may be adduced ². A few instances occur of rolls, but *codices* largely predominate. The change then, so far at least as Church books are concerned, was already accomplished at the beginning of the fourth century, and is thus thrown back some way into the third. Yet we cannot go beyond the beginning of that century; for

¹ Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iv. 320 ff.

² For further details I may perhaps be allowed to refer to an *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* which I have for some time been preparing. This part was written before the appearance of Zahn’s recent volume in which he has called attention to some of the same phenomena. But the real merit belongs to Birt: we have only applied his investigations to the New Testament.

it is clear from the language used by the Roman lawyers that at that date papyrus rolls were still the rule and anything else the exception. It has to be explained that in legacies under the term 'books' are included not only rolls of papyrus but *membranae et philyrae* (i.e. parchment and tablets prepared from the bark of the linden-tree): *codices* also are to go with the bequest because under the name 'books' are to be reckoned not only *volumina chartarum* (the technical terms for papyrus rolls), but any written matter of a given length¹. We gather from this that the vellum *codex* was coming in, but was not yet common.

It has been said that the order of volumes in any particular case might be determined independently of their mechanical arrangement. Such would seem to have been the case with the Old Testament. There is said to have been a tradition on the subject which was already commented upon by the Talmudists of the third century². The order of the Books would seem to have been to some extent fixed when Melito made his journey to Palestine with the express object of finding out 'what was the number and what the order' of the different parts of the Sacred Volume. And Athanasius again implies that there was a more or less settled order when he begins his catalogue by saying that the Books are 'in order and name' as he enumerates them³. Still our lists show that there was a good deal of variety. We see how different principles of arrangement were at work, and covered some a greater area and some a less. The Jews reckoned twenty-four books to the Old Testament. According to Fürst⁴ this reckoning was derived from Babylonia. It is however already found in 4 Ezra xiv. 44 (in the Syriac and Arabic versions⁵,

¹ *Pauli Sentent.* iii. 6. 87 (ed. Krüger).

² Rab (c. 167-247 A.D.) and Johanan (c. 199-279 A.D.). See Fürst, *Kan. d. A. T.* p. 4.

³ Ap. Westcott, *Can.* p. 554.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ It is natural to ask what is the relation of the Arabic to the Syriac version? Antecedently we might have expected that they would not be independent

not in the Latin, Armenian, or Aethiopic). How it came there must be left an open question. Among Christian writers we find it in Hilary of Poitiers, Jerome, and the Cheltenham Index; to which must be added Victorinus Petavionensis, whose commentary on the Apocalypse was written before the persecution of Diocletian, to which he fell a victim, and Pseudo-Tertullian. The number may have been originally suggested by the Jewish tradition, with which Jerome at least would be familiar. The Christian writers, however, do not associate it with the same allegories as the Jews¹, but give explanations of their own. The coincidence here between Jerome and the Cheltenham Index is remarkable. The obvious conclusion would be that Jerome is the source from which the number in the Index is derived, together with the reference to the 'twenty-four elders.' This conclusion however is by no means certain, or rather it is distinctly improbable. There are two broadly marked stages in the tradition as it appears in the Cheltenham MS.: the first is that of the *majores* or immediate predecessors of the writer himself; and then behind these there are the *seniores*², who seem to be no other than 'the elders'

authorities: the point does not seem to have been fully considered by the Editors. The reading in question is one which might throw light on the origin of these versions.

¹ The Rabbis regarded the 24 books as symbolised in the 24 'watches' of the Temple (Neh. xii. 9, etc.), which were again connected with Eccl. xii. 11, or with the 24 ornaments of the 'daughters of Zion' (i.e. the Synagogue) in Isa. iii. 18 ff. (Fürst, p. 3).

² There is at first sight a little difficulty in the change from *majores* to *seniores*. The author probably made deliberate use of different words in order to distinguish the different times of which he is speaking. It is however interesting to note that there is a like interchange in the African texts: *majores natu* occurring in Mark viii. 31 (*k*), Luke vii. 3 (*e*), xx. 1 (*e*), and *seniores* in Mark xi. 27 (*k*), xiv. 43, 53 (*k*), xv. 1 (*k*). Compare also the Latin version of Firmilian's letter to Cyprian, ed. Hartel, p. 812, l. 22 (*seniores*), p. 814, l. 30 (*majores natu*). I rather doubt if *majores natu* would have occurred in any other than an African document. The second *seniores* must I think correspond to the *seniores* so often mentioned in the Latin Irenaeus, etc. I agree with Zahn, as against Weiss, that it is impossible to make it refer to the elders of the Apocalypse. [Zahn has since withdrawn his view and now takes *seniores* in both places of the elders of the Apocalypse (*Gesch. d. Kan.* ii. 148 n).]

of the generation succeeding the Apostles, of whom we hear so much in the literature of the second century. But if this is so, we are carried back some way beyond Jerome. That the numbering twenty-four Books was really current in Christian circles before Jerome is clear from the words of Victorinus : *Alae senae sunt testimonia veteris testamenti librorum, ideoque viginti quatuor faciunt tot numeros, quot et seniores super tribunalia . . . sunt autem libri veteris testamenti qui accipiuntur viginti quatuor, quos in epitomis Theodori invenies*¹. Not only does Victorinus himself adopt the reckoning, but he refers back for it to an older work, the *Epitomae of Theodorus*. It appears natural and almost obvious to identify this with the *Epitomae ex Theodoto* which are printed with the works of Clement of Alexandria², and which Zahn supposes to have originally belonged to Book VIII of the *Stromateis*; nor is it quite decisive against this identification that the passage in question is not found in the *Epitomae* as they have come down to us. Whether or not they have this origin, the *Epitomae* of Victorinus are an authority older than the year 300. The poem of Pseudo-Tertullian against Marcion (which is thought to have been written in the third quarter of the fourth century) has the same number and the same allegory³. Hilary, it will be observed, gives a different interpretation of the number, bringing in the Greek alphabet instead of the Hebrew, but the number itself he probably got from the same ancient tradition as Victorinus, Pseudo-Tertullian, and the Cheltenham List.

The dominant reckoning in the early Church was clearly twenty-two books, corresponding to the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet (not counting doubles). This reckoning appears in Melito, Origen, Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Gregory Nazianzen, Leontius, Nicephorus, John of Damascus; in other words, all over the East. When we

¹ Vict. Petav. ed. Migne *Patr. Lat.* v. 325. I owe this important reference and the next to Zahn.

² *Suppl. Clement.* p. 129.

³ iv. 194-200; Comp. Oxé. *Proleg. de Carm. adv. Marc.* 1888, pp. 6, 33.

The latter writers are clearly not independent of each other. Epiphanius, it is true, curiously puts Chronicles before Kings, and puts the poetical books before the Hagiographa, but the essential structure of the two lists is evidently the same; and in both cases Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus are placed outside the list and described in equivalent language. John of Damascus has in fact simply given a rather free paraphrase of his predecessor.

The identity of structure in the lists of which we are speaking comes out on a point on which we have not as yet laid stress—the deliberate arrangement in Pentateuchs. This might be said to be characteristic not only of Palestine but specially of Jerusalem. It is found before Epiphanius in Cyril of Jerusalem, and before John of Damascus in another inmate of the same cloister, Leontius, whose common epithet ‘Leontius of Byzantium’ disguises the fact that he spent most of his days in the monastery of St. Saba which overlooks the gorge of the Kedron. Traces of this arrangement, however, less completely carried out, appear in Gregory Nazianzen and Amphilochius; so that the germs of it would seem to have travelled into Asia Minor. Nothing corresponding to it is found in the West; and it does not seem to have exercised any influence on the Cheltenham List.

Jerome cannot be classed with the writers of the West. The tradition which he represents is the Hebrew tradition. He has adhered to this closely, except that to keep the number 22 he reduces the Hagiographa from 11 to 9 by uniting, according to Hellenistic usage, Ruth to Judges, and Lamentations to Jeremiah. At the same time he distinctly notes the fact that there were some who separated these books and placed them among the Hagiographa, so making the total number 24, with the Elders of the Apocalypse. This higher total, as we have seen, has passed into the Cheltenham List. The other reckonings need not detain us. Augustine makes a total of 44 books, counting each book in his Canon singly. This would agree with the result which Cassiodorus in rather obscure language ascribes to Hilary of Poitiers,

Rufinus, and Epiphanius, and Cod. Amiatinus to Hilary and Epiphanius, according to which the total of Old and New Testaments together was 70 books, corresponding to the 70 palm-trees of Elim¹. There is no connexion between this and the 60 books of Anastasius Sinaita or Cod. Baroc. 206. The classification of Junilius is based upon logical categories, and does not represent a tradition. The Roman lists which bear the names of Innocent and Gelasius, and the Spanish list of Isidore of Seville, do not give any numerical summary. We observe, however, that the massing together of 'sixteen Prophets' is common to all three; and in other respects they resemble each other. The Canon of Isidore probably had its origin in Rome.

There are several remarkable phenomena in the details of the Cheltenham List. Foremost among them is the peculiar order of the books, Numbers and Leviticus. Strange to say this has a parallel so far away as Melito and Leontius. The occurrence of these parallels shows that the phenomenon is not purely accidental. Most of the more fundamental peculiarities of the Latin Bible can be traced back to Syria. Here is one which must have been always confined to a few copies, but which was perpetuated through them in regions as far apart as Syria and Africa.

It is characteristic of the Cheltenham List to group together the several books of the Heptateuch². That this grouping is intentional is clearly seen from the stichometry.

Another characteristic point is the combining of Ruth with Kings rather than with Judges. For proof that this was done we turn again to the stichometry. Mommsen

¹ See the Essay on Cod. Amiatinus, *Stud. Bibl.* ii. 294. There is some confusion between the Hilarys: Cassiodorus speaks of the bishop of Poitiers, Cod. Amiat. of the bishop of Rome: the first is probably meant, though the Canon given is not his (Corssen in *Jahrb. f. prot. Theol.* 1883, p. 626).

² For references as to the use of the word *heptateuchus* (or *heptaticus*, as it often appears) see Mayor, *Latin Heptateuch*, p. xxxvi (1889). It seems to have been widely diffused.

remarked upon the apparent discrepancy between the single items for the Books of Kings and the total. This discrepancy is removed when we take in the (corrected) stichometry for Ruth. We thus obtain a further coincidence with St. Augustine, who speaks of the *libellus Ruth, qui magis ad Regnorum principium videtur pertinere*.

The recognition of two Books of Maccabees is not very distinctive except so far as it marks off the Cheltenham List from the list in Cod. Claromontanus. We cannot be quite sure that the omission of *lib. tertius* in this may not be accidental. The author of the list was evidently acquainted with four Books, as he speaks of *liber quartus*. If his omission of Lib. III was deliberate we should then have a parallel in the Apostolic Canons and in Nicephorus—another instance of the meeting of geographical extremes.

The order Tobit, Esther, Judith is again common in the Cheltenham List and St. Augustine, but is also shared by the Roman lists and Isidore of Seville.

The express mention of 151 Psalms stands over against an equally express mention of 150 Psalms in the Greek list added to the Canons of Laodicea and in that of the Apostolic Canons, with the Gelasian Decretal. It has a parallel in the MSS. \aleph A B. The mention of five Books of Psalms is peculiar to Cod. Amiatinus. It is rejected by Hilary, and though known to was not adopted by Jerome. Krüger has noticed¹ the curious fact that in Lucifer's *Codex* the Books of Psalms seem to have been broken up, Pss. ix–lxi coming between Chronicles and Proverbs, Pss. lxxvii–cxviii between Proverbs and Wisdom, and Pss. cxxx–cxlv between Wisdom and Ecclesiastes—a sort of rough chronological arrangement according to the traditions of authorship. As however these divisions do not correspond to the actual arrangement in Books (the true breaks are at Pss. xli, lxxii, lxxxix, cvi), some doubt is thrown upon the whole theory.

The question as to the Books of Solomon must be allowed

¹ *Lucifer von Calaris*, p. 111 f. (Leipzig, 1886).

to stand over until we come to deal with the stichometry. If it was really intended to include five Books, the Cheltenham List would agree with nearly all the other Latin lists except Hilary and Jerome.

The last point we need notice is another link of connexion with St. Augustine—the placing of Daniel before Ezekiel. This is found also in Hilary of Poitiers.

Speaking summarily, we may say that the conspicuous features in the Cheltenham List are its points of contact with St. Augustine and its marked coincidence with St. Jerome as to the number of the Books, which may however have had an earlier origin.

II. THE CANON AND ORDER OF THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The first question that meets us in passing to the New Testament is, what exactly we are to understand by the peculiar treatment of the Catholic Epistles? Two alternative views have been put forward. Zahn was of opinion that the author of the list had before him a catalogue containing the full number of three Epistles of St. John and two of St. Peter, but while himself transcribing this he at the same time inserted a protest in favour of the single Epistle in each case which he had himself been in the habit of recognising¹. Harnack speaks rather doubtfully, but appears to think it possible that in *una sola* (repeated) reference was originally intended to the two Epistles of St. James and St. Jude². Of these views I should have little hesitation in choosing the first. On the other hypothesis there is no sufficient reason for the epithet *sola*: single books in juxtaposition with double or multiple books are common enough throughout the lists and nowhere else have attention specially

¹ Cp. Mommsen, p. 148; *Z. f. kirchl. Wiss.*, p. 117.

² *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1886, col. 173.

called to them in this way. But we shall see before we have done that the list in its present form includes more than one stage in the history of the Canon: it contains both early elements and late elements: and here they meet side by side. That this is so is confirmed by the peculiar order, 1 St. John following directly upon Apocalypse, which we shall see to be an early order.

It would hardly repay us to draw out in full a table of parallel lists as we have done for the Old Testament. The Muratorian Fragment is the only New Testament list which is older than the fourth century, and by that time the lists did not differ very much in their contents. We need to go behind them if we are to come upon anything really significant. In seeking for this we shall probably do well to concentrate our attention upon each in turn of the salient points presented by the Cheltenham Index. These will be, (i) the omission of Hebrews, (ii) the inclusion of the Apocalypse, (iii) the abridged list of Catholic Epistles, (iv) the order of these Epistles, (v) the order of the Gospels, (vi) the order of the different parts of the collection.

The omission of Hebrews and inclusion of the Apocalypse at once mark the list as Western. At the same time both are consistent with any part of the West. So far as they are concerned, the list might have been made either in Gaul, Rome, or Africa. It seems however to be a fair inference that, if made in Africa, it was probably earlier than the Council of Carthage in 397, which expressly admits it as (in some sense) St. Paul's, though it is separated from the other Epistles. The influence of St. Augustine appears finally to have decided its place in the African Canon. By this time, too, it was pretty generally accepted. The high authority of Jerome was thrown into the scale in its favour. Without categorically asserting it to be St. Paul's, he contended strongly for its canonicity. It had been acknowledged before Jerome by Lucifer and Rufinus; it has the sanction of Pope Innocent, and appears in the Gelasian List.

There is therefore a clear presumption that a list which omits Hebrews is not later than the end of the fourth century.

A more special interest attaches to the treatment of the Catholic Epistles. Before going into further details, let us first take a survey of the position of these Epistles in the early Church. There was one quarter of the Christian world in which for a time at least no Epistles at all were admitted, except the collection which bore the name of St. Paul. The *Doctrine of Addai*, a work of the fourth or fifth century¹, which however clearly embodies a very ancient tradition, describes the primitive usage of the Church of Edessa: 'The Law and the Prophets and the Gospel in which ye read every day before the people, and the Epistles of Paul which Simon Cephas sent us from the city of Rome, and the Acts of the Twelve Apostles which John the son of Zebedee sent from Ephesus; in these writings shall ye read in the Churches of Christ, and along with them shall ye read nothing besides, because there is nothing else in which is written the truth which ye possess, besides these writings which ye hold fast in the faith to which ye are called².' We cannot be surprised that of the scattered writings which by degrees united to form the Greek Testament the outlying members should have been slow to reach the Syriac-speaking Church. Conservative feeling would gather round the oldest form in which the Scriptures had been introduced. And there would at the same time be a natural tendency to guard against the apocryphal Gospels and other books which were especially rife in Syria and Palestine. There are three stages in the history of the Syrian Canon. The first ignored the Catholic Epistles (and the Apocalypse) altogether. This is represented by the *Doctrine of Addai*

¹ It appears to be best assigned to the space between the years 390-430: see Tixeront, *Les Origines de l'Église d'Édesse*, p. 120 ff. (Paris, 1888). I am glad to have the opportunity of calling attention to this excellent piece of criticism from the school of the Abbé Duchesne.

² *Doct. Add.*, p. 46 (*ap. Zahn, Gesch. d. neutest. Kanons*, i. 373).

and by the Homilies of Aphraates, which are definitely dated between the years 336-345. The second stage is marked by the Peshitto Version, which has been called the Syriac Vulgate. As far back as this version can be traced it included three of the Catholic Epistles, St. James, St. Peter, 1 St. John. How far this stage overlapped the first it will need closer investigations than have yet been made to determine. The great body of the Syrian Church accepted the three Epistles which are found in the Bibles alike of the Nestorians and of the Jacobites who broke away from orthodox standards in the fifth and sixth centuries. The Alexandrian merchant Cosmas Indicopleustes after he had become a monk (535-547 A.D.) defended himself from the charge of not making use of the Catholic Epistles by appealing expressly to the practice of the Syrian Church, which accepted only the three Epistles¹. It has recently been proved, or at least made exceedingly probable, that the four disputed Epistles were first translated into Syriac as part of the Philoxenian Version, which took its name from the bishop of Hierapolis (Mabug), for whom it was made in the year 508. The Apocalypse seems to have been added in the revision of the Philoxenian by Thomas of Harkhel in 616². These were both Monophysite productions, and as late as the fourteenth century the Nestorian writer Ebed Jesu still preserves the old tradition which recognised no more than three Epistles. This is the third and last stage of the Syrian Canon. Ephrem in the fourth century stands († c. 373) rather outside it; he appears to have used the fuller Canon of the Greeks³. Yet later in the century even the Greek Church at Antioch clung to its narrower practice. Chrysostom used only the three Epistles; and Junilius reduces the three to two (1 St. Peter and 1 St. John). In this he appears to represent faithfully the master from whom his teaching was ultimately

¹ See the quotation in Credner, *Kan.*, p. 191.

² See Gwynn, *On a Syriac MS.*, in *Trans. of Irish Academy*, Dublin, 1886.

³ Westcott, *Can.*, p. 244, n.

derived, Theodore of Mopsuestia¹. Strictly speaking, therefore, we should have to subdivide the opinions current in the Syrian Church both during the second and third of our periods. In the second we should have to note the difference between Chrysostom, Theodoret, and the main body of the Church who accepted three Catholic Epistles, and Theodore with his follower Paul of Nisibis, and doubtless others who under the attraction of so great a name would accept only two.

In Palestine, Eusebius draws a distinction similar to that of Junilius (or Theodore). Junilius admits that 'very many (*quamplurimi*) add' the five Epistles. Eusebius, while classing 1 St. Peter, 1 St. John as alone among the 'acknowledged' books, places the five Epistles in the next grade to them as *γνώριμοι τοῖς πολλοῖς*². For the Churches of Asia Minor we have hardly any evidence between the second century and the latter part of the fourth. The evidence for 1 St. Peter and 1 St. John goes back to Papias and Polycarp and sub-apostolic times. Irenaeus too may be taken as embodying the witness of these Churches, and he distinctly recognises both Epistles. But for the rest a slight or doubtful allusion to 2 St. Peter by Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, is about all that meets us until we come to the writers of the later period of the Arian controversy. Gregory Nazianzen († 391) recognises seven Epistles; Amphilochius of Iconium (c. 380 A.D.) recognises seven, though he also notices the other opinion which limited them to three. Asia Minor thus reflects the state of things which was becoming more and more general throughout the East. The smaller collection of three Epistles is not yet suppressed; it survives with the greatest tenacity in the district of which Antioch was the centre: but the longer list is in the ascendant. On this side is thrown the weighty influence of Athanasius. On it are found ecclesiastical documents like the Apostolic

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 443; comp. Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia*, p. 333 ff. (Freiburg i. B., 1880).

² *H. E.*, iii. 25. 3.

Canons and the list which came to be appended to the Canons of Laodicea. In Palestine a strong phalanx rallies round the longer list. It is adopted by Cyril of Jerusalem († 386), and after him by Epiphanius († 403). Leontius, who wrote from the famous monastery of St. Saba in the sixth century, adopts it. It is taken up by John of Damascus in the eighth; and endorsed by Nicephorus patriarch of Constantinople at the beginning of the ninth.

What was the ultimate centre in which this *consensus* originated? Was it in the home of Athanasius, or was it further north? It is quite possible that it began to strike root in several centres at once. But in any case Alexandria must have had a large share in it. It is there that we find the earliest traces of the minor Epistles. I rather hesitate to assume with Zahn that Clement in his *Hypotyposes* commented strictly upon all our present Catholic Epistles¹. True, Eusebius says that he 'commented on nearly the whole of the Canonical (ἐνδιαθήκου) Scripture, not omitting the disputed portions, viz. the Epistle of Jude and the rest of the Catholic Epistles²;' and Photius also states that the work consisted of interpretations of Genesis, Exodus, the Psalms, the Epistles of St. Paul, the Catholic Epistles (τῶν καθολικῶν), and Ecclesiastes³. But are we to take these expressions quite literally? Clearly if the description of Photius is correct we must discount very largely Eusebius' 'nearly the whole of the Canonical Scripture⁴.' Now a Latin version of notes on 1 Peter, Jude, 1, 2 John has come down to us, professedly from the *Hypotyposes*⁵. It appears probable that this version

¹ *Forschungen*, iii. 153; *Gesch. d. Kan.*, i. 310 f.

² *H. E.*, vi. 14. 1.

³ *Bibl. Cod.* 109.

⁴ A similar exaggeration is found in Cassiodorus: *Ferunt itaque scripturas divinas V. et N. T. ab ipso principio usque ad finem Graeco sermone declarasse Clementem Alexandrinum nomine Stromateum*, etc. Cassiodorus had only seen a small part of this work: he spoke from hearsay, and was probably misled by the fact that it began with Genesis, and included the Catholic Epistles and the Epistles of St. Paul, which were all but the end of his own Bible.

⁵ Cassiodorus is made to say (*Inst.* 8) that he had Clement's notes translated on 1 Peter, 1 and 2 John, and *James* instead of Jude, but it seems simplest to suppose either that he made a slip of memory or that his text is corrupt.

was that of the genuine Clement made for Cassiodorius from the occurrence of one passage under Clement's name in the so-called *Parallela Sacra* of John of Damascus. The work in question may be an abridgement, but if it ever contained more Epistles than those named, Cassiodorius at least knew nothing of them. There is also the further coincidence that the Epistles omitted are just those of which no trace occurs in the rest of Clement's writings. All this raises a presumption against the strict accuracy of Eusebius; and when we remember that 'the Catholic Epistles' were not to him a fixed collection in the sense in which they are to us, and that he himself regarded both St. Jude and 2 St. John as disputed, his language seems to be sufficiently satisfied by the presence of comments on these Epistles. And if the description in Eusebius is satisfied, still more the less definite language of Photius. At any rate it does not seem to me safe to go beyond the warrant of our actually existing text. Zahn himself has surely supplied a warning against his own reconstruction when it leads him to interpose the treatment of several other Epistles between that of 1 and 2 St. Peter¹. I incline to think that Clement did not comment on more of the Catholic Epistles than are contained in the Latin Version, and that he dealt with them in the order in which they have come down to us, viz. 1 St. Peter, St. Jude, 1, 2 (not 3) St. John. I believe that Origen was acquainted with all the Catholic Epistles, but was aware of the existence of doubts about some of them, and did not care to commit himself to a direct affirmation about them. The clearest passage for 2 St. Peter, 2, 3 St. John is no doubt open to suspicion as having passed through the hands of Rufinus. Still in this particular portion Rufinus claims to have simply reproduced his original, and the passage has every appearance of being

¹ *Forsch.*, iii. 156. In this section I have freely used Zahn's data, though I differ from his conclusions. At the same time I admit that he has a case, and may possibly be right in his main position.



rendered literally¹. The trumpet-blasts which brought down the walls of Jericho are compared to those which are blown by Evangelists and Apostles in the books of the New Testament: 'Peter also rings loud with the two-fold trumpet of his Epistles, and with him James and Jude. Nor is this all, but in addition John too sounds the trumpet with his Epistles and Apocalypse, and Luke setting down in writing the Acts of the Apostles².' The text of these Homilies rests on good authority, so that I do not think we need pay much attention to a singular reading in the Jumièges MS. *ex tribus tubis* for *duabus* applied to St. Peter's Epistles: it would not be difficult to account for as a corruption. St. James Origen quotes in other places as a 'current' Epistle; St. Jude he quotes with a more decided ascription of authority; 2 St. Peter and 2, 3 St. John he does not quote and describes as doubtful³.

We have just seen that the Latin translation of the *Hypotyposes* contains comments on two Epistles only of St. John, and we declined to go behind this and to assume that Clement originally had before him three Epistles. It is quite true that the author of the Second Epistle must also have been the author of the Third, and that evidence for the one is practically evidence also for the other; but it is best to treat indirect evidence as really indirect and not to make it appear more than it is. We should naturally have expected that the two Epistles would circulate together. But it does not seem to have been so. The state of things in the West presents a remarkable parallel to what we find in the second century at Alexandria. The Muratorian Fragment expressly acknowledges 'a pair of Epistles with "John" for their title' (*superscripti Johannis duas*)⁴. Irenaeus quotes the First and Second Epistle, not the Third. In Africa too, though there are abundant traces of the First Epistle both in Tertullian and

¹ Cf. *Peror. Ep. ad Rom.*: *quae in Jesu Nave scripsimus simpliciter expressimus ut invenimus.*

² *Hom. in lib. Jesu Nave*, vii. 2.

³ *Eus., H. E.* vi. 25.

⁴ The MS. is corrupt here, and I should certainly myself prefer *superscriptae Johannis duae* as more simple and natural.

Cyprian, and though there is a clear quotation from the Second Epistle at the Council of Carthage (256 A.D.)¹, there is no trace whatever of the Third Epistle. Even as late as the fourth century Lucifer Calaritanus quotes several consecutive verses of the Second Epistle, but shows no sign of its companion. Priscillian also, though he quotes six out of the seven Epistles, does not quote 3 St. John. All this might be accident so far as the quotations are concerned, but it is not an accident in the Muratorian Fragment; and the phenomena seem to hang together. The so-called Damasus-recension of the Gelasian Decretal, the oldest MS. of which is of the eighth or ninth century, ascribes 2, 3 St. John to the Presbyter and not to the Apostle².

For 2 St. Peter there is no clear Ante-Nicene evidence in the West. It appears to have come in with the great collections in the next century. It is found in the lists of Philastrius of Brescia († c. 387) and of Rufinus († 410); it was included in the Canon of St. Augustine and St. Jerome; it appears in the Roman lists of Innocent and Gelasius, and it is found also in that of Isidore of Seville. Cassiodorus does not seem to have been acquainted with it except through the commentary of Didymus.

More remarkable than the protest of the Cheltenham List against 2 St. Peter is its complete silence about the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude. The reluctance of the author to follow the copy which he has before him seems to increase as he goes on. In the case of 2, 3 St. John and 2 St. Peter he contents himself with adding his own *una sola*, but when he comes to the two remaining Epistles he refuses to set them down at all. The two Epistles do not stand upon the same footing in regard to their history in the West. The Epistle of St. Jude is well attested both at Rome and Carthage. It is expressly recognised in the Muratorian Frag-

¹ Cypriani *Opp.*, p. 459 (ed. Hartel).

² Hefele, ii. 619; Westcott, p. 573. So also a tradition known to St. Jerome (*Vir. Ill.* 18).

ment; Tertullian appeals to it by name; and it is clearly quoted by the anonymous writer against Novatian. These facts show that though it may not have been very widely known (there are no traces of it in Irenaeus, Cyprian, or Hippolytus, so far as extant writings go), it yet had a firm lodgment in certain quarters. The Epistle of St. James, on the other hand, though there are a good many coincidences with it which do not certainly prove use in the earliest Western literature—Clement of Rome and Hermas, from that point passes out of sight in the West until it reappears in the complete lists of the fourth and fifth centuries. In spite of this, however, I believe that it must have been known in the West for some time before this reappearance. I ground this belief on the diversity of the Latin texts in which it is found towards the end of the fourth century. Some of the materials bearing upon this point were collected in the first volume of *Studia Biblica*¹; but I should not like to pronounce definitely upon them until they can be taken along with a more comprehensive view of the Old-Latin Version as a whole, and especially of the place in it of the Catholic Epistles. In any case the absence of these two Epistles from the Cheltenham List must increase the probability that the compiler did his work before the year 400.

Having arrived at this point, and sufficiently explained the qualifications to which the evidence is subject, we may perhaps for the sake of clearness give a tabular view of the history of the disputed books. It must be understood that inferential evidence is not admitted: it therefore must not be assumed that silence necessarily means rejection. Express testimony is indicated by larger type; the fact of quotation only by smaller type. Doubtful recognition or recognition on a confessedly lower level is denoted by placing the book in question below a single line; express or clear exclusion is denoted by placing it below double lines. Where the order of the books is not clearly indicated that of our own Bibles is followed.

¹ See the two Essays on the Corbey St. James, pp. 113 ff., 233 ff.

[Advantage may be taken of a blank page to point out the interesting coincidences which would result if it were true, as suggested on p. 259, that the final digesting of the Canon of the Disputed Books, and especially of the Catholic Epistles, proceeded from Jerusalem. The data seem to tend in this direction. It will be seen that there is a striking resemblance between the Canon of Cyril of Jerusalem and the supposititious Canon of Laodicea—a resemblance which really runs through the Old Testament as well as the New. This resemblance extends to the omission of Apoc., which is supplied by Epiphanius. Nor can we help being struck by the few points which separate the Canon of Cyril of Jerusalem, both as to order and contents, from that of our own Bibles. Now Dr. Hort has shown how much the Church of Jerusalem contributed towards the composition of the Creed which wrongly bears the name of Nicaea. And we are reminded further of the important place which was held among the usages of the East by the Liturgy of St. James. This liturgy supplied the base of that which is still in use among the Syrian Jacobites, and the traces of it go back to St. Jerome¹. The difference in ultimate acceptance between it and the Nicene Creed would seem to be due to the fact that one did, and the other did not, make a conquest of Antioch and through Antioch of Constantinople. When the history of the Canon is thus viewed in connexion with the history of the Creeds and the history of liturgical usage, an interesting group of questions is raised, which will however need closer investigation.]

[¹ Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, p. 66 (Paris, 1889).]

II. Table showing the History of the Use and Acceptance in the Early Church of Ep. to Hebrews, the Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse.

EASTERN CHURCH.

	ALEXANDRIA.	PALESTINE.	ANTIOCH AND SYRIA.	ASIA MINOR.	CONSTANTI- NOPL.
A. D. 100	Clem.-Alex. Heb. 1 Pet. Jud. 1, 2 Jo. Apoc.	Justin Mart. Apoc.	Justin Mart. Apoc.	Papias. Polycarp. 1 Pet. 1 Jo. Apoc.	
200	Orig. Heb. 1 Pet. 1 Jo. Jud. Apoc. Jac. 2 Pet. 2, 3 Jo.	<p>Oldest Syrian Canon, as in <i>Doct. Addact.</i></p> <p>No Epp. Cath. or Apoc.</p>	<p>Peahitto.</p> <p>Jac. 1 Pet. 1 Jo.</p> <p>Method. Heb. Apoc.</p>	<p>An Anti-Montanist party (Alogi) reject Johannine writings.</p> <p>Firmilian.</p> <p>1 Pet. 2 Pet. ?</p>	

Ath.	Did.	Rus.	Cyr.-Hieros.	Epiaph.
Heb. Jac. 1, 2, Pet. 1, 2, 3 Jo. Jud. Apoc.	Heb. Jac. 1, 2, Pet. 1, 2, 3 Jo. Jud.	Heb. 1 Pet. 1 Jo. Apoc. ? <hr/> Jac. Jud. 2 Pet. 2, 3 Jo. <hr/> <hr/> Apoc. ?	Heb. Jac. 1, 2 Pet. 1, 2, 3 Jo. Jud.	Heb. Jac. 1, 2 Pet. 1, 2, 3 Jo. Jud. Apoc.
			Conc. Laodic. Can. addit. (after 363 A. D.)	
			Can.-Apost.	
			Chrys., &c.	
			Theod.-Mops. per Junil., &c.	
			Greg.-Nazianz., &c.	
			Amphiloch.-Leon.	
				Nicæphorus (86-814 A.D.). Heb. 7 Epp. Cath. Apoc.

400 or ter

WESTERN CHURCH.

	ITALY AND SARDINIA.	AFRICA.	GAUL.	SPAIN.
A. D. 100	<p>Clem.-Rom. Heb. Jac.? 1 Pet.</p> <p>Herm. Jac.? 1 Pet. Apoc.?</p> <p>Fragm.-Murat. 1, 2 Jo. Jud. Apoc.</p>		<p>Ep. Vien. et Lugd. 1 Pet. Apoc. 1, 2 Jo. 1 Pet.</p> <p>Iren. Apoc. 1, 2 Jo. 1 Pet.</p>	
200	<p>Calsu. Heb. Apoc.</p> <p>Hippol. Apoc. Heb.</p>	<p>Tert. Apoc. 1 Jo. 1 Pet. Jud. Heb.</p> <p>Cypr. 1 Pet. 1 Jo. Apoc.</p> <p>Serapent. Episc. 2 Jo.</p>		

300	Lucif. Heb. 1 Pet. 1, 2 Jo. Jud.	Philastr. Brit. 1, 2 Pet. 1, 2, 3 Jo. Jud. Jac. Apoc.	Gaudent. Brit. Heb. Jac. 1 Jo.	Amb. Heb. 7 Epp. Cath. Apoc.	Chromast. Jac.	Ruth. Heb. 1, 2 Pet. Jac. Jud. 1, 2, 3 Jo. Apoc.	Hieron. Heb. 7 Epp. Cath. Apoc.	Ind. Apoc. 1, 2, 3 Jo. [1 Jo.] 1, 2 Pet. [1 Pet.]	Optat. — Millev. Jac. [quoted as Pet.] 1 Jo.	Conc. Carthag. Heb. 1, 2 Pet. 1, 2, 3 Jo. Jac. Jud. Apoc.	Phoebad. Arginens. Heb. 1 Jo. Apoc.	Hil. Pictav. Heb. 1 Pet. 1 Jo. Apoc.	Pactian. Heb. 1 Pet. 1 Jo. Apoc.	Priestill. Heb. Jac. 1, 2 Pet. 1, 2 Jo. Jud. Apoc.
400 or later	Lucif. Heb. 1, 2, 3 Jo. 1, 2 Pet. Jud. Jac. Apoc.	Innoc. I. Heb. 1, 2, 3 Jo. 1, 2 Pet. Jud. Jac. Apoc.	Gelas. I. Heb. Apoc. 1, 2 Pet. Jac. 1, 2, 3 Jo. Jud.				Aug. Heb. 7 Epp. Cath. Apoc.			Salvian. Heb. Jac. 1, 2 Pet. 1 Jo. Apoc.	Joan.-Cass. Heb. Jac. 1, 2 Pet. 1 Jo. Jud. Apoc.	Isid.-Hisp. Heb. 7 Epp. Cath. Apoc.		

The order of the Books of the New Testament has been exhibited so fully and carefully by Dr. C. R. Gregory (after Credner and Westcott) that we need do little more than refer to his collections ¹. He does not however bring out the point which is of most importance for our present enquiry. It is specially characteristic of the Cheltenham List that it places the Epistles (or Epistle) of St. John at the head of the Catholic Epistles and immediately after the Apocalypse. This is no doubt a survival from one of the very earliest stages in the history of the Western Canon, the attempt to form an *Instrumentum Joannis* corresponding to the collected body of St. Paul's Epistles. The phrase itself *Instrumentum Joannis* occurs in Tertullian, *De Resurrect.* 38: *Male Deum norunt qui non putant illum posse quod non putant, et tamen sciunt potuisse, si instrumentum Joannis norunt.* And it has been clearly proved, first by Credner, then by Volkmar in his additions to Credner, and lastly by Rönisch, that Tertullian had this arrangement ². There is also some probability that it was adopted by Irenaeus ³. The author of the Muratorian Fragment however does not appear conscious of this attempt to combine the Johannean writings. And if in the East Clement of Alexandria may have done so, it can only have been in a different manner by placing St. John's last among the Catholic Epistles, and then letting it be followed by the Apocalypse. We have some reason to believe that he took the first step, but I do not know of any proof that he took the second. I doubt if any safe inference can be drawn as to the order of the books in Cyprian. There is just this further trace of the old arrangement, that Innocent I. in his letter to Exsuperius ⁴ puts the three Epistles of St. John at the head

¹ *Proleg. to Tischendorf's N. T.*, ed. viii. p. 131 ff.

² Cp. Credner, *Gesch. d. newtest. Kanons*, pp. 82, 364-370, 402; Rönisch, *N. T. Tertullian's*, p. 528 ff. The arrangement is theoretical, and does not necessarily imply that Tertullian used a codex and not the rolls which predominated in his day (see above, p. 234).

³ Volkmar ap. Credner, p. 377 ff.

⁴ Ap. Westcott, p. 571.

of the Catholic Epistles; but all sense of the meaning of it has evidently been lost, because the Apocalypse comes after the Catholic Epistles and is separated from them by the Acts. It is rather surprising that Innocent should adopt the order he does, because the general tendency in the later Western lists, and the natural tendency especially at Rome, was to give the place of honour to St. Peter. How St. James came to take the lead in the East it is not quite easy to say. From the first appearance of the complete collection of seven Epistles it is the greatly predominant order. Nor is this merely the extension of an Antiochene order to Asia Minor and Constantinople. It is more firmly rooted at Jerusalem and in Palestine than at Antioch; and it has also the authority of Athanasius at Alexandria. Jerusalem is the Church in which it is most probable that precedence would be given to St. James; and it is possible that the collection of seven Epistles may have originated there: or if brought in the first instance from Egypt, it would seem to have been at Jerusalem that it first became established. I cannot however get beyond the region of speculation about this.

The order of the Gospels in the Cheltenham List is very peculiar. To the best of my belief the only parallels to it are the Curetonian Syriac and the so-called Commentary of Theophilus of Antioch, in the preface to which the Evangelical symbols are described in this order¹. It is possible that these coincidences may be accidental. When the Gospels first began to be written in *codices*, the order in which they came, unless it were determined by theoretical considerations, would be matter of accident. And the possible variations of four books are not so numerous that there would be any improbability in the independent occurrence of the same order in widely separated regions. It is however important to note, in the first place, that the order is such as would be produced by accident rather than by theory or reflection. The characteristically Western order—Matt., Joan., Luc., Marc.—which

¹ Zahn, *Forschungen*, ii, 31.

is found in the majority of Latin and Graeco-Latin MSS. (D, *a b e f f₂ g*), also in the Gothic Version and Apostolic Constitutions, and so far at least as the first two places are concerned in other authorities (D Paul. and Hilary of Poitiers), clearly rests upon the deliberate principle of placing the two Apostles first. The wide diffusion of this order in Western circles would tend to show that from the time when it was first fixed it was transmitted through copies made in *codices*: otherwise it would not have been preserved so free from variation. The sketch we have given of the incidents of Diocletian's persecution will show to what an extent the *codex*-form preponderated in the West. But if so, then it is very probable that an irregular order such as that of the Cheltenham List originated before the fixing of the order in *codices*, and apart from the main stream of Western transmission. The same would be true of the Curetonian Syriac. Are these two sets of phenomena—those of the fourth-century list and of the fifth-century MS.—connected? We cannot be sure that they are; but I am at the same time by no means sure that they are not. The points of contact between the Old-Latin Version and the older forms of the Syriac text are so many and so striking that they must have had a definite cause. Among the working hypotheses which well deserve to be kept in mind is the possibility that the first Latin Version of the New Testament may have been made, not on Latin ground at all, but in Antioch or Caesarea by some *notarius* or other Latin official in the suite of the provincial governor. Several facts might be cited in favour of this view, but they are better kept in reserve for the present. I am not yet convinced that the hypothesis is right. Failing that, the alternative would be that a MS. or MSS. strongly marked with Syrian peculiarities was conveyed to the West and there made use of as a basis for the Latin translation. If this were so, the coincidence between our list and Cureton's Syriac would be equally accounted for, and there would be the same reason for referring it to an early stage in the his-

tory of the Gospels. We are reminded of that other similar and not less striking coincidence in the order 'Numbers, Leviticus' between our list 'Leontius' and Nicephorus. Each strengthens the other and tends to diminish the presumption of accident.

As for the order of the different divisions of the New Testament—Evv., Epp. Paul., Act., Apoc., Cath. Epp.—the most important point is the juxtaposition of Apoc. and Epp. Joan., which has been already discussed. For the rest the nearest analogy is supplied by Cod. N, several cursives, Epiphanius, the Peshitto, Jerome, etc., which have Evv., Epp. Paul., Act., Cath. Epp., Apoc. But the principle of combining St. John's writings into an *Instrumentum Joanneum* has been abandoned. If any principle of grouping has been at work it might be supposed to be the historical principle of arranging the parts in the order of their admission into the Canon. The *corpus* of St. Paul's Epistles was very nearly complete—in some regions it was probably quite complete—in the time of Marcion: and it would be not until after that date that the books of the New Testament were brought together as a whole. In the East, where the mass of the Greek MSS. were written, the addition of Epp. Cath. and Apoc. was the last stage in the formation of the Canon.

III. THE STICHOMETRIES.

The subject of Stichometries, like that of the order of the Books, needs a few words of introduction, that the reader may be placed abreast with the present state of investigation on the subject. The last fifty years¹ have seen a marked advance which to the best of my belief has not yet been recorded in English manuals—at least not in those which deal with the

¹ It is necessary to go back thus far to Ritschl's *Alexandrinische Bibliotheken* (1838) and *Disp. de Stichometr. deque Heliod. Supplement.* (1840); both reprinted in *Opusc. Philol.*, Bd. 1. But a general understanding on the subject has only been recently arrived at.

side at which it touches Biblical criticism. The pioneers bear illustrious names, Friedrich Ritschl in Germany and Charles Graux in France¹, in whose steps have followed Diels, Christ, Schanz, Birt, and a number of others². And finally, the results obtained have been applied to the criticism of the New Testament in two elaborate articles in the *American Journal of Philology* for 1883 by the American and Cambridge scholar, Professor Rendel Harris.

The first thing to be done is to clear the mind of a widespread and deep-rooted confusion between stichometry and that method of writing which is properly described as *per cola et commata*, or as we might say, 'by clause and sub-clause,' according to which each new clause or division of a clause had a line to itself³. Examples of this latter method may be seen in the famous MSS. Codd. Bezae and Claromontanus (D Evv. and D Paul.), on a still more minute scale of subdivision in our own Cod. Laudianus (E Act.), or with a somewhat different arrangement of the text in Cod. Amiatinus and many other MSS. of the Vulgate. Indeed most of the early MSS. of the Vulgate are written in this way, with some variety in the method of arrangement. See Pal. Soc. i. 16 (Wordsworth's Z), 17 (S), 33 (X), 3 (Y), 236 (Benevento Gospels); Zang. and Watt. 34 (F), 35 (A), 36 (J), etc.; also the Psalters, Pal. Soc. ii. 8, i. 18. The divisions here adopted being sense-divisions, the lines naturally varied in length: the essence of stichometry is that the lines are assumed to be uniform or as near uniform as possible⁴. The object of stichometry was to

¹ *Revue de Philologie*, N. S., ii. 97-143 (1878).

² For references see the articles by Prof. Rendel Harris.

³ As the name *στιχος* was used for the sense-line as well as the space-line (for instance the poetical Books of the O. T. in which it was adopted were called, as we have seen, *βιβλοι στιχῆρεις*), there was much excuse for the confusion of the two methods: and the eminent scholar Fr. Blass for a long time contended that the Stichometries related to the sense-line. He has however, in view of the overwhelming evidence brought against him, greatly modified his views, and in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*, i. 314 ff., he frankly accepts his opponents' explanation for the greater part of the phenomena.

⁴ The most thorough treatment with which I am acquainted of the history

find a standard of measurement for literary works. Thanks to the researches of the scholars named above that standard had been discovered. It was for Greek writings the Homeric hexameter, averaging roughly sixteen syllables or thirty-six letters in length. The starting-point was a passage of Galen¹, the conclusions drawn from which were verified by a large inductive examination of a number of the stichometrical data which have come down to us, e.g. for Herodotus, Thucydides, Demosthenes (very fully worked out by Christ), Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.*), Gregory Nazianzen, etc. The great mass of the data agree excellently together; but some anomalies remain which still need explanation, and perhaps may require the assumption of a different standard.

Such was the point which had been reached when the Cheltenham List was published. It was therefore a welcome surprise when the results, which had been hitherto to a large extent inferential, were on a sudden not only illustrated by their extension from Greek to Latin, but also confirmed by a statement than which nothing could be more explicit. The whole secret was out. Not only the method of stichometries but their purpose (which had been also guessed) was explained. Conclusions which had been reached by a purely scientific process received a superfluous but none the less satisfactory verification. 'Inasmuch as the index of verses (= stichometry) in the city of Rome is not clearly given, and elsewhere too through greed for gain they do not preserve it in full, I have gone through the books singly, counting sixteen syllables to the line, and have appended to every book the number of Virgilian hexameters².' The booksellers cheated their customers

of colometry as applied to the New Testament is by Dr. P. Corssen in an essay recently published on Codd. D F G (Paul.). Professor Rendel Harris also deals satisfactorily with the subject.

¹ *De Plac. Hippocr.*, viii. 1 (ed. Kühn, v. 155).

² The text as it stands (see p. 224 above) is evidently corrupt. Mommsen proposes to throw out both *possi* and *numerus*: we might perhaps retain the latter and read *versuum Virgilianorum* (*uersuū* [or perhaps rather *uersum* as a vernacular form: see Neue, *Formenlehre d. lat. Sprache*, i. 360, and the

by suppressing the stichometries, by which at once the pay of the scribe and the price of the book was reckoned, and were asking more than the book was worth: for this reason the author of the note (which the tenth-century copyist had transcribed) had taken care to set down a full stichometry in his margin. We observe in passing that the author was not himself writing in Rome, though he knew too well the customs of the trade there.

We may leave further details, such as the rate of pay for copying¹, and the possible existence of other standards besides the hexameter, for which reference may be made to Professor Rendel Harris's articles mentioned above, and go on at once to a comparison of the Cheltenham stichometry with others of the same kind.

Stichometries of the Vulgate do not appear to be found in the oldest MSS. But they become fairly plentiful in MSS. of the ninth century and later. Professor S. Berger, whom I consulted, has been so good as to send me his notes of the readings of the following MSS. on doubtful points:—

Par. Lat. 1 : a Bible presented to Charles the Bald by Count Vivianus and eleven monks of the abbey of St. Martin at Tours in the year 850.

Par. Lat. 6 : a Bible probably of the tenth century.

Par. Lat. 11504 : a Bible of the ninth century.

Par. Lat. 11532 : another of the same date.

Par. Lat. 11514 : an Old Testament also of the ninth century.

These three MSS. all came from St. Germain-des-Prés.

Brit. Mus. Add. 10546 : 'Charlemagne's Bible;' early ninth century (Bp. Wordsworth's K).

other authorities and instances quoted by Miodoński, *Anon. adv. Aleatores*, p. 73, n.] *Virgilianoꝝ*): if it were clear that *versum Virgilianum* alone could = *numerus versuum Virgilianorum*, Mommsen's reading would be preferable.

¹ This is given in Diocletian's Edict *De pretiis rerum venalium* (C. I. L., iii. 831).

Cod. Paulinus: the famous MS. from the Church of S. Paolo fuori le Mura, another Caroline MS.

Cod. Vallicellianus: a MS. also of the ninth century, and like the two last presenting Alcuin's recension of the Vulgate (Bp. Wordsworth's V).

I have further made use of—

Cod. Bodl. Auct. E. inf. 1, 2 (Hody's N. E. F. 6), which appears to be of the twelfth century.

Brit. Mus. Add. 10546 (see above), from the *Catalogue of Ancient MSS.*

Harley MS. 2805: of the ninth century; from the same source.

And the list given by the Benedictine editors of St. Jerome (ed. Migne, vol. ix. p. 150 f.). What are given as the Vulgate readings thus rest upon a strong *consensus*.

It will be seen at a glance that the stichometry in the Cheltenham List is really that of the Vulgate.

The Cheltenham stichometry is evidently in the main very correct. When the missing numbers are supplied from the best Vulgate MSS. for the Books of the Heptateuch the result agrees exactly with that in the List. When the Book of Ruth is taken with the Books of Kings, as we have seen that it ought to be taken, and when the one small and obvious correction of CCL for CCI has been made, the result again tallies with the items. For the succeeding Books down to the Book of Psalms (inclusive) the only item which does not correspond with the reading of the best MSS. is that for the Book of Job. Here, however, Par. Lat. 6 presents the same figures as the Cheltenham List. It is not until we get to the *libb. Salomonis* and the Major Prophets that any real difficulty arises. We may accept the figures given for Isaiah and Jeremiah; but there is clearly some mistake in those for Ezekiel and Daniel, and the summaries both for the Solomonic Books and for the Major Prophets must be wrong. I have suggested corrections for these last which are as near as it

III. Comparative Table of Stichometries—(A) of the Old Testament, (B) of the New Testament.
(A) STICHOMETRIES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

	Greek MSS.	Nicephorus ³	Codex Chalonianus.	Index Cheltonianus.	The same corrected.	Vulgate.	Some MSS. of Vulgate.
Genesis	4300	4500	...	[HIDCC]	3700	4900
Exodus	2800	3700	...	[IH]	3000	...
Leviticus	2700	2800	...	[HIDCC]	2300	{ 2400 2600
Numbers	3530	3650	...	[IH]	3000	...
Deuteronomy	3100	3300	...	[HIDCC]	2600	...
Joshua	2100	2000	...	[HIDCC]	1750	...
Judges	2050	2000	...	[HIDCC]	1750	1850
Total	18100	...	...	...
Ruth	250	201	CCL (for CCL)	250	...
1 Kings	2500	2300	...	2300	...
2 Kings	{ 4240 }	2000	2200	...	2200	...
3 Kings	{ 2203 }	2600	2500	...	2500	...
4 Kings	{ 4250 ? β for δ and γ for γ }	2400	2250	...	2250	...
Total	9500	...	...	...
1 Chronicles	2040	...	2040	...
2 Chronicles	{ 5500 }	...	2100	...	2100	...
Ezra	1500	...	...	...	...
1 Maccabees	2300	2300	...	2300	...
2 Maccabees	7300 (3 books)	2300	1800	...	1800	...
Job	1800	1600	1800	...	1700	1800
Tobit	700	1000	900	...	900	...

Comparative Table of

(B) STICHOMETRIES OF

Greek Stichometries.

	Modern versea.	Measured lines of 16 syllables (W. and H.)	The same abbreviated.	Codex Amiatinus in lines of 16 syllables.	Some MSS.	Main body of MSS.
St. Matthew	1071	2433	2397	2359	{ 2514 ²⁵⁵⁴ } (5 MSS.) H. R. corr. { 2560 (9 MSS.) }	2600 (37 MSS.)
St. Mark ...	678	1511 [-xvi. 9- 20.]	1494	1549 [+ xvi. 9- 20.]	{ 1506 (4 MSS.) } { 1550 (3 MSS.) } { 1590 (2 MSS.) }	1600 (32 MSS.)
St. Luke ...	1151	2591	2551	2559	{ 2676 (5 MSS.) } { 2740 (6 MSS.) } { 2750 (3 MSS.) }	2800 (44 MSS.)
St. John ...	880	1948	1903	1924	{ 2024 (9 MSS.) } { 2210 (5 MSS.) }	2300 (38 MSS.)
Acts ...	1007	2559	2527	2479	... ..	...
Apocalypse...	405	1224	1213	1156	... ..	...
1 St. John ...	105	268	262	247	... ..	274
2 St. John ...	13	31	30	30	... ..	30
3 St. John ...	15	31	31	31	... ..	32
Total ...	133	330	323	308		336
1 St. Peter ...	105	245	240	265	... ..	236
2 St. Peter ...	61	162	158	159	... ..	[154]
Total ...	166	407	398	424		

Stichometries (continued).

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Greek Stichometries.

Latin Stichometries.

Some MSS.	Euthalius.	Nicephorus (Greek.)	Nicephorus (Latin; Anastasia Biblioth. c. 870 A.D.).	Codex Claromontanus.	Index Cheloniannus.	Most MSS. of Vulgate.	Some MSS.
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 2700 \text{ (4 MSS.)} \\ 3397 \text{ (2 MSS.)} \end{array} \right\}$	...	2500	2500	2600	2700	2700	...
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1616 \text{ (10 MSS.)} \\ 1700 \text{ (6 MSS.)} \\ 1829 \text{ (2 MSS.)} \end{array} \right\}$	...	2000	2000	1600	1700	1700	...
3827 (2 MSS.)	...	2600	2600	2900	3300 [read 3800]	3800	2900 (1 MS.)
... ..	...	2300	2700	2000	1800	1800	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1700 \text{ (1 MS.)} \\ 2300 \text{ (1 MS.)} \end{array} \right\}$
... ..	2556	3000 [reading for]	?	2600	10000 (Cod.)	3600	9400 (1 MS.)
... ..	...	1400	1500	1200	1800	1800	...
... ..	273	...	...	220	...	...	274
31	37	...	...	20	...	...	(Cod. Frising. Vet. Lat.)
... ..	32	...	...	20	...	...	...
...	342	...	...	260	450	...	...
237	236	...	...	200	...	...	...
... ..	154	...	...	140	...	...	...
...	390	...	...	340	300	...	...

seems possible to come to the MS., and which give a right result for the general total. Beyond this I have not thought that I could go profitably. The five missing and the two erroneous items might be manipulated in a variety of ways; none of which would admit of verification. I am conscious of having only proposed a makeshift solution for this part of the problem. Before touching on the further questions raised I proceed to give a similar, but as the materials allow somewhat more elaborate table for the stichometry of the New Testament. For this I have made use of the calculations of Professor Rendel Harris as to the actual number of measured lines in the text of Westcott and Hort, adding to these a rather rough calculation for Cod. Amiatinus. I have also incorporated the data from Professor Rendel Harris's tables of stichometries from Greek MSS., with some enlargement from the third edition of Scrivener's *Introduction* and the American corrections of Scrivener. The variants to the Vulgate readings are contributed by M. Berger. For the New Testament we have to add to the authorities the Book of Armagh (early ninth century).

There is nothing here that needs setting right in the Cheltenham List except the obvious correction for St. Luke. The figures for the Epistles of St. John and St. Peter are open to suspicion; but the Vulgate parallels fail us, and there is no general total by which to check them. The numeration in the Freising MS. looks very much as if it were taken over from the Greek.

I do not propose to attempt a justification of the different stichometries. It is enough for our purpose to have the identity of those in the Cheltenham List and the Vulgate MSS. brought out so clearly. An interesting problem is suggested by these taken together. What was the origin of the Vulgate stichometry? Was it originally made for the Vulgate? and if so, where and when? It strikes us at once that the MSS. of the Vulgate in which stichometries are found are none of them earlier than the Caroline period. Three

of the most conspicuous (Brit. Mus. Add. 10546 and Codd. Paulinus and Vallicellianus) show traces of the influence of Alcuin. I do not know that there is anything that need be inconsistent with the supposition that Alcuin had brought the stichometries with him from England. He would then perhaps have obtained them ultimately from an Irish source—the same from which they found their way into the Book of Armagh. It is noticeable, however, that they do not appear to be found in the earlier Books of Kells, Durrow, and the Codd. Usseriani, or in the Rushworth, Lindisfarne, Durham, or Lichfield (St. Chad's) Gospels, or in those which come from St. Augustine's, Canterbury, or in the Stonyhurst St. John, or to the best of my knowledge in any other of the English or Irish MSS. of a date not later than the ninth century. They must thus have had a very limited circulation. The oldest authority in which they are found is the archetype of the Cheltenham MS. For although we have no proof that the stichometries are as old as the year 359, it is not probable that they are more than seventy years later. The circumstances under which the stichometries were added are indicated in the note at the end of the New Testament list. That note implies the existence of free inter-communication between the city of Rome and the place where it was written. Now we have so far had many reasons for connecting the list with Africa. But if the line-measurements were added in Africa and if the note in regard to them was drawn up in that country, it must have been either before the Vandal invasion (428–430 A.D.), or in the interval between the reconquest of Africa by Belisarius in 533–4 and the final destruction of Carthage by the Arabs in 698. And the first of these periods is decidedly more probable than the second, because the note implies a flourishing book-trade and settled and peaceful relations between the province and the capital such as can hardly be said to have existed either during the Gothic war or the Lombard troubles which followed. If the second period were to be chosen the best part of it would be

about the time of Primasius, or 560 A.D. Failing this, we are carried back very nearly if not quite to the age of Jerome. Still it would not be necessary that the stichometry should have Jerome for its author, any more than he can have been the author of the various capitulations which are found in Vulgate MSS. The majority of these must have been either composed at a later date, or (what is very possible) transferred from MSS. of the Old Latin. The same may well be the case with the stichometry. And here the Cheltenham List comes in with an important coincidence. None of the Vulgate MSS., as M. Berger assures me, have any line-measurement for Ezra-Nehemiah. It is probable therefore that the stichometry was made from a *codex* in which that book was wanting. But it is also wanting in the Cheltenham List. That, and its date combined, bring the List very near the point at which the stichometry originated. We may go back a step further. Apart from the Cheltenham List the earliest trace of the existence of Latin Biblical stichometries is in the so-called *Speculum* of St. Augustine¹. Though the classified extracts from the Bible of which this work is composed present a Vulgate text, there is satisfactory proof that this is the work of which Possidius speaks as begun but left unfinished by St. Augustine at the time of his death. Either we must suppose that a Vulgate text was substituted for the Old Latin which St. Augustine certainly used; or St. Augustine himself only gave rough indications (the beginning and end) of the passages which he wished to extract, and the text was filled in later from a copy of the Vulgate². In any case the change must have been made before the work got into general circulation, as the extant MSS. (of which one is of the ninth and one of the tenth century) are all based on Jerome's version. But the adaptation of the text of the extracts does not

¹ The first of the two similar works recently published by Wehrich (*Corp. Script. Eccles. Lat.*, vol. xii; Vienna, 1887).

² Compare the method pursued in the two Theodulfian MSS., Aniciensis and Mesmanianus, of the second or spurious *Speculum*.

affect the framework in which they are set. This framework, which consists of a preface and very brief connecting links between the extracts, is, we have every reason to think, original. It is clear from this that the Biblical *codex* from which the extracts were made was stichometrically written. Many of the links of transition are vague (*post aliquantum, paulo post, etc.*), but many also are definite (*post i. verum, post iii. versus, etc.*): and that not in a book here and there, but all through the Bible¹. It is probable then that St. Augustine himself had access to a stichometry. Can it have had anything to do with Tichonius the Donatist, who stood in such near literary relation to him? Tichonius was a person interested in the study of the Scriptures; and the making of stichometries was one of the employments of Biblical scholars in those days. We have an example of this in the East a little later in Euthalius: and the Greek MSS. show that there must have been many both before and after Euthalius who busied themselves in the same kind of work.

However it may be about Tichonius, whose name I only mention to show the kind of circle in which the stichometries seem to have arisen, the one conclusion for which we have the clearest warrant is that the author must have had relations to St. Augustine. This is, it is true, more clearly visible in the Old Testament than in the New. In the Old Testament we had both a general resemblance in order and also two marked coincidences—the grouping of Ruth with Kings and the placing of Ezekiel before Daniel. The most striking difference was the omission of 1, 2 Esdras in the List and its retention by Augustine. In the New Testament the divergence is greater. Here the more archaic hand at work in the List is decidedly at an earlier stage than St. Augustine. It adopts indeed elements that go back as far as Tertullian. Since Tertullian there is no such clear trace as here of the *Instrumentum Joanneum*. The omission of Hebrews, St. James, and St. Jude is also thoroughly primitive; and the protest

¹ Corssen has made good use of these data in the essay above referred to.

against the admission of 2, 3 St. John and 2 St. Peter belongs to a stage which is not likely to have extended much beyond the year 400. Other primitive traits of a different kind are the peculiar order of the books Numbers and Leviticus and the peculiar order of the Gospels, both presenting coincidences with far-removed Greek authorities, and so pointing backwards to a time before the Latin and Greek traditions had separated.

All these data are of course entirely independent of any conclusions that might be drawn from the chronological notes. Their presence in a tenth-century MS. shows that they might be perpetuated in a late document; but simple transmission is one thing and actual composition is another; and it does not seem to me probable that the compiler of the List as we have it would deliberately reject so many Epistles after the Third Council of Carthage and the times of St. Jerome and St. Augustine.

There remain the '24 elders of the Apocalypse' and the stichometries. These no doubt may be subsequent insertions; but on the whole I am inclined to believe that they are not derived directly from Jerome. In the one case I suspect that Jerome (though he does not say so) is drawing from an older authority, of which our Lists Victorinus and Pseudo-Tertullian represent a divergent branch; and in the other case I think it very possible that the stichometries either were not originally composed for the Vulgate at all or were composed for it in Africa and not in Palestine.

IV. THE LIST OF THE WRITINGS OF CYPRIAN.

The third subject on which the document before us has an important bearing is the criticism of Cyprian. It is satisfactory to find that all the treatises usually regarded as genuine are included in the Cyprianic List with the single exception of *Quod idola dñi non sint* (*De Idolorum Vanitate*). The absence of this treatise need not excite misgivings as to its genuineness. Its attestation goes back to St. Jerome and

St. Augustine¹, if not to the biographer of Cyprian²: it is found in most of the better MSS. (though not as it happens in the two oldest, *S* and *F*, which are both fragmentary): and the style and character of the treatise are thoroughly Cyprianic. Its omission would seem to be connected with the fact that, as we shall see presently, its usual place in the MSS. was among the Epistles and towards the end even of these.

On the questions which have been raised as to the *Testimonia* the Cheltenham List has weighty evidence to render. Before touching upon these it may be right to say a word about the reading of the MS. This is given by Mommsen thus:

ad Quirinum libri III: I DL
II DCCCL
III DCCLXX.

Mommsen notes that instead of *I* the MS. has *L*; and the doubt had occurred to me, observing the suspicious repetition of *L* at the end of the figures for Books I and II, that the archetype may have read:

ad Quirinum libri III: L(ib) I D
L(ib) II DCCC
L(ib) III DCCLXX.

The exact form in which the entry stands in the MS. is as follows—most of the punctuation appears to be added by a second hand:

manus prima L. δLII δcccl | III, δccclxx.
manus secunda L. δ·L·II; δccc·l | III; δcc. lxx.

I think however on the whole that Mommsen is probably right. It is true that there is a tendency in this part of the List to greater brevity than in the earlier part: for instance, *versus* is only inserted in the last line, whereas it occurs

¹ Aug., *De unic. Bapt.*, iv. § 6; Hieron., *Ep.* 83 *ad Magnum*.

² The words of Pontius are rather ambiguous, and may possibly refer to *Ad Demetrianum: per quem gentiles blasphemi repressis in se quae nobis ingerunt vincerentur?* (*Vit.* c. 7; ed. Hartel, p. xcvii. l. 16).

frequently in the Biblical lists. This might prevent us from arguing from *Paralipomenē lib. I*, etc., as above. But I do not think that *L* alone for *liber* is a common abbreviation. This supposition then may probably be dismissed, and the number of *versus* may be taken as Mommsen has it.

The recent history of the criticism of the *Testimonia* is this. In *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Bd. 1, Heft 1, p. 251 (published in 1882), Harnack (after Erasmus) labelled the *Testimonia* as the work of (Pseudo-)Cyprian. In Heft 2 of the same volume (published in 1883) he withdrew this doubt and pronounced them genuine. This may have been partly due to the accumulation of evidence for the early use of the *Testimonia* in Commodian, Firmicus Maternus, and Lactantius (*ibid.*, Heft 2, p. 97). An article by Dombart¹ there referred to is specially important as showing that while Commodian's *Apology* only bears trace of the use of the two first Books of the *Testimonia*, the *Instructions* give equally clear proof of the use of the third Book. In *Old-Latin Texts, Part ii*, p. 131 the writer of this essay argued for the genuineness of the work, but at the same time threw out the surmise, based upon the discrepancy between the number of *στίχοι* assigned to the three Books in the List and their actual length in the printed editions, that Book III at least might perhaps be largely interpolated. Mommsen had already compared the stichometry of the List with the number of lines in Hartel's edition with this result :

Book I: *στίχοι* 550, lines 560.

II: „ 850 „ 886.

III: „ 770 „ 1876.

I was inclined however to reject the hypothesis of interpolation, and preferred to suppose that *Ī* or *∞* had dropped out of the text², partly because of the general identity of the Biblical text throughout the whole of the Third Book,

¹ *Zeitschrift f. wiss. Theol.*, 1879, esp. pp. 384-389.

² It would be almost as easy to suppose that in the uncial hand of the fourth century *δωκλxx* was written for *ωολxx*.

and partly because the quotation in Jerome's *Dial. c. Pelag.*, i. 32¹, seemed to show that the fifty-fourth *titulus* at least (which is two-thirds of the way through the book) stood in Jerome's day where it does now. Dombart also, it should be said, points out several marked coincidences between the *tituli* of Book III and Commodian². More recently Dr. P. Corssen in his very careful and suggestive review of *Old-Latin Biblical texts*³ has urged in favour of the theory of interpolation that there is no other instance of a treatise of Cyprian exceeding in length 1000 στίχοι. The fact is important when we consider the tendency which Birt has proved for authors to observe certain laws as to the length of their compositions. Nor would I lay stress in opposition to it upon the division of the *Testimonia* into two books, instead of three, in the twelfth-century MS. which we have called O₄. This would more nearly equalize the two books, but it does not rest upon sufficient authority. Even the allied MS. O₅ has the usual division into three Books. We note however that the number of *capitula* in Book III shows the same or even greater excess over those of the other two (Book I, 24; Book II, 30; Book III, 120): and we have just seen that these *capitula* were apparently the same—half of them at least certainly the same—in Jerome's time as they are in our own. It would be strange too if with so many distinct families of MSS. there should be no trace of the original smaller work. The common archetype of these different families must go back to a date not far from that of Cyprian himself; and though the enlarged edition would naturally tend to supersede the smaller edition, the works of Cyprian were so rapidly diffused and so widely that it would be difficult for it to suppress the smaller edition altogether. This difficulty is increased when we observe how much the Cheltenham List has in common with the MSS., and in

¹ Noticed by Harnack, *T. u. U.*, ii. 2. p. 81.

² *Ibid.*, p. 387 f.

³ *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* for April 1, 1889.

particular how nearly it agrees with them in the position of the *Testimonia*. If the Cheltenham List were the one surviving member of a divergent tradition we should expect it to present greater differences. It would seem therefore that allowing the fullest weight to the Cheltenham stichometry, there are still formidable obstacles in the way of the interpolation-hypothesis. The question loses much of its importance if the *prima facie* impression is found to hold good that the Biblical text throughout the Book is consistent with itself and consistent also with that of Cyprian. In that case, though the whole of the collection may not have been made by Cyprian himself, it would be made at least from Cyprian's Bible. If it should prove that there has been a deliberate enlargement of Book III, the same thing on a smaller scale will probably have taken place in Book II, because whereas in all the other treatises the number of lines in the Cheltenham List is more or less considerably in excess of those in Hartel's edition, here the relation is inverted.

Two spurious pieces are included in the Cheltenham List, *De Laude Martyrii* and *Adversus Judaeos*. The first of these very early found its way into the Cyprianic collections. It not only appears in the Cheltenham List, but is repeatedly quoted by Lucifer Calaritanus¹. It is also partially extant in the oldest Cyprian MS. (*S*), and has a place in the great majority of the other MSS. There seems to be no good authority for the inscription 'To Moyses and Maximus' which is found in the older editions. The treatise is much rather, as Fell has pointed out, a sort of rhetorical exercise which implies the attention and even the applause of an interested audience. It does not look as if it had been written in the heat of persecution: it bears much more the impress of a time of peace: and if it were ever delivered at all, we should say that it was as an oration commemorating those who had suffered, like the λόγοι ἐπιτάφιοι of the Greeks. It

¹ See Hartel's Index to Lucifer, and Harnack in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1886, col. 174.

resembles these in the generality of its language, and in the absence of names and particular allusions. Though not Cyprianic, and probably later than Cyprian, it appears to be African in its origin.

The treatise *Against the Jews* is of the same rhetorical and artificial character. It has not grown out of real controversy¹. It is not even an argument, but rather a declamation. It consists in a magnifying of Christian privileges by contrasting Israel's loss with the Christian's gain. This treatise does not rest on such good MS. authority as *De Laude Martyrii*. Its Biblical text and linguistic features seem peculiar and interesting.

The process by which spurious works came to be included among the genuine is well illustrated by a statement which has a further significance for our present purpose. In his tract *De Adulteratione Librorum Origenis*, Rufinus of Aquileia, writing in the last years of the fourth century, complains that whereas the whole *corpus* of Cyprian's Epistles was collected into a single volume, certain heretics who were in the habit of blaspheming against the Holy Spirit, had culpably inserted among them the treatise of Tertullian [he should have said 'Novatian'] on the Trinity, and then had the interpolated volumes hawked about the streets of a large city like Constantinople at a cheap rate so as to induce people to buy them². We may accept the fact while reserving our

¹ On this characteristic of much of the Anti-Jewish literature, see Harnack, *T. u. U.*, i. 2. 63 ff.

² The passage is so interesting from a variety of reasons that it may be well to give it in the original: *Sancti Cypriani martyris solet omne epistolarum corpus in uno codice scribi. Huic corpori haeretici quidam, qui in Spiritum Sanctum blasphemant, Tertulliani libellum de Trinitate reprehensibiliter (quantum ad veritatem fidei nostrae pertinet) scriptum inserentes, et quamplurimos codices de talibus exemplariis conscribentes per totam Constantinopolin urbem maximam distrahi pretio viliori fecerunt ut exiguitate pretii homines illecti ignotos et latentes dolos facilius compararent, quo per hoc invenirent haeretici perfidiae suae fidem tanti viri auctoritate conquirere (Orig. Opp., ed. Lommatsch, xxv. 395). Jerome replies to this that the work in question was not really Tertullian's, but Novatian's: see Delarue's note.*

own judgment as to the imputation of motive. Such imputations are continually being thrown out, and in nine cases out of ten where we can test them turn out to be groundless. It is however clear that other works were included in the same volume with those of Cyprian; and if they were anonymous in the first instance they would soon come to pass by his name¹.

Rufinus speaks of 'Epistles,' but he probably means by this the whole of Cyprian's works. The subscriptions in the MSS. frequently speak of the treatises as *Epistolae*. So Hartel's Corbie MS. (C), of the ninth century, at the end of *Quod idola dii non sint*. So the St. Gall MS. (G), also of the ninth century, at the end of *De Eccl. Un.* and *De Mortalitate*; and so too the tenth-century MS. which we have called O₁ and the two twelfth-century MSS. which we have called O₄ and O₆. We may suspect that this use of *epistola* led to the substitution of *Ad Virgines* for *De Habitu Virginum* in the Cheltenham List: a point in which it agrees with O₁.

For the rest, the Cheltenham List contains 28 out of 81 letters which Mommsen has succeeded in identifying, and there are five others, according to his reckoning, which he has not identified. We will try what can be done with these presently. It may be asked, however, how it is that only one of the treatises should be missing (No. II, *Quod idola*, etc.) and so large a number of Epistles? The genuineness of the missing letters (which do not all profess to be written by Cyprian) is really well assured: but it must be remembered that it is a much easier thing to collect long compositions like the treatises than short and fugitive compositions like the letters. The MS. of the treatises Cyprian would keep at home and leave behind him²; the letters would be dis-

¹ We may also note in passing (1) the great popularity of Cyprian's writings, (2) the ready sale which Latin books find in Constantinople. Some of Cyprian's works were translated into Greek (see Pitra's *Analecta*, tom. iv), but we can hardly suppose that this was the case with the whole *corpus* or with the work of Novatian. The language of Jerome implies that the volumes were in Latin.

² There is plenty of evidence to show that Cyprian, with the business-like

persed abroad, not only over the province of Africa, but some to Rome and even to Spain. No doubt Cyprian won a great reputation even in his lifetime; and this reputation was greatly enhanced by his glorious death; so that his letters would soon come to be enquired after and collected. Still the process would take time: it would proceed unequally in different regions: and partial collections would be put in circulation long before the whole body of Epistles was brought together in a single volume. The MSS. still bear many traces of this process. It will be instructive to interrogate them upon the subject, as we may do by tabulating the contents of the different MSS. side by side with the Cheltenham List. The reader who wishes to know more about the different authorities enumerated may be referred to Hartel's Preface, and to the Appendix to *Old-Latin Texts*, Part II. It will be enough for the present purpose if he will take the letters used to designate the MSS. as so many symbols, to which however, as a *prima facie* indication of value, the century to which they belong has been appended. For convenience of use the numbering of the Epistles by Rigault and

habits which were characteristic of him, had copies made of his own letters, which he must have kept by him at least for a time. Thus in *Ep.* 20 we find him in self-defence sending to Rome copies of the letters (13 in number) which he had written to the clergy and confessors at Carthage: in like manner in *Ep.* 25 he speaks of a transcript of five letters which he had sent to Caldonius: and besides this, he frequently refers to copies of his letters which he begs his correspondents either to disseminate themselves or give others the opportunity of disseminating. But there is good reason to think that the letters were not first collected from the archives of the Church at Carthage. The great diversities of order and the varying length of the collections are against this; and it is noticeable that the letters which relate to the domestic affairs of the Church of Carthage are just those which found their way into the collections most sparingly. The letters to Cornelius, for instance, are found in all the great collections, and nearly the same is true of the letters to the Spanish Churches, but the controversy about the lapsed is very poorly represented. We should like much to know what became of the thirteen letters of which copies were sent to Rome. Are they the original source of any of our extant texts? The archetype of *TMQ* is, I think, the only collection which contains as many as thirteen letters written before *Ep.* 20 to which the description would apply: next to it comes the *V* group, which was certainly not written in Africa, and probably in Italy.

Baluze is given, as well as that of Fell and Hartel. And to facilitate the enquiry how far the chronology of the letters may have influenced their order in the collections, a chronological list is also given based upon the careful researches of Otto Ritschl¹ which supplement Pearson's *Annales Cyprianici*. I anticipate a little by supplying conjecturally the letters not yet identified in the Cheltenham List.

The suggestiveness of these lists is evident enough; but at the same time they are of course only suggestive: the hints which they supply will need to be worked out before they can lead to any assured conclusions. My hope is that they may serve as finger-posts to future critics of Cyprian—and in particular to one of my fellow contributors to these volumes—and point out directions in which enquiry is likely to be fruitful. To a certain extent the indications which they give have already received a certain amount of rough verification. We may see, for instance, at once that the order in the MS. O₂ is in the Epistles identical with, and in the Treatises not far removed from, that of *T*: in other words, a MS. here in the heart of Oxford corresponds almost exactly to one that has lain for some two centuries on the shelves of the Vatican². The presumption thus raised is borne out: the texts of the two MSS. certainly resemble each other, though precisely to what extent they do so has still to be determined. In like manner the list of contents alone shows that the Lincoln MS. (*l*), written in Florence for the famous bookseller Vespasian, corresponds within one or two points with the Bamberg MS. (*B*). The texts here again are found to be closely related. And this is the more interesting because the Bamberg MS. stands rather by itself, and is, at least in parts, of considerable importance. Then, further, we may see

¹ *Cyprian von Karthago*, Göttingen, 1885; comp. *De Epistulis Cyprianicis Dissertatio Theologica*, Halis Saxonum, 1885.

² The MS. in question belonged to the library of Christina Queen of Sweden, and appears to have been previously in the possession of Peter Daniel of Orleans († 1603): see Reifferscheid, *Biblioth. Ital.*, i. 337 compared with 349.

IV. Comparative Table showing the Order in the MSS. of the Writings of Cyprian.
(A) the Treatises, (B) the Epistles.

(A) THE TREATISES.

	W (s. viii.-ix.)	O ₁ (s. xii. ex.)	O ₂ (s. x. ex.)	S (s. vi.)	O ₃ (s. xi.)	H (s. xi.-xii.)	B ₁ (s. xi.) B ₂ (s. xv.)	T (s. x.)	Archetype of M ^q b, &c.	Index Cheltonianus.	C ^R V (s. vii.)	P (s. ix.)	O ₁ (s. x.)	n.
I. Ad Donatum.	III carm. spur.	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	IV
II. Quod idola dii non sunt.		IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	X	X	VI
III. Ad Quirinum (Testimonis).		VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	XIII	IX	IX	V
IV. De habitu virginum.		V	V	V	V	V	V	V	VII	XI	XI	app.	VI	VII
V. De ecclesiae unitate.		VII	VII	VII	VII	VII	VIII	VII	V	X	XI	V	XI	VIII
VI. De lapsis.		VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	X	IX	X	V	ep.	VII	VII	XI
VII. De dominica oratione.		XI	XI	IX	IX	IX	XIII	VIII	VIII	XIII	V	VIII	XII	XII
VIII. De mortalitate.		XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	XI	XII	XI	VIII	VII	XII	XII	XIII
IX. Ad Fortunatum.		X	X	app.	app.	XII	XII	XII	XII	IX	VII	XII	app.	X
X. Ad Demetrianum.		IX	IX	app.	app.	XIII	VII	XIII	XIII	IX	XII	XIII	XIII	II
XI. De opere et elemosinis.		XIII	libb.	libb.	libb.	III	IX	IX	IX	VII	X	N	XIII	I
XII. De bono patientiae.		IX	libb.	libb.	libb.	III	III	III	III	III	IX	IX	V	III
XIII. De zelo et livore.		II	spur.	spur.	spur.	app.	app.	app.	app.	app.	II	L	II	IX
XIV. Sententiae episcoporum.		app.	III	III	sp.	II	XIV	XIV	libb.	libb.	N	P	app.	
		XIV	app.	app.	sp.	libb.	II	app.	spur.	sp.	III	III	III	
		app.	XIV	XIV	libb.	spur.	app.	libb.	app.	app.	libb.	XIV	app.	
		libb.	app.	app.	libb.	ep.	libb.	II	XIV	XIV	spur.	app.	XIV	
		spur.	libb.	libb.	sp.	libb.	spur.	app.	app.	app.	libb.	libb.	libb.	
		app.	app.	sp.	sp.	sp.	spur.	libb.	libb.	libb.	sp.	sp.	sp.	
		II	II	II	II	II	II	spur.	spur.	app.	II	II	II	
		app.	app.	app.	app.	app.	app.	spur.	spur.	app.	app.	app.	app.	

Table IV (*continued*).

(B) THE EPISTLES.

Risault and Baluze.	Fell and Hartel.	Chronological Order	Revised Order (O. Bartsch).	Index Cheltonianus.	Archetype of L (a. ix.), N (a. x), P (a. ix.), (O. Bartsch).	O ₁ (a. x).	P (a. viii), lost original of C (a. ix.), R (a. ix).	T (a. x).	Archetype (a. viii) of M (a. ix.), Q (a. viii-ix), T (a. x), &c.	O ₂ (a. xii).	B (a. xi.), t (a. xv).	H (a. xi-xii), P (a. xiii).	R (a. vi).
66 =	1 =	2	63	55	63	libb.	libb. (K)	63	55	55	63	55	57
61 =	2 =	64	6	63	6	63	58 (R)	6	63	74 (O ₄)	30	6	52
65 =	3 =	66	55	libb.	55	libb.	libb. (K)	55	6	69 (1/2 O ₄)	6	28	47 = xxxvii
62 =	4 =	65	10 (L)	10	10	58	libb.	10	58	69 (1/2 O ₄)	13 (U)	37	45 = xxxviii
4 =	5 =	5	28	28	28	76	63	28	10	40	28	11	41 = xxxviii
81 =	6 =	4	37	37	37	58 (bis)	6	37	28	67	37	38	44
36 =	7 =	3	11	11	11	55	10	11	37	64	libb.	39	4
2 =	8 =	6	38	38	38 (LN)	111	28	38	11	2	10	58	61
3 =	9 =	7	39	? = 38	39	66	37	39	38	60	11	73	1 = xlii
8 =	10 =	12	58 (P)	39	58 (P)	30	11	58	39	57	58	71	46 = xli
7 =	11 =	11	60	73	60	2	38	60	sp.	59	46	70	56 = xlviii
37 =	12 =	10	76	71	76	64	39	57	60	52	12	63	54
6 =	13 =	8	73	? = 70	73	xiv	14	59	57	47	76	76	20 = xlviii
5 =	14 =	9	71	?	71		76	52	59	45	78	74	30 = xlviii
10 =	15 =	15	70	xiv	70		70	47	52	44	77	69	31
9 =	16 =	16	xiv		xiv		16	45	47	51	32	40	
11 =	17 =	17	74	? = 72	74		15	44	45	13	20	67	

12 = 18 = 18	18	64	69	(12 = 18 = 18)	40	51	44	43	59	64
13 = 19 = 19	19	69	67	6	64	13	51	65	52	2
14 = 20 = 20	20	67	64	6	2	43	13	1	47	60
20 = 21 = 13	24	2	2	libb.	57	65	43	61	45	57
21 = 22 = 14	25	13	13	63	59	1	65	46	44	59
16 = 23 = 23	23	lib. sp. (LN)	lib. sp.	6	60	61	1	66	51	52
18 = 24 = 21	26	43	43	58	52 (R)	46	61	4	60	47
19 = 25 = 22	27	65	65	libb.	47	66	46	11	57	45
17 = 26 = 24	28	32	32	(12 = 18 = 18)	45	54	54	56	55	44
22 = 27 = 25	29	20	20	63	44	76	32	3	38	13
25 = 28 = 26	30	30	30	63	49	73	20	72	39	43
24 = 29 = 27	31	lib.	lib.	69 (1/2)	50	71	12	58	40	65
31 = 30 = 28	32	sp.	sp.	xiv	13	70	78	63	67	66
26 = 31 = 29	33	44	47	63	13	xiv	xiv	6	43	4
32 = 32 = 30	34	45	45	69 (1/2)	69	74	69 (1/2)	76	65	3
27 = 33 = 31	35	47	48	xiv	65	69	69 (1/2)	73	73	72
28 = 34 = 32	36	48	44	13	67	67	67	71 (O _h)	71	61
29 = 35 = 33	37	51	61	lib.	67	64	64	xiv	70	1
30 = 36 = 34	38	52	46	sp.	67	2	2	28	xiv	46
15 = 37 = 35	39	57	57	sp.	67	2	2	37	72	56
33 = 38 = 36	40	59	59	libb.	67	32	3	38	74	54
34 = 39 = 37	41	60	60	libb.	67	20	72	39	69 (1/2)	20
35 = 40 = 38	42	Vit.	66 (L) 11 (P)	58	libb.	12	12	70	69 (1/2)	30
38 = 41 = 39	43		40	libb.	58	libb.	71	libb.	64	31
39 = 42 = 40	45			libb.	libb.	40	73	sp.	2	12

Table IV—(continued).

(B) THE EPISTLES.

Bigault and Fell and Hartel.	Chronological Order (O. Hirsch).	Revised Order (O. Hirsch).	Index Cheltonianus.	Archetype of <i>N</i> (a. ix.), <i>N</i> (a. x.) <i>P</i> (a. ix.).	<i>O</i> (a. x.).	<i>V</i> (a. vii.) lost original of <i>C</i> (a. ix.) <i>R</i> (a. ix.).	<i>T</i> (a. x.).	Archetype (a. viii.) of <i>M</i> (a. ix.) <i>Q</i> (a. viii-ix.) <i>T</i> (a. x.) &c.	<i>O</i> (a. xii.).	<i>B</i> (a. xi.), <i>I</i> (a. xv.).	<i>H</i> (a. xi-iii.).	<i>F</i> (a. vi.).
40 = 43 =	41	44		<i>N</i> add.		<i>R</i> add.	78	66	20	1	77	
41 = 44 =	43	48					79	40	32	61	78	
42 = 45 =	42	46					76	77	47	54	79	
44 = 46 =	45	47		4			77	31	54	66	32	
43 = 47 =	46	50		72			11	36	78	4	51	
45 = 48 =	44	49		51			30	75	75	11		
46 = 49 =	48	53		54		4	31	53	53	lib.		
48 = 50 =	47	51		32		lib.	70	16	16	sp.	<i>H</i> add.	
47 = 51 =	50	52		20		sp.	5 (<i>T</i>), 7 (<i>O</i> ₂)	15	15	56		
49 = 52 =	51	54		12			7 (<i>T</i>), 5 (<i>O</i> ₂)	17	17	3		
50 = 53 =	49	55		30		<i>O</i> add.	14 (<i>T</i>), 4 (<i>O</i> ₂)	18	18	lib.		
51 = 54 =	52	64					4 (<i>T</i>), 14 (<i>O</i> ₂)	19	19	sp.	11	
52 = 55 =	53	59		<i>N</i> add.			56	26	26		10	
53 = 56 =	57	65				xiv	3	25	25		lib.	
54 = 57 =	58	66		4		68	72	9	9		sp.	
56 = 58 =	59	57		72		74	12 (<i>bas</i>)	29	29		80	
55 = 59 =	55	58		(71)		73	53	56	29		lib.	sp.

57 = 60 = 60	60	7	71	16	7	lib.	libb. sp.	add. g
58 = 61 = 61	62	5	70	15	76	sp.	sp.	libb.
60 = 62 = 62	61	14	1	17	70	31 (O ₄)	II	sp.
63 = 63 = 1	66	49		18	II		4	80
59 = 64 = 54	2	51		19	4	O ₃ add	libb.	10
64 = 65 = 56	4	54		26	libb.		sp.	81
69 = 66 = 63	3	20		25		47		
68 = 67 = 72	68	12		9		31		
67 = 68 = 67	69	30		29		74		
76 = 69 = 68	70	II		27		69 (1)		
70 = 70 = 69	71	66		23		69 (1)		
71 = 71 = 70	73	libb.		24				
72 = 72 = 73	67	sp.		21				
73 = 73 = 71	72	in praeib.		22				
74 = 74 = 74	74	N		8				
75 = 75 = 75	75	10		35				
77 = 76 = 76	76	IX		36				
78 = 77 = 77	77	praeib.		33				
79 = 78 = 78	78	libell.		49				
80 = 79 = 79	79	inter		50				
82 = 80 = 80	80	37		34				
83 = 81 = 81	81	38		41				
		10		42				
				80				
				libb.				
				sp.				

at a glance that our MS. O_3 is related to the Sorbonne MS. (H), the importance of which has not yet been fully estimated. The lists even give us the power of prediction. The MS. O_4 belongs to the oldest part of the Bodleian collection, having been presented to the Library in 1610, and its contents have never been exactly catalogued. There is however a partial index at the beginning in a hand contemporary with the MS. It appeared from this that, although there was considerable *prima facie* resemblance to the New College MS. O_5 , there were still some ten or twelve points of difference. On examination it turned out that almost every one of these arose either from a mistake in the cataloguing of the New College MS. or from an omission in the index of the MS. in the Bodleian. In this connexion too it may be mentioned that the text of the *Testimonia* in the small New College MS. n_2 , though of the fifteenth century, closely resembles that of Cod. Sessorianus (A) which is of the eight or ninth. The text of A was followed by Hartel in his edition, and though it is faulty as representing what Cyprian actually wrote, it is yet both remarkable in itself and unique among the MSS. hitherto examined. As A is extant only in the *Testimonia*, we may look to find a substitute for it in the New College MS. for the other treatises. The lateness of the MS. (which seems however to be correctly written) would be abundantly counterbalanced if it should really add a new family to those already recognised.

All these observations lie much upon the surface. But what we want to do is to get below the surface: we want to find the order of the archetypes of the different groups; and then to work back from these to the archetypes of the archetypes, and to see how near they will bring us to Cyprian himself.

Whether its exact date be 359 or not, in any case the Cheltenham List bears tangible marks of a greater antiquity than any of the MSS. We begin therefore with it; and it must be confessed that so far as the Treatises are concerned—

not as we shall see for the Epistles—the results are rather disappointing. Only at the beginning and end does its order agree with that of any of the other documents. It is clear, however, that the order I, IV, VI, which we find running through so many of our MSS., was an order that had been fixed at the time when the List was drawn up—we shall not be wrong in saying practically within a century of Cyprian's death. The order of the *Testimonia* coming immediately before the Epistles—it is introduced by an epistle (in the strictest sense) and is addressed to an individual—and that of the *Sententiae Episcoporum* or minutes of the Council of Carthage coming in the midst of them had also been established. The Council indeed comes in its proper historical place among the letters which bear on the controversy as to Rebaptism with which it deals. The two ends of the Cheltenham List thus present us with fixed types of order that are largely represented in our MSS.; but the order of the eight intermediate treatises agrees with that of none of the MSS. Even if we break it up into the smallest possible fractions, there are only the two pairs, XI, X, which has a parallel in *W*, and VIII, XII, which occurs again in the group *CRV*.

Another list which is also disappointing is that of the last-mentioned group *CRV* itself. The Verona MS. (*V*) is an eccentric but valuable authority which was used for the Aldine edition of 1563 by Latino Latini, the scholar to whom it was entrusted. Latini, who shows a very good spirit of criticism, was greatly impressed by the age of the MS., which he believed to be not less than a thousand years old. He complains bitterly of the way in which the printers tampered with his text, substituting Vulgate readings for those of the MSS.; and he refused to let his name appear in the edition. Soon after this the MS. was presented by the canons of Verona to Cardinal Borromeo, and from that time has been lost sight of. Fortunately Latini had made notes of his collation of the MS., many of which are preserved in the margin of an Aldine copy at Göttingen, and in other copies used by

Rigault, Baluze, and in the Oxford edition¹. Partly from these sources, which he has tracked with great care, and partly from the allied MSS. *C* and *R* (both of the ninth century), Hartel has gone far to recover the text of the MS., which he attributes conjecturally to the seventh century. In the order of the Treatises *V* maintains its character for eccentricity. It has, however, the common beginning I, IV, the triplet V, VII, VIII, which is very widely spread, and the pair of which we have just spoken as agreeing with the Cheltenham List, VIII, XII.

In these two instances our tabulation has not carried us very far; but when we turn to the other MSS. much longer vistas seem to be opened. Notably is this the case with Cod. Seguerianus (*S*). This is Hartel's leading MS., and the oldest MS. (sixth century) extant for the Treatises, so that its affinities are of especial importance. We have only to look at the Tables to see how far-reaching those affinities are. They suggest welcome conclusions as to the value of our own Oxford MSS. The MS. is much mutilated, so that the coincidences with *O*₂, which are striking enough as it is, might have been even more striking if the MS. had been complete. *O*₄ and *O*₅, again, are very closely allied; and I have pointed out elsewhere the interest which attaches to portions at least of the text of these MSS.² *W* also joins the group; and *W* is another MS. which is by no means devoid of interest.

After *S* comes the archetype of a large number of MSS., *MQEI*, and among them our MS. *b*, as well as in a more qualified sense of *TZ*. This archetype Hartel assigns to the eighth century, and it too has many affinities which will be worth examining. The ultimate descent of this group from an archetype which is also the archetype of *S* is the salient fact about it.

Other groups now come into view. Chief among these is that which includes the Lauresham MS. (*L*). In some parts

¹ Hartel, *Praef.*, pp. ix.-xiv.

² *Old-Latin Texts*, Part ii. p. 129 f.

at least *L* is one of the very best MSS. we have. In the *Testimonia* it is our rallying-point, and as a rough test of other MSS. it may be said that they are good in proportion as they agree with *L*¹. *L* itself is of the ninth century; so is its fellow MS. *P*; and the third in the group, *N*, is of the tenth. Now some of our Oxford MSS. have a marked resemblance in the text of the *Testimonia* to *L*—conspicuously *O*₁ and *O*₃. Both are MSS. that I have no doubt well deserve exploring. But *O*₃ agrees in order closely with *H*, and so brings *H* into the vortex, if we may say so, of the good texts. *O*₁ has a rather peculiar order which coincides at the outset with *P*. In the middle *P* branches off into what one may call the main line of tradition—the line of *S O*₄ *W* and the like. It is unfortunate that for all these earlier treatises *L* itself is not extant. That leaves a number of problems to be solved. Is the line of *L* continued in *P*, in *O*₁, or in *O*₃ and *H*? This line may not prove of equal value to *L*, but it should at least be tested.

Last but not least in this part of our enquiry comes the *B* group, which here in Oxford is represented by the Lincoln MS. (*l*). *B* is itself of the eleventh century. It has affinities on the one hand with *H*, on the other hand with *MQ*, and I have found it coincide in important readings with *V*; so that on all sides it is in touch with good and ancient texts. It may be mixed, as Hartel says; but there are good ingredients in the mixture.

It is of course true that in any or all of these cases the affinity of order is only of importance so far as it goes along with an affinity of text, and when that affinity of text has been proved the later document may be only a more corrupt reproduction of the earlier. But the value of these relations of order is that they put us upon the track of other relations which were in some cases quite unsuspected; and they are

¹ *Old-Latin Biblical Texts*, ii. p. lxiv: the same conclusion had been arrived at independently by Dombart in the essay on Commodian previously mentioned (*Z. f. wiss. Theol.* 1879, p. 383).

especially welcome when they suggest a means of supplementing the defects of primary MSS.

Before going on to discuss the various arrangements of the Epistles, it may be convenient to have before us a list of these with a brief indication of their subjects, so as to enable us to see how far the grouping has been determined by similarity of subject-matter. For this purpose a few simple headings are chosen ('lapsed,' 'Novatian,' 'heretical baptism,' and the like), without entering into the details and phases of controversy: it should be understood that 'martyrdom' is taken in a wide sense so as to include 'confession.' Letters written by other persons than Cyprian are printed in italics; but the synodical letters are not thus distinguished, as they are probably Cyprian's composition.

THE EPISTLES.

No.	Address.	Subject.	Στίχοι.	Lines in Hartel's Edition.
1.	People of Furni	clerical guardian ... ..	...	...
2.	Eucratius	actor	40	35
3.	Rogatianus	refractory deacon ... ..	...	...
4.	Pomponius	virgins ... ..	...	...
5.	Clergy of Carthage	poor... ..	...	...
6.	Confessors at Carthage ... ..	... ..	...	...
7.	Clergy of Carthage	poor ... ..	...	...
8.	<i>Roman Clergy to Carthage</i>	retirement of Cyprian ... ..	...	...
9.	Cyprian's Reply ... ..	... ..	...	...
10.	Martyrs and Confessors	{ martyrdom of Mapalicus... .. }	140	118
11.	Clergy of Carthage	prayer	190	159
12.	The same	care of martyrs	72	46
13.	Martyrs and Confessors ... ..	... ..	...	...
14.	Clergy of Carthage	{ care of poor and confessors ... .. }	...	..
15.	Martyrs and Confessors...	{ lapsed ... .. }	...	...
16.	Clergy of Carthage... ..			
17.	Laity of Carthage... ..			
18.	Clergy of Carthage... ..			
19.	The same... ..	{ explanations }	70	59
20.	Roman Clergy			

No.	Address.	Subject.	Στίχοι.	Lines in Hartel's Edition.
21.	<i>Celerinus to Lucianus</i> ...	...	...	...
22.	<i>Lucianus to Celerinus</i> ...	...	...	...
23.	Confessors to Cyprian ...	lapsed ...	...	...
24.	<i>Caldonius to Cyprian</i> ...	sacrificati ...	...	...
25.	Cyprian's Reply ...	...	...	...
26.	Clergy of Carthage ...	...	...	...
27.	Roman Clergy ...	lapsed ...	...	...
28.	Moyses, Maximus, and other Roman Confessors	martyrdom ...	70	53
29.	Clergy of Carthage...	appointment of reader and sub-deacon ...	...	...
30.	<i>Roman Clergy to Cyprian</i>	lapsed ...	...	...
31.	<i>Reply of Moyses, etc.</i> ...	martyrdom and lapsed	...	...
32.	Clergy of Carthage ...	review of correspond- ence	...	...
33.	The lapsed ...	...	...	...
34.	Clergy of Carthage ...	...	...	...
35.	Roman Clergy ...	lapsed ...	...	...
36.	<i>Reply of Roman Clergy</i>...	...	...	...
37.	Moyses, Maximus, etc. ...	martyrdom ...	120	86
38.	Clergy and people of Carthage ...	appointment of reader	54	44
39.	The same ...	appointment of reader	100	92
40.	The same ...	appointment of pres- byter ...	30	25
41.	Caldonius and 4 others	Felicissimus ...	...	...
42.	<i>Reply of Caldonius and 4 others</i> ...	...	...	...
43.	People of Carthage ...	Felicissimus ...	...	...
44.	Cornelius... ..	Novatian... ..	[Nine letters to Cornelius: στίχοι 1108]	...
45.	Cornelius... ..			
46.	Maximus and Roman Con- fessors			
47.	<i>Cornelius to Cyprian</i> ...			
48.	Cornelius			
49.	<i>Cornelius to Cyprian</i> ...			
50.	<i>The same</i>			
51.	Cornelius... ..	Novatus ... ..	...	...
52.	Cornelius... ..			
53.	<i>Maximus and 3 others to Cyprian</i>	Novatian... ..	650	560
54.	<i>Maximus and 3 others</i> ...			
55.	<i>Antonianus</i>			
56.	<i>Fortunatus and 5 others</i> ...	lapsed ... ..	...	...
57.	42 African Bishops to Cornelius			

No.	Address.	Subject.	Στίχοι.	Lines in Hartel's Edition.
58.	People of Thibarīs ...	martyrdom ...	...	...
59.	Cornelius ...	Felicissimus ...	...	...
60.	Cornelius ...	martyrdom ...	...	...
61.	Lucius ...			
62.	Numidian Bishops ...	redemption of captives ...	...	...
63.	Cæcilius ...	sacrament of the cup	450	375
64.	African Synod to Fidus'	baptism of infants	106	97
65.	Epictetus and Laity of Assuræ ...	lapsed bishop ...	...	...
66.	Florentius Puppianus ...	personal calumnies	207	194
67.	37 African Bishops to Felix and people of Legio and Asturica, Aelius and people of Emerita ...	lapsed bishops ...	350	212
68.	Stephen ...	Marcianus of Arles	...	...
69.	Magnus ...	...	284	388
70.	31 African Bishops to Januarius and 17 others	...	100	83
71.	Quintus ...	heretical baptism ...	...	...
72.	Stephen ...	...	...	...
73.	Jubaianus ...	...	550	470
74.	Pompeius ...	...	290	250
75.	<i>Firmilian to Cyprian</i> ...			
76.	Nemesianus and 8 other Bishops with clergy in the mines ...			
77.	<i>Reply of Nemesianus and 3 others</i> ...	persecution of Valerian ...	...	...
78.	<i>Reply from Lucius and others</i> ...			
79.	<i>Reply from Felix and 2 other Bishops with clergy</i> ...			
80.	Successus ...			
81.	Clergy and people of Carthage ...	his own approaching martyrdom ...	...	...

In order to put some limit to the number of points which are raised by the tabulated lists, I will confine myself primarily to the Cheltenham MS., and only touch incidentally upon the others. The grouping of the letters in the Cheltenham List is partly obvious and partly comes out on a very little examination.

First we have a group addressed to Cornelius, bishop of Rome. These it is clear had been so long collected together and were so habitually circulated under the same cover that the single letters are not indicated, but they are reckoned in the mass *Ad Cornelium VIII*¹ with 1108 *στίχοι*. If we look at the order in the MSS. we shall see that in *TO*₂ there is a group of eight letters beginning with 60 and ending with 51: in the archetype of *MQ*, etc., and in that of *O*₄ *O*₆ there is the same group in the same order. In *Bl* there is the same group in a slightly different order, 60 and 57 being removed from the top to the bottom. In *CRV*, which it will be remembered carry us back to the seventh century, and in *Hβ* there are only seven letters, 51 being omitted. In the *L* family the group is curiously broken up, only four of the letters remaining together, 47, 45, 48, 44, with 57 and 59 at no great distance, and 51, 52 scattered among the other letters. It will be observed, however, that this small collection includes one letter, No. 48, which does not appear in any other of the principal lists². It is a letter of Cyprian to Cornelius, and is no doubt rightly inserted by Mommsen in this group. On the other hand, Mommsen omits the letter from the African Synod to Cornelius (No. 57), which is found in all the other lists. We note that *CRV* make up for their omission of 48 and 51 by appending to the letters of Cyprian to Cornelius the two from Cornelius to Cyprian (Nos. 49, 50), which have got separated from their proper connexion in the other MSS. I say separated from their proper connexion, though *TO*₂ have found for them a connexion

¹ This is undoubtedly the reading of the MS., and not viii, as Mommsen had in his notes (see above, p. 225). It is however of course possible that the archetype may have had viii: and the number of *στίχοι* assigned to the group perhaps suggests that it had.

² But is there not some omission or mistake? Hartel does not give the letter in the table of contents of *C* and *R* (p. 1), and yet he quotes both *C* and *V* in the *Apparatus* to the letter (both it is true only once). In *Z* the letter is actually designated viiii. I do not quite reconcile what Hartel says about the agreement of *Z* and *V* (p. xlv) with the place of *Z* in the genealogy (p. xlviii).

which is nearly as good—that of the correspondence between Rome and Carthage, *Epp.* 8, 35, 36. *Epp.* 49 and 50 are only separated from these by *Ep.* 33 addressed by Cyprian to the lapsed of his own Church.

Among the MSS. which contain the group is the sixth-century Bobbio MS. *F*. This MS., at best a fragment, is subdivided into two still smaller fragments, one in the Ambrosian library at Milan, and the other at Turin. In the Ambrosian portion letters 47, 45, 41 are numbered respectively xxxvii, xxxviii, xxxix in a hand of the fifteenth century: in the Turin portion, letters 1, 46, 56, 20, 30 are numbered xlv, xlv, xlviii (three times repeated for xlv, xlvii, xlviii) in the same hand as the text of the MS. Clearly the MS. was still entire when the more recent hand supplied certain missing numbers. It is probable that it contained before the point at which the Ambrosian fragment begins at least the two collections of which we are about to speak.

Next in distinctness to the Cornelian group is another which stands near the head of the Cheltenham List: 10, 28, 37, 11, 38, 39. This is found in nearly all the families, including the lost seventh-century MS. *V*, the eighth-century archetype of *MQ*, etc., and the archetype (which is probably older than the eighth century) of *LNP*. It may be traced back even further than this, because besides its presence in the Cheltenham List a portion of it at least (*Epp.* 10, 28, 37—in this order) appears to have been used by Lucifer of Cagliari¹. We may infer that the collection was already made within a century of Cyprian's death. It has also another claim upon our attention besides its antiquity. The two oldest members of the *MQ* family have a subscription at the end of *Epp.* 28, 37, EMENDAVIT JUSTINUS ROMÆ²; and there is a similar subscription at the end of *Ep.* 39, except that ROMÆ is omitted. As *Ep.* 39 closes the group, while *Epp.*

¹ See Hartel's Index to Lucifer and Harnack in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1886, col. 174.

² Hartel, p. xlv.

28, 37 occur high up in it, it is fair to suppose that the subscription covers the whole group of six Epistles, from 10 to 39. It probably also included at least 6, 58, as the series 6, 58, 10, 28, 37 all have a common subject—martyrdom. The spurious treatise *De Laude Martyrii* is also associated with them. It is a matter of speculation at what point in the history of the group Justin's recension took place. Most of the famous recensions the authors of which can be identified, such as the Nicomachean recension of the First Decade of Livy, Niceus' recension of Juvenal, the Asterian recension of Virgil, and the Mavortian of Ovid, range between the end of the fourth and the middle of the sixth centuries: and we shall probably not be wrong in assigning those limits to the date of Justin. Scholarship in all its forms declined rapidly during the sixth century.

The two letters 55 and 63 which precede those of Justin's recension are both more of the length and character of treatises, and were apparently regarded as such, though, as I have said, in ancient times the distinction between treatises and epistles does not seem to have been observed. They stand in a sort of near but loose connexion with the Justin group.

The letters 73, 71, 74, 69, and the records of the Carthaginian Council, all belong to the controversy on heretical baptism. With these was naturally joined *Ep.* 64, to Fidus, on the baptism of infants (Fidus wanted to defer baptism till the eighth day, after the precedent of circumcision). *Ep.* 67 which goes with the same group both in the Cheltenham List and elsewhere, is the letter from an African Synod to the Churches of Astorga, Leon, and Merida in Spain, about the deposition of the bishops Basilides and Martialis. Why this letter, and also *Ep.* 2, about the actor who continued to practise his calling as a Christian, should be joined to the group is not very apparent; but the connexion exists in nearly all the MSS. It may be that the common idea running through the group is that of 'disabilities;' or the conjunction may be due to the local circumstances under which the

collection was made. It seems probable that this collection at least was put together in Africa. Otherwise it would hardly have contained the *Sententiae Episcoporum*. The resolutions of the Council would naturally be forwarded to other Churches, but not its minutes. But there was considerable intercourse between Spain and Africa. Juvencus used an African text.

There remain six letters, 40, 66, 12, 32, 20, 30. Of these, 40 and 66 are connected in the archetype of the *MQ* family, preserved in *M*. There is no clear connexion of subject between them: 40 deals with the ordination of Numidicus, 66—an epistle of much dignity and severity—is addressed to the recalcitrant confessor, Florentius. The other letters, 12, 32, 20, 30, are combined besides not only in the later MSS. *Hβ*, but also in the important sixth-century MS. *F*. They appear to be the nucleus of a small collection of correspondence with the Church at Rome.

Just in this portion of the Cheltenham List we are in the presence, not of larger aggregations, but of smaller fractions of correspondence, which circulated rather as the waifs and strays of the collection, yet with a tendency to cohere.

We may pause to draw out summarily these four collections.

> denotes an insertion in the MS. in question not found in most other MSS.

[] denote a displacement, the letter occurring in the MS. but in another connexion. When the displacement occurs within the group the insertion only is noticed. A bracket enclosing several numbers shows that they occur together and that their relative order is preserved.

V. Table showing the Order of some Early Collections of Cyprian's Epistles.

JUSTIN COLLECTION (A).

CORNELIAN COLLECTION (B).

Ind. Chelton.	L. T. &c.	M. &c.	H. &c.	B. &c.	V. &c.	Ind. Chelton. [order uncertain.]	H M T &c.	B. &c.	L. &c.	V. &c.	F
55		55	55	[55]	> 58	60	60	[60]	[60]		
63	63	63		63	63	57	57	[57]	[57]	57	57
	6	6	6	> 30	6	59	59	[59]	[59]	59	
	> 55	> 58								> 60	
10	10	10			10	52	52	52	52	52 (B)	52
28	28	28	28	28	28	47	47	47	47	47	47
37	37	37	37	37	37	45	45	45	45	45	45
				> 10		48	44	44	48		> 41
11	11	11	11	11	11	44	44	44	44	44	44
38	38	38	38	[38]	38	51	51	51			
39	39	39	39	[39]	39					> 49	
58 (PT)	58 (PT)		58	58			13		[13]	> 50	
										13	
	> 60						43	[43]	43	> 55	
							65	[65]	[65]	> 69	
										65	

And now we ask, what is the bearing of these groupings on the criticism of Cyprian's works? We turn to the letters which have not been identified by Mommsen: provisional identifications have been proposed for these, but they need to be explained rather more in detail. The first that meets us is No. 21 on the list (p. 224 above), *Aurelio lectori pro ordinato*. This follows *Ep.* 38, and it is followed immediately by *Ep.* 39. In other words, it comes in the middle of a group, the recension of Justin, where none of the MSS. have any letter at all. Is it a lost letter? It may be, but I doubt it. I suspect that Nos. 20, 21 were originally a single title, which in the course of transcription has got broken in two. I suspect that the title originally ran: *Ad clerum* [probably without *et plebem*, for it seems to be the custom of the list to omit this addition; cf. No. 39 = *Ep.* 20] *pro Aurelio lectore ordinato*. This merely involves the displacement of *pro*, for which there are parallels enough in the scribe's note containing the date and the account of the stichometry, and the change of *lector* into *lectore*. The use of *pro* instead of *de* of the MSS. would be appropriate, because the letter is commendatory of Aurelius. There is however some difficulty about the $\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\chi\omicron\iota$ assigned to this imaginary letter. It is not clear where the number CXL came from, unless it was from the next letter but one, CXC above.

The next of the unidentified letters would be Nos. 25, 26. Here again we have two letters where there ought to be only one, No. 70, as in the *LNP* collection. And again I am tempted to ask whether we have not in these two supposed letters *Ep.* 70 in disguise. Mommsen thinks that the title of No. 25 stands for *Adae et presbyteris XIII numero*, while in No. 26 the number of the 'co-addressees' (if the English language will admit such a word) has dropped out before \bar{n} . But that, if I am not mistaken, gives a wrong order: the regular phrase is not *XIII \bar{n}* but *\bar{n} XIII*. Besides, there is no such person anywhere else in Cyprian's correspondence as *Adam*. That is of course not conclusive. But putting it together

with the fact that we ought from the MSS. to have one letter here and one only, I would take leave to conjecture that we have again a single letter split in two. The title would then be *Ad presbyteros numero XVIII presbyteri numero XXX* (for XXXI?). The ambiguity as to case of the contraction *prb* was a fruitful source of confusion.

Of the two remaining gaps, at Nos. 29 and 34, I should have little hesitation in filling the first with *Ep. 72*. Both the address *Ad Stephanum* and the number of *στίχοι* would agree well (100 as compared with 79 lines of Hartel's text). And the letter certainly belongs to this group, in which it appears with no more inversion of position than is found several times elsewhere in *B*, though it has travelled into another and less suitable connexion (Collection D) in *LTH*. The other, No. 34, we might be disposed to identify with *Ep. 76* (To Nemesianus, Felix, Lucius, etc. in the Mines); but in that case the number of *στίχοι* must have been largely corrupted. In the address of the preceding letter (*Luci ad Eucratium*) *Luci* appears out of place. There is no mention of Lucius in *Ep. 2*. But Lucius is found with Felix in the address of *Ep. 76*; so that it may be right to bring down *Luci[o]* into the next line, making the title run *Felici Lucio* or *Lucio Felici et ceteris*. The place of this letter would be somewhat peculiar. Only in one list, that of *T*, does it come where it ought, along with *Epp. 77, 78, 79*: it is more often found at the head of the group on Rebaptism. If the identification just suggested is right, the Cheltenham List would have it at the foot instead of at the head. But I am not altogether satisfied about this letter.

It may be well to set side by side the text of the MSS. with the corrections proposed in it.

TEXT OF THE CHELTENHAM MS., WITH
MOMMSEN'S NUMBERING OF THE
WORKS OF CYPRIAN.

19. *de precando deum CXC.*
 20. *ad clerum LIIII.*
 21. *Aurelio lectori pro ordinato* }
 CXL.
 25. *Ade prb XIII. n. XXX.*
 26. *Ade prb n. CXX.* }
 29. *ad Stephanum C.*
 33. *Luci ad Eucratium XL.*
 34. *Felici et ceteris XX.*
 35. *de Numidia conf. XXX.*

THE SAME CORRECTED AND IDENTIFIED
WITH EPISTLES AS NUMBERED IN
HARTEL'S EDITION.

- Ep. 11. *de precando deum CXC.*
 Ep. 38. *ad clerum pro Aurelio lectore*
 ordinato LIIII.
 Ep. 70. *ad prb n. XVIII prb n. XXX*
 CXX (= ad presbyteros numero
 XVIII presbyteri numero
 XXX [versus] CXX).
 Ep. 72. *ad Stephanum C.*
 Ep. 2. *ad Eucratium XL.*
 Ep. 76. *Felici Luci[o] et ceteris CC?*
 Ep. 40. *de Numidico confessore XXX.*

In regard to the stichometry, it is hopeless to expect exact results with no means of checking the single items such as we possess in the case of the Biblical stichometries. The results which I obtain, however, are rather nearer the total in the MS. than Dr. Mommsen's. The MS. total is 18,500 $\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\chi\omicron\iota$ for all the works enumerated. I make the single items amount in all to 16,456. But no figures are given for the treatise *De Dominica Oratione*, which occupies 719 lines in Hartel's edition. The proportion of $\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\chi\omicron\iota$ to Hartel's lines I make to be for the 35 safely identified treatises and letters (without the *Testimonia*), roughly speaking, 6:5. For the treatises alone the proportion is higher: for the first ten it appears to be approximately 16:13. This is reckoned upon the basis of the estimates given by Mommsen (p. 155 f.). We may allow therefore some 880 $\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\chi\omicron\iota$ for the missing treatise. This gives a grand total of 17,336, which might be taken to favour the view that $\bar{\text{I}}$ had dropped out from the number assigned to Book III of the *Testimonia*. It would however be as easy to suppose that $\bar{\text{I}}$ had been repeated by mistake in the total XVIII D.

APPENDIX¹.

[C. H. TURNER.]

I. THE OLD TESTAMENT STICHOMETRY.

TAKING as a starting-point the quotation from the Apocalypse (iv. 11) which immediately follows the list of Old Testament books—‘Sed ut in Apocalypsis Johannis dictum est: “vidi XXIII seniores mittentes coronas suas ante thronum²,” maiores nostri probant hos libros esse canonicos et hoc dixisse seniores’—it is an obvious conclusion that the Books of the Old Testament are reckoned at 24³. This being so, it is natural to ask how the number is obtained; and I can only succeed in securing exactly this total by the following calculation: the Books of the Heptateuch, 7; Ruth and Kings, 5; Chronicles, 2; Maccabees, 2; Job, Tobit, Esther, Judith, Psalms, 1 each; altogether 21, leaving for Solomon, 1; for the Major Prophets, 1; for the Minor Prophets, 1.

For the treatment of the Books of Solomon, as in some sense a unit, a parallel may be found in the method of quotation employed in Cyprian’s *Testimonia*. The phrase *in sapientia Salomonis* introduces texts from both Proverbs and Wisdom; with *item*

¹ Dr. Sanday has kindly asked me to add to his paper some notes on the stichometry, and more particularly on that of St. Cyprian’s works.—C. H. T.

² A further argument, if one were needed, for the African origin of our document, might be drawn from the form of the text. *Mittentes* is a coincidence with Primasius against all other authorities; *thronum*, too, excludes at least the Italian text of St. Ambrose, &c., which seems to use *sedes* invariably for *θρόνος*.

I feel so much difficulty in understanding *seniores* in two different senses in successive lines (cf. *sup.* p. 237), that I venture to suggest tentatively the translation, ‘Our predecessors approve that these books are canonical, and that this is what “the elders” (of the Apocalypse) meant,’ i.e. what is meant by 24 ‘elders’ is an equal number of canonical books.

³ It is a curious coincidence that the Books of the New Testament, as the text stands at present, amount to the same number: 4 Gospels, 13 Epistles of St. Paul, Acts, Apocalypse, 3 Epistles of St. John, 2 of St. Peter.

illic he passes from Proverbs to Ecclesiasticus, from Proverbs to Wisdom, or from Proverbs to Ecclesiastes; with *apud eundem* from Wisdom to Proverbs, from Ecclesiastes to Ecclesiasticus. There need be no hesitation in accepting the inference that if the four Books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus, were treated as one by the great African writer of the third century, the same phenomenon is not unnatural in any African writer of the fourth.

But one of the Books of Solomon is entirely unrepresented in the quotations of the *Testimonia*. Canticles are only quoted by Cyprian three times (*De Eccl. Unit.* § 4; *Ep.* lxi. § 2; *Ep.* lxxiv. § 11), and in each case by the title *In Cantico Canticorum*. But if the book is not to be included under the general title 'Solomon,' it must have been absent altogether from the Cheltenham List. Whether parallels for this could be found I do not know; I have only noticed (1) that Aphraates is said to cite every Book of the Old Testament except Canticles and the short prophecy of Obadiah (Zahn, *Neutest. Kan.* i. p. 374, n. 2); (2) that Theodore of Mopsuestia, as we learn from his follower Junilius and from his opponent Leontius of Byzantium, rejected Canticles as well as several other books of the Old Testament (Watkins, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 118; Westcott, *Canon*, p. 544). Taken together, this evidence may seem to show that the Syrian Church of the fourth and fifth century was at least suspicious of the book. In any case the hypothesis of its exclusion here would not have merited mention at all, if it were not that it affords, as will be seen, a possible clue to the restoration of the stichometry.

In estimating the correctness of the stichometries for the different books, we have for guide, as in the case of the Cyprianic stichometry further on, the total given at the end of the list; but we have also, what for Cyprian fails us, a comparison with similar lists preserved elsewhere. Dr. Sanday has shown (p. 266) that the stichometries found in Vulgate MSS. are substantially the same as that of our list. With the obvious substitution of CCL for CCI in the Book of Ruth, the list proceeds *pari passu* with the MSS. until we reach the Book of Job, where however the 1800 of the Cheltenham List is supported by some Vulgate MSS. against the 1700 of the majority. The figure for the Book of Esther has disappeared from the list, just as happens to the treatise *De Dominica Oratione* of St. Cyprian; and the explanation in both cases is substantially the same, namely, some confusion with similar

cyphers for books in the immediate neighbourhood. We should doubtless supply the lacuna here with the 700 of the Vulgate. On the other hand, the Book of Psalms is unnumbered in the MSS., but reckoned at 5000 *στίχοι* in the list. In none of these instances is there much uncertainty about the true reading. It is otherwise with four of the remaining numbers, those for Solomon, for the Major Prophets as a whole, for Ezekiel, and for Daniel; and here it will be helpful to reproduce the concluding figures of the list and of the MSS.

	Cheltenham List.	Same conjecturally restored.	Vulgate MSS.
Solomon	ver. $\overline{\text{VD}}$ = 5500	$\overline{\text{VII XL}}$	[total of 5 books, 7320]
Major Pro- phets	ver. $\overline{\text{XVI CCCLXX}}$ = 16370	$\overline{\text{XIII CCCXX}}$	[total of 4 books, 13220 (or 13320)]
Isaiah	ver. $\overline{\text{III DLXXX}}$ = 3580		3580
Jeremiah	ver. $\overline{\text{III CCCL}}$ = 4450		4450
Daniel	ver. $\infty \text{ CCCL}$ = 1350	$\infty \text{ D CCCL}$	1850
Ezekiel	ver. $\overline{\text{III DCCC}}$ = 3800	$\overline{\text{III CCCXXL}}$	3340 (or 3440)
Minor Pro- phets	ver. $\overline{\text{III DCCC}}$ = 3800		3800

The figures for Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Minor Prophets coincide with the MSS., and may be taken as correct. As to Ezekiel, the scribe's eye has apparently wandered on to the next line, for he has written the same figure as for the Minor Prophets. The figure for Daniel requires the insertion of D, which has perhaps slipped down to the next line, and facilitated the confusion of the figures for Ezekiel and the Minor Prophets. The sum given as the total for the four Prophets, if it is to tally exactly with the majority of Vulgate MSS., should be $\overline{\text{XIII CCXX}}$, and we can at once emend the first cyphers of the Cheltenham List, $\overline{\text{XVI}}$ being an easy confusion for $\overline{\text{XIII}}$; if next we suppose that the list had the figure given by some Vulgate MSS. for Ezekiel, 3440 (for 3340), the corrected total becomes $\overline{\text{XIII CCCXX}}$, and we have now only to excise an L from the figure of the Cheltenham List.

There is left only the figure for 'Solomon' to deal with. The items for the other 23 books, if put together, now come to 62460. The total given by the list for the whole 24 is 69500. The difference of 7040 should therefore be the correct figure for the remaining book. $\overline{\text{VD}}$ is the existing figure, and this would re-

present without much difficulty VII; then the L, which has unwarrantably crept into the next line (the Major Prophets), will help us to the missing cyphers of VII XL. The change is no doubt drastic, but there seems no way in which 5500, as it now stands in the list, can be harmonized with the data of the Vulgate MSS.; and it is not without weight that the number 7040, arrived at on independent grounds, is the exact sum of the Vulgate figures for four Solomonick books, and these the four quoted in close connexion by St. Cyprian: Proverbs, 1740 *στίχοι*; Ecclesiastes, 800; Wisdom, 1700; Ecclesiasticus, 2800; total, 7040. This result, however, and the consequent omission of Canticles, while it explains and reconciles a good deal, must remain at present only a hypothesis, and a hypothesis not entirely free from difficulty¹.

II. NEW TESTAMENT STICHOMETRY.

The New Testament stichometry finds similar parallels for the Gospels, Acts, and Apocalypse in the Vulgate MSS.; and the only correction needed to bring the list into accordance with the MSS., and at the same time to make the items of the four Gospels harmonize with their total, is the addition of the cypher D to the figure for St. Luke. Our real difficulties do not begin till the concluding lines—

ep̄l̄ae Johannis III *ver* CCCCL.
una sola
ep̄l̄ae Petri II *ver* CCC
una sola.

Zahn's explanation of this curious duplication is accepted by Prof. Sanday (p. 243 sup.): 'The author of the list had before him a catalogue containing the full number of three Epistles of St. John and two of St. Peter; but while himself transcribing this, he at the same time inserted a protest in favour of the single Epistle in each case which he had himself been in the habit of recognising.' No doubt this is the *prima facie* interpretation of the words; and yet it must seem very improbable that a scribe should have had before him a list which, while it excluded

¹ It should perhaps be pointed out in favour of the alternative hypothesis of the retention of Canticles, that the five books of Solomon according to the stichometry of the Vulgate MSS. would amount to 7320 (280 being reckoned to Canticles), and the later figures of this number VII CCCXX might conceivably have been lost by confusion with the similar figures of the next number in our list, XIII CCCXX (as restored) of the major Prophets.

Hebrews, and generally was arranged in so antique an order, yet represented a later stage in the history of the Canon by including at least five Catholic Epistles. Even if we suppose that only the five actually mentioned (three of St. John and two of St. Peter) belonged to the original list, the difficulty is enhanced by the inclusion of 2 Peter, which has no early attestation, as against the omission of Jude, for which considerable early Western evidence can be quoted. Further, it is part of this hypothesis that the original list, with its full and later Canon of Catholic Epistles, fell into the hands of some scribe, who in turn represented an earlier and less elaborated Canon, of two Catholic Epistles only. Is it not possible, and does it not better preserve the homogeneity of the list, to reverse Zahn's hypothesis, and to suppose that the original African stichometry contained only 1 John and 1 Peter, and that what some later scribe did (whether the actual scribe of our tenth-century MS. or his predecessor) was to substitute 'epistolae Johannis III,' 'Petri II,' while at the same time he added 'una sola' as a note or saving clause in each case, implying that only one was given in the MS. before him? This would explain very simply the absence of all reference to James and Jude; the positive statement of the original 'one Epistle of John,' 'one of Peter,' seemed to the scribe to call for correction, while the mere omission of two epistles was not an error which forced itself in the same way upon his notice. Indeed, since there would have been, *ex hypothesi*, no stichometry for them in the original MS., their subsequent insertion in a stichometrical list was in itself difficult; while, on the other hand, the *στίχοι* meant for 1 Peter and 1 John only could be attached (however erroneously) to the three and two Epistles respectively. If this theory of the Canon of the Catholic Epistles be correct, the New Testament of the Cheltenham List is identical with that of St. Cyprian, who shows no trace, so far as I know, of the use either of Hebrews or of the five lesser Catholic Epistles.

III. THE CYPRIANIC STICHOMETRY.

I will commence here by supplementing the lists of the Treatises and Epistles of St. Cyprian, published on p. 283 sqq., with three lists drawn from the *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*, of G. Becker (Bonn, 1885), the first of the ninth, the second of the tenth, the third of the twelfth century.

Index Cheltonianus.		Library of Reichenau (p. 7), A.D. 822. No. 111.	Library of Lauresham (p. 107), Saec. X. Nos. 351, 352.	Library of Bec ¹ (p. 263), Saec. XII. Nos. 105, 106.
ad Donatum	I	I	I	Epp. numero xvi.
ad virgines	IV	X	IV	I
de lapsis	VI	IV	VI	X
de opere et eleemosynis	XI	XII	V	IX
ad Demetrianum	X	VII	XII	(vol. ii.)
de ecclesiae unitate	V	XIII	XIII	XIII
de zelo et livore	XIII	VI	VII	XII
de mortalitate	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII
de patientia	XII	XI	X	IV
ad Fortunatum	IX	IX	XI	V
de domini oratione	VII	V	IX	VI
ad Quirinum (Testimonia)	III	Ep. 63	ad Tiburtinum = Ep. 58?	de simbolo fidei ad Laurentium III (libb. ii.)
		ad Anbaritanos = Ep. 58 II	— (vol. ii.)	
		ad Rogatianum = Ep. 6?	Epp. numero xliii.	
		ad presbyteros et diaconos Epp. iii = Epp. 11, 38, 39?		

The first and third of these new lists do not unfortunately

¹ Other shorter lists would be those of (1) Bobbio, saec. x. (p. 66), nos. 149-154: 149, 150, ad Demetrianum, libros ii. 151, de diligendo Deo, lib. i. 152, 153, ad Quirinum, libros ii. 154, de diversis opusculis, lib. i; (2) Pompe, A.D. 1093 (p. 159) no. 8, sermones et epistolae lxxxi: de Judaica incredulitate ad Vigilium episcopum. Versus Domini Joannis de coena mai Cypriani.

Cf. 7, no. 67 (p. 15) epistolae: 11, no. 109 (p. 27) de canonibus et institutionibus ecclesiasticorum lxxvii (app. the *Sent. Ep.*): 15, no. 259 (p. 34) epistolae: 18, no. 36 (p. 39) omeliae: 21, no. 13, 14 (p. 42) sermones, litterae: 26, no. 21 (p. 60) cena nuptiarum: 68, no. 84 (p. 151) epistolae: 79, no. 97 (p. 187) epistolae: 80, no. 194 (p. 193) ad Donatum: 86, no. 57 (p. 201) epistolae: 95, no. 112 (p. 213) super dominicam orat.: 96, no. 59, an English monastery, (p. 216) epistolaris: 136, no. 244 (p. 283) libri iiii, cum quibusdam epistolis.

present any very striking parallels to the still unique order of the treatises in the *Index Cheltonianus*; though minor points of contact might be noted, e.g. XIII, VIII, XII of the Bec MS., compared with XIII, XII, VIII of our list. Of more interest is the Lauresham list. Beyond question it supplies the answer to the problem which Dr. Sanday propounds (p. 291, sup.), as to the order which *L* of the *Testimonia* and Epistles would have supported, if extant, for the treatises; for *L*, though now a Vienna, was originally a Lauresham MS. written in the ninth century, and is undoubtedly identical with No. 352 in the tenth-century Lauresham catalogue, *item Caecilii Cypriani epistolae numero xliii in alio codice*, only that for xliii we should read xlviii. But if this is so, then the companion volume No. 351, from which the list of treatises given above is reproduced, will give us just what we want. Of the twelve *epistolae* which it contains, eleven are identical with treatises of Hartel's first volume, leaving only three, the *Quod idola*, the *Testimonia*, and the *Sent. Epp.* to be accounted for; but these all occur in the second or extant volume. Conversely, the only *epistola* of this lost volume not identical with a treatise, is entitled *ad Tiburtinum*; and I have no hesitation in identifying this with Ep. 58, *ad Tibaritanos*, which is absent from the extant *L* (though every other epistle of Cyprian's own of the same length is included in its collection) and present in every large collection of the letters. Dr. Sanday speculated whether the line of *L* was continued in *P*, in *O*₁, or in *O*₃ and *H*. A comparison with the Tables on p. 283 will show that as between these MSS. it is the order of *O*₃ and *H* which reappears in *L*, with the difference that XII and XIII immediately succeed V, and that XI is postponed to VIII and X. So far as they go, these alterations bring *L* into rather nearer connection with the Cheltenham order, but the nearness is not sufficient to be striking.

It is otherwise with the order of the Epistles, where the following list will show that a very remarkable parallel to the Cheltenham List can be found in a minor MS. named by Hartel μ , to which my attention was in the first instance directed by noticing that in the *apparatus criticus* of Ep. 78, the *Luci* of No. 33 in the list was reproduced only in the *Lucii* of μ . On p. xlv of his preface Hartel gives a list of the contents of this MS., which on the ground of *scriptorum ordo passim servatus* he concludes to depend on *T*. But the following Table will show that for the Epistles

covered by the Cheltenham List, the order of μ is intermediate between T and L . It is true that it contains a large number of the letters which are peculiar to T among the leading MSS., but in a quite dissimilar sequence, and, so far as a hasty glance enables one to judge, probably not with a derived text¹. Even the one deviation in the order of the Treatises (T , XI, VIII; μ , VIII, XI) is not unimportant, for μ here coincides with S , W , P , O_2 , O_4 , O_5 , against O_3 , H , M :—

T .	μ .	Index Cheltonianus.	L .
III	III	(12) ad Quirinum, libri III	III ad Quirinum
Ep. 63	Ep. 63	(13) ad Antonianum = Ep. 55	Ep. 63 de sacramento do- minici calicis
6	55	(14) de calice dominico = Ep. 63	6 ad confessores
55	6 de laude martyrii	(15) de laude martyrii	55 ad Antonianum de Cornelio et Novatiano
10	10	(16) ad confessores mar- tyrum = Ep. 10	10 ad martyras et confessores
28	28	(17) Moysi et Maximo = Ep. 28	28 Moysi et Maximo presbyterorum et ceteris con- fessoribus
37	37	(18) ad eosdem alia = Ep. 37	37 quibus supra
11	11	(19) de precando deum = Ep. 11	11 ad clerum de pre- cando deo pro peccatis nostris
		(20) ad clerum	

¹ Hartel asserts (p. xlvii) that μ and four other MSS. depend on T so directly, that in no case does a more ancient reading appear in any one of them; where they are right against T , it is through conjectural restorations. On looking through Ep. 22 it seems possible that μ in the following instances may alone preserve the true reading: p. 533, l. 11, ante ipsam; p. 534, l. 13, a sapore, l. 14, tam tolleravimus, l. 18, in pignerarium; p. 535, l. 5, sit, l. 11, significastis vos, et Saturninum, etc.

It may be added that μ presents a near parallel to the MS. of Cyprian, catalogued in the 12th century at Pompuse (see sup. p. 309), which contained 81 *sermones et epistulae, de Judaica incredulitate ad Vigilium episcopum*, and *versus Domini Joannis de coena mai Cypriani*. Similarly μ after 96 letters and treatises closes with *ad Vigilium episcopum de iudaica incredulitate. Versiculos dñi Joannis de cena sc̃i Cypriani, Caenam Cypriani*.

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<i>T.</i>	<i>μ.</i>	<i>Index Cheltonianus.</i>	<i>L.</i>
Ep. 38	38	(21) Aurelio lectori pro ordinato = Ep. 38	Ep. 38 ad clerum et plebem de Aurelio con- fessore lectore ordinato
39	39	(22) Celerino = Ep. 39	39 ad clerum et plebem de Celerino
58	58		
60. 57. 59.			60 ad Cornelium de confessione eius
52. 47. 45.			
44. 51.			
[8 Epp. to Cornelius, omitting Ep. 48]	[om. hoc loco]		[om. hoc loco]
13. 43. 65.			
1. 61. 46.			
66			
54			
76	76		76 ad martyras et confessores in metallo consti- tutos
73	73	(23) ad Iobianum = Ep. 73	73 ad Iuvaianum de hereticis bapti- zandis epistolae numero tres
71	71	(24) ad Quintum = Ep. 71	71 ad Quintum
70	70	(25) ad epr̄s XIII n̄. } XXX (26) ad epr̄s n̄. CXX } = Ep. 70?	70 [no inscr.]
Sent. Epp. Ep. 74	Sent. Epp. Ep. 74	(27) Sent. Epp. (28) ad Pompeium = Ep. 74 (29) ad Stephanum = Ep. 72?	Sententiae episcoporum Ep. 74 ad Pompeium con- tra epistolam Stephani
69	69	(30) ad Fidum = Ep. 64	69 ad Magnum de Novatiano
67	67	(31) ad Magnum = Ep. 69	67 de Martiale et Basilide
64	64	(32) ad Martialem = Ep. 67	64 ad Fidum de in- fantibus bapti- zandis
2	2	(33) ^a ad Eucratium = Ep. 2	2 ad Eucratium de histrione

T.	μ.	Index Cheltonianus.	L.
32. 20. 12.	60. 57. 59. 52. 47. 45. 44. 51. 13		13 de laude mart. 43. 65 12. 1. 56. 3 47. 45. 48. 44 61. 46. 57. 59 Quod idola [om.]
de laude mart.	43. 65		
40			
78	78	(33) ^b Luci = Ep. 78	[om.]
ad Lucium et qui cum eo sunt	Lucii et qui cum eo sunt		
79	79	(34) Felici et ceteris = Ep. 79	[om.]
epistula Felicii Iaderis Polianis	Felix Iader Polianus		
76			
77	77		
	1. 61. 46.	(35) de Numidia conf. = Ep. 40	Ep. 66 ad Florentium quem et Pup- pianum
	66	(36) ad Florentium = Ep. 66	40 de Numidico con- fessore presby- tero ordinato
	54	(37) ad presb̄ = Ep. 54	4. 72. 51 54 ad Maximum pres- byterum et ur- bem et Sidonium et Macarium
	32	(38) ad eosdem et diac̄ = Ep. 32	32 Cyprianus ad presbyteros et diaconos
	12		20 ad Romanos
	20	(39) ad clerum urb̄ = Ep. 20	12
	30	(40) Romani resc. = Ep. 30	30 Cypriano papae pp̄rr̄ et diaconi Romae consis- tentes
[om. hoc loco]	[om.]	(41) adversus Jud.	[om.]
	[om. hoc loco]	(42-50) ad Cornelium viii	[om. hoc loco]
	[om. hoc loco]	(51) vita Cypriani	[om.]

Now by the aid of these lists and of the headings to the letters

in *L* (those for *T* and μ are, except for Epistles 78, 79, unfortunately not given in Hartel) it becomes possible to identify with certainty the letters contained in the Cheltenham stichometry. The list in *T* is not very helpful, and is chiefly given to point the contrast with the list of μ ; there is only one case in which it stands alone of the three in presenting a parallel to Mommsen's List, and that is in containing the tract *Adversus Judaeos*. But the lists in μ and *L* are of primary value. In the majority of cases the order of both is in strict agreement with that of the Cheltenham List. In only three cases do they agree against it, in the insertion of Epistle 6 (towards the beginning), of Epistle 76 (before Ep. 73) and of Epistle 12 (towards the end); but in the first and last of these cases, though the two MSS. agree in inserting the Epistles, they vary slightly in their place; and as to the first of them I shall have to ask presently whether it should not be restored to the Cheltenham List as well. Conversely, in only one case is the insertion of a letter by the List unsupported by one or other of the two MSS., namely the *Ad Stephanum*, which follows Ep. 74, and which Dr. Sanday naturally identifies with Ep. 72¹. Starting from this substantial agreement, we work back on doubtful cases. (1) With Dr. Sanday I have no manner of doubt that No. 20 of the List *ad clerum* is to be merged into the title either of No. 19 or of No. 21, both of them letters addressed to the clergy; possibly even the words formed a general marginal heading for the three letters Nos. 19, 21, 22, the inscriptions to all of which in *L* begin *ad clerum*². (2) As to Nos. 25 and 26 Dr. Sanday is of course right in rejecting Mommsen's *Adam*, and right too in seeing that Epistle 70 is contained somewhere in it. My only doubt is whether Epistle 76 which μ and *L* agree in placing in this neighbourhood (before Epistle 73) should be also discovered here. (3) Of No. 29 I have already spoken. (4) The List in μ offers, I believe, a certain clue to the identification of Nos. 33 *b* and 34. They are really Epistles 78 with the simple heading *Luci* as in μ , and Ep. 79, where, by a not unusual error, 'Felix and others,' are made the recipients instead of the writers of the letter. It is to be noted that the stichometry suits the latter Epistle exactly.

¹ But see below, p. 320.

² I should be inclined to read Nos. 21, 22 rather differently to Dr. Sanday, taking *pro* as the contraction for *presbytero*, 'de Aurelio lectori presbytero ordinato,' 'de Celerino,' comparing the headings in *L* (p. 312 *sup.*), which however correctly makes Aurelius a confessor ordained reader, not a reader ordained presbyter.

We are now in a position to sum up the results of the relationship of the two MSS. to the List. For Nos. 12 to 15 of the List, the closest parallel comes from μ , which contains the *de laude martyrii* in this part; indeed if, as I hope to show, Ep. 6 should be inserted in the List after No. 15, the group, though not the order, of the five epistles will be identical. From No. 16 to No. 22 L and μ tally exactly with the subject-matter and even order of the List. Then μ adds Ep. 58 which L placed at the end of the treatises, while the List omits it altogether; and L adds Ep. 60 which μ and doubtless the List as well include elsewhere in the larger collection of letters to Cornelius. Both L and μ add next Ep. 76. From Nos. 23 to 28 the three Lists work together again. No. 29 if a separate letter is peculiar, in this position, to the List. Nos. 30 to 33 form a group of four Epistles common to all three collections (save that μ interpolates in the middle of it Ep. 40 which in L and the List comes later), in the order of which however L and μ are combined against the List. As we shall see from the stichometry, No. 31 of the List must be the first part only of Ep. 69 *ad Magnum* in the form in which L and S (Hartel gives no information about μ or T) contain it, breaking off at p. 760, l. 13¹. After this L and μ insert each a considerable body of Epistles not found, at least in this place, in the List. μ leads off with a collection of eight letters to Cornelius, followed by three others. L has here besides two treatises (*De laude martyrii* and *Quod idola*) substantially the same letters, though those to Cornelius are not connected into a single group. Next the two Epistles Nos. 33 *b* and 34 of the List (Epp. 78, 79) find their parallel in μ ; and after four more Epistles in μ (three of them having occurred in L shortly before) the three authorities finally converge once more. Nos. 35 and 36 occur in inverse order in L , while the first of them is absent in this place from μ , having occurred before. L next interpolates three letters, and then we have Nos. 37 to 40 parallel even to their order with a group of five in L and μ , only that Ep. 12 of the two MSS. does not reappear in the List². The spurious tract *Adversus Judaeos* (No. 41) is an interpolation of the List. Finally the letters to

¹ At least Hartel does not quote L for the second part of this letter: on the other hand he quotes the sister MS. P , throughout, and in his critical preface (Vol. III. p. xxx) he nowhere hints that Ep. 69, part ii, is absent from any one of the family $L N P$.

² There is little doubt that No. 37 should be identified not, as Mommsen and Dr. Sanday believe, with Ep. 12, but with Ep. 54. In favour of the latter are the order in μ and L , the stichometry, and the change in the title of No. 38

Cornelius would most naturally be the connected set of eight¹ (Epp. 60, 57, 59, 52, 47, 45, 44, 51) which occurs earlier together in μ , and, though in another neighbourhood, in *T*.

In passing to the consideration of the stichometry proper of the Cyprianic List, it is first of all to be noted that, as in the case of the Old Testament, the individual items as given in the MS. amount, when added together, to a total appreciably variant from the sum named at the end of the List; the latter being 'funt omnes versus $\overline{\text{XVIII. D}}$ ' (18,500), while the items, according to Dr. Sanday's calculation, come to 16,456, according to my own to 16,256, or 200 less. No figures, however, are given for the *De Dominica Oratione*; probably the number has not simply dropped out, but has been merged with the numbers preceding, for No. 9 *De Patientia* has the figure 860, which is demonstrably too large, as this treatise is only slightly longer than No. 8 *De Mortalitate* with 550. A proposed restoration of this passage is subjoined,

	As read in the MS.	As conjecturally restored.
No. 8. de mortalitate	DL	DL
9. de patientia	DCCCLX	DC
10. ad Fortunatum	DCCXL	DCCCLX
11. de domini oratione	—	DCCCXL

a change which exactly fits the relative lengths of the three treatises, and adds 700 to our total, bringing it up to 16,956, still 1500 too little. But in the next place, the third book of the *Testimonia*, which, as it stands, is more than twice as long as any other treatise of St. Cyprian's, has only the figure 770; and I am as yet entirely unconvinced by any of the reasons which have been brought forward in favour of the theory of a large and systematic interpolation in this book since Cyprian's time². On the contrary, the combined arguments of the apparent homogeneity of the Biblical text throughout the *Testimonia* with the defect of 1500 in the sum of the items of the stichometry, leave little doubt that we ought to add 1000 to the figure for Book III (∞ DCCLXX for DCCLXX). By these two alterations the defect is reduced to 544; but even so it is obvious that the existing text of the stichometry, if the items to 'ad eosdem et diāc,' suggesting that the previous letter was 'ad presbyteros' only.

¹ Jerome too in his *Chronicle* (Schoene, p. 180) says 'extant ad eum Cypriani viii epistulae.'

² It has escaped the notice at least of Hartel that not only Jerome but Augustine (*Contra duas epp. Pelagianorum*, iv. 27; vol. x. p. 320) quotes against Pelagius the 54th title of the Third Book of the *Testimonia* with its three proof texts; and while Jerome gives some support to the inferior MSS. of Cyprian, Augustine is much closer to the group *LBV*.

are to be made to tally with the total, must be decidedly imperfect. Can it be restored, and if so, to what extent?

In a large proportion of cases, the relation between the actual length of the various treatises and epistles, with the figures of the stichometry, will be found to be fairly uniform. Taking as a basis the number of lines in Hartel's edition, but on a slightly revised system (as explained below)¹ it will be found that in a very large number of cases, the *στίχος* is to Hartel's line in a proportion varying not far from that of five to four; or to put it otherwise, if the figure 32 be taken to represent Hartel's line, a fixed quantity, the *στίχος* of each book is to it in the proportion of 40 more or less; in the treatises it rises above this average (42 to 32). The following table will illustrate this:—

Title.	Estimate of lines in Hartel as corrected.	Sticho- metry of the MS.	Proportion of line to <i>στίχος</i> .
1. ad Donatum	312	410	32 to 42
2. ad virgines	445	500	[36]
3. de lapsis	657	980	[48]
4. de opere et eleemosyna	518	670	41 or 42
5. ad Demetrianum	486	535	[36]
6. de ecclesiae unitate	548	750	[44]
7. de zelo et livore	322	420	42
8. de mortalitate	426	550	41 or 42
9. de patientia	455	600 ²	42
10. ad Fortunatum	656	860 ²	42
11. de domini oratione	644	840 ²	42
12. ad Quirinum i	438	550	40
" ii	802	850	[34]
" iii	1426 ³	1770 ³	40
13. ad Antonianum (Ep. lv)	525	650	40
14. de calice dominico (Ep. lxiii)	345	450	42
15. de laude martyrii	550	830	[48]
16. ad confessores martyrum (Ep. x)	110	140	41
17. Moysi et Maximo (Ep. xxviii)	50	70	45
18. ad eosdem alia (Ep. xxxvii)	84	120	45 or 46
19. de precando deum (Ep. xi)	148	190	41

¹ I have endeavoured to calculate the lines as exactly as possible, and have allowed both for parts of lines at the end of paragraphs, as well as for the larger print employed in Biblical quotations, and the smaller print in the Appendix (Vol. III); in the *Testimonia*, *ad Fortunatum* and *Sententiae Episcoporum* there are also the titles of chapters to be taken into account. Consequently the number of lines given is smaller than the totals in Hartel.

² As already restored.

³ Mommsen forgot to allow for the two long interpolations of *W* in *Test.* iii. 20 and 59, which amount to nearly 200 lines.

Title.	Estimate of lines in Hartel as corrected.	Sticho- metry of the MS.	Proportion of line to στίχοι.
20 } ad clerum de Aurelio (Ep. xxxviii)	41	54	32 to 42
21 }			
22. de Celerino (Ep. xxxix)	89	140 or 100	[50 or 36]
23. ad Jobaianum (Ep. lxxiii)	446	550	39 or 40
24. ad Quintum (Ep. lxxi)	80	100	40
25. ?	?	30	
26. ad prb [or ep̄os or fr̄s] (Ep. lxx)	88	120	43 or 44
27. sententiae episcoporum	438	520	38
28. ad Pompeium (Ep. lxxiv)	238	290	39
29. ad Stephanum (Ep. lxxii ?)	72	100	44 or 45
30. ad Fidum (Ep. lxiv)	90	106	37 or 38
31. ad Magnum (Ep. lxxix, part 1)	238	284	38
32. ad Martialem (Ep. lxxvii)	196	350	[57]
33a. ad Eucratium (Ep. ii)	34	40	38
b. Luci (Ep. lxxviii)	37	?	?
34. Felici et ceteris (Ep. lxxix)	16	20	40
35. de Numidico (Ep. xl)	24	30	40
36. ad Florentium (Ep. lxvi)	180	207	37
37. ad presbyteros (Ep. liv)	62	72	37
38. ad eosdem et diac. (Ep. xxxii)	20	25	40
39. ad clerum urb. (Ep. xx)	57	70	39 or 40
40. Romani resc. (Ep. xxx)	177	215	39
41. adversus Iudaeos	255	290	36 or 37
42-50. ad Cornelium VIII [? VIII]	1062	1108	[33 or 34]
51. vita Cypriani	477	600	40

Now, accepting the emendations with which we started, we find that 35 out of 45 items give a proportion (to 32) ranging from $36\frac{1}{2}$ to $45\frac{1}{2}$, or in other words between 8 to 7 and 10 to 7. But the result can be stated more strikingly when the gradual decrease of the relative number of στίχοι to lines, as the list progresses, is brought into notice. Of the first eleven items (the treatises), seven stand at 41 or 42 (to 32); of the next fifteen, nine vary only between $39\frac{1}{2}$ and 42; of the last nineteen, thirteen vary between $36\frac{1}{2}$ and 40. But this large amount of similarity enables us to turn back on the stichometry and emend those cases where the proportions are radically different, remembering in doing so that to bring the items into agreement with the total more than 500 additional στίχοι are required.

In the first place then the στίχοι for Nos. 2 and 3 (D and DCCCCLXXX are respectively too few and too many, but it is easy to suppose that either C or LXXX has been transferred by a copyist from one figure to the next, and that we should read—

2. ad virgines	445	{ DLXXX (580) or DC (600) }	32 to 42 or 44
3. de lapsis	657	{ DCCCC (900) or DCCCLXXX (880) }	32 to 44 or 43

No. 5 needs the addition of C and will then read—

5. ad Demetrianum	486	DCXXXV (635)	32 to 42
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No. 6 supported by our revised figures for Nos. 2 and 3 will probably stand; and in the result all eleven treatises vary between 41½ and 44, while 100 *στίχοι* (at No. 5) are to be added to our total.

In the next division the numbers for the second book of the *Testimonia* are (as already mentioned) obviously too low. Here again C must be inserted, though even then the proportion of *στίχοι* to lines is less than in any treatise or epistle in the neighbourhood.

12 b. ad Quirinum ii	802	DCCCL (950)	32 to 38
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For No. 15 the figure is too large; and it seems not unlikely that Epistle 6 (*Ad Confessores L*), found in this place both in *L* and *μ*, originally stood in our list also, its figure being merged in No. 15, its title in No. 16 (*Ad Confessores Martyrum*) so that we might restore—

15 a. de laude martyrii	550	DCC (700)	32 to 40 or 41
b. ad confessores (Ep. vi)	95	CXXX (130)	43 or 44
16. ad martyras (Ep. x)		[as before]	

Nos. 17 and 18 present figures higher than we should expect; but it must be remembered that the shorter the piece, the more difficult to secure an accurate stichometry without descending to units; and the list seldom goes below tens. In any case it is not proposed here to go into detail except where change is manifestly necessary and where, when made, it would affect sensibly the totals of the items. Passing to the three numbers, 20, 21, 22, we have found only the two letters on the ordination of Aurelius and Celerinus to apply to them, and of these two the former is well suited by the figure of No. 20, the latter not by either No. 21 or No. 22 as they stand. Perhaps we should alter No. 21 from CXL to CXV with the result:—

22. de Celerino (Ep. xxxix)	89	CXV (115)	32 to 41 or 42
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In any case one figure will be superfluous; and if we substitute 115 for 140 and 100, 125 *στίχοι* must be subtracted from the total. The problem suggested by Nos. 25 and 26 has been alluded to before. It is clear that Ep. 70 is to be placed here; and if a second letter is to be looked for, it would apparently be Ep. 76, which

appears in the immediate neighbourhood in both *L* and μ , and like Ep. 70 is addressed to a body of bishops; and its $\sigma\tau\iota\chi\alpha\iota$ being about 180 (CLXXX), 150 would be added to the figures as they stand (XXX). If on the other hand with Dr. Sanday (p. 301 sup.) we combine Nos. 25, 26 to produce Ep. 70, the $\sigma\tau\iota\chi\alpha\iota$ of No. 25 disappear, and our total loses 30.

No. 29 *ad Stephanum* has a proportion of $\sigma\tau\iota\chi\alpha\iota$ unusually large for this neighbourhood, and Ep. 72 with which it has been tentatively identified, is not found in this connection either in *L* or μ ; it is therefore possible that we have again an erroneous reduplication of the preceding number, the full title of which in *L* is '*ad Pompeium contra epistolam Stephani*' (= *ad Pompeium adv. Stephanum*). St. Augustine too, as Abp. Benson points out¹, though he treats in detail of the Cyprianic literature of the Re-baptism controversy, obviously did not know of this letter to Stephen. No. 30 is the first of several (Nos. 30, 31, 36, 37) the figures of which look suspicious because they violate the general rule, observed even in the case of the shortest epistles (Nos. 33, 34, 35), of having round numbers; and in each of these four instances a slight increase would give a better proportion, though the only quite obvious change is that in No. 37 LXXV should be read for LXXII, and the proportion rise from 37 to 39. A case which more certainly calls for correction is No. 32; and we cannot be far wrong if for CCCL we read CCL.

32. *ad Martialem* (Ep. lxvii) | 196 | 250 | 32 to 41

No. 33 '*Luci ad Eucratium*' we have seen to be compounded of Ep. 2 '*Ad Eucratium*' (to which the figure XL belongs) and Ep. 78, '*Luci*,' for which a figure must be supplied:—

33b. *Luci* (Ep. lxxviii) | 37 | 45 or 50 | 32 to 39 or 43

Emendation is again necessary for Nos. 42–50, where 1108 is very considerably too little. In the MS. as it stands—'*Ad Cornelium VIII* ∞ CVIII'—it looks as if the latter cyphers were a repetition, or possibly a correction (VIII for CVIII) of the number of the letters to Cornelius. If nine is the correct number, they are doubtless the nine letters so addressed of our present collection; if eight, then probably the eight which are grouped together in μ , Ep. 48 being the absentee². The nine letters amount to 1062 lines, the eight to 1016, and judging by the proportions which prevail in the

¹ *Dict. Chr. Biog.* i. 750 a. See note at end of this paper, p. 324.

² Jerome too recognises eight: *Chron.* (ed. Schoene, p. 181) '*extant ad [Cornelium] Cypriani viii epistulae.*'

neighbouring numbers, the existing figure 1108 must have superseded something like 1300 in the one case, or 1250 in the other.

42-50. ad Cornelium VIII	1062 [or	1300 [or	} | 32 to 39 or 40
[or VIII]	1016]	1250]	

To put together then the various changes made, *στίχοι* were added for No. 5 (100), for No. 12 b (100), for No. 33 b (about 50), for Nos. 42-50 (150 or 200), and were subtracted from Nos. 21, 22 (about 125) and from Nos. 29 and 32 (100 each); a net addition of about 100. But the defect to be made good was much larger than this, and our items are still left in a minority of from 400 to 500 as compared with the same total—about 18,030 or 18,080 to 18,500. It would seem most likely that the remaining lacunae are to be supplied by the supposition that some letters have dropped out, rather than by increasing to so large an extent the figures of the letters already discussed. Suggestions as to lost letters must be hypothetical in the extreme; but among possibilities may be mentioned one or more of the following; Ep. 76 at No. 25 (180 *στίχοι*); Ep. 58 *Ad Thibartanos*—which is found in nearly all collections—somewhere between No. 11, its place in *L*, and No. 22 its place in *μ* (300 *στίχοι*); *Quod idola dii non sint* (240 *στίχοι*); and at No. 31 the second part of Ep. 69 as follows:—

31. ad Magnum (Ep. lxix a)	238	284	32 to 38
31 b. ad [eundem (Ep. lxix b)	123	150 (CL)	39
32. de] Martiale (Ep. lxvii)	196	250 (CCL)	41

Further or more detailed enquiry into the stichometry does not seem likely to be fruitful or profitable; and it only remains now to ask what light is thrown by the Cheltenham List on the history of the Cyprianic correspondence. In the forefront of the answer to such a question would come the result that no single one of the letters mentioned can with any reasonable probability be said to be absent from the extant collection. It would be possible to go further and to doubt whether more than a very few of Cyprian's letters that were preserved at all have failed to survive to our own time. With regard to isolated epistles, we are not indeed in a position to decide; but by far the larger number of his letters must have belonged to groups—to the controversies about the lapsed, about Novatianism, about heretical baptism—and the parts of each group are so intricately bound up together, that the absence of one link in the chain could scarcely pass unnoticed. In the first half of the letters there is

(so far as I have seen) only one instance where we seem obliged to assume a lost letter of Cyprian's own, namely when the Roman clergy (*Ep.* xxxvi. 4) refer to his writing to them about Privatus of Lambaese, a description which does not apply to any extant epistle. It is not indeed surprising that we have to postulate in these series a considerable number of lost letters directed to him, for it was of course his letters alone which formed the nucleus of the collections in the first instance, and the loss of the former only enhances the significance of the preservation of so large a number of the latter. In our own Cheltenham List, out of about 36 epistles present, 33 are from Cyprian, three only to him (Nos. 33 b, 34—wrongly given as 'To Felix,' instead of 'From Felix'—40), a proportion of 11 to 1; in the complete collection as we have it the numbers are 65 to 16, a proportion of only 4 to 1.

Where were the first collections of Cyprian's writings made? The Roman Church had indeed preferred to remember, not his quarrel with one Pope, but his support and recognition of another; and the names of Cyprian and Cornelius were enshrined together in the canon of the mass, as their portraits were depicted side by side in the catacombs. Still, Cyprian had naturally not the same authority for Roman as for African readers; and if Rome was the scene of some of the later and fuller editions of his correspondence, we should probably look across the sea for the first. And although the letters to Cornelius appear in a collected shape as early as the Cheltenham List, the rest of the correspondence between Cyprian and Rome (of which 11 more letters from him and 7 to him are now extant) is singularly imperfect in all earlier collections; and the 13 epistles which were sent over with Epistle 20¹—that is, no doubt, Epistles 5-7, 10-19—are the last to appear anything like completely, while contrariwise the Epistle which accompanied them has a place in our List, suggesting perhaps that it was incorporated into the collected correspondence in Africa, where it would circulate independently, rather than in Rome, where a number of other letters were attached to it.

But if Cyprian was something of an alien to Rome, in Africa he was pre-eminently, until his fame was eclipsed by the greater fame of Augustine, the saint to whose writings the Church by preference appealed. It was there only in the West² that his declarations on

¹ *Ep.* xx. 2, 'Epistolae pro temporibus emissae numero tredecim quas ad vos transmisit.'

² In the East the Greek translation of the *Sententiae Episcoporum*, or votes

baptism were regarded as authoritative; and the series of letters which contain them is that most completely represented both in the Cheltenham List and in the earliest MSS. Even in Africa, however, it is perhaps improbable that there was any official Karthaginian collection, for the early letters to the clergy and others at Karthage are conspicuous by their absence from the first lists. It is rather to individual energies, acting independently in different parts of the province, that the germs of the collection should be ascribed. Cyprian's desire was always that copies of all important pronouncements should be reproduced as widely as possible among those who looked to his guidance¹; and though

of the Karthaginian Council on Rebaptism of 256 A. D., was ratified as Canon Law by the Quinisextine Council in Trullo, A. D. 691.

¹ The following quotations will illustrate this exhaustively:—

(i) *Ep.* xxv. (538. 16), to Caldonius, an African bishop: 'Librum tibi cum epistulis numero quinque misi quas ad clerum et ad plebem et ad martyras quoque et confessores feci; quae epistolae etiam plurimis collegis nostris missae placuerunt.' Cf. *Ep.* xxvi (539. 13) referring to the same letters, *Epp.* 15-19.

(ii) *Ep.* xxxii. (565. 8), to the clergy of Karthage: 'Vos curate quantum potestis pro diligentia vestra ut et scripta nostra et illorum rescripta fratribus nostris innotescant. Sed et si qui de peregrinis episcopi collegae mei vel presbyteri vel diacones praesentes fuerint vel supervenerint, haec omnia de vobis audiant. Et si exempla epistularum transcribere et ad suos perferre voluerint, facultatem transcriptionis accipiant;' referring to *Epp.* 27, 28, 30, 31.

(iii) *Ep.* xxxiv. 3 (570. 4), to the same: 'Legite vero has easdem litteras et collegis meis, si qui aut praesentes fuerint aut supervenerint.'

(iv) *Ep.* lv. 4 (626. 4), to Antonianus: 'In epistula mea quae extat' (ref. to *Ep.* xix); *ib.* § 5 (627. 10): 'Quae litterae per totum mundum missae sunt et in notitiam ecclesiis omnibus et universis fratribus perlatae sunt' (referring to *Ep.* xxx. from the Roman clergy); *ib.* § 6 (628. 1): 'Secundum quod libello continetur, quem ad te pervenisse confido, ubi singulorum placitorum capita conscripta sunt' (referring to the lost Acts of the African council).

(v) *Ep.* lxxi. 1 (771. 5), to Quintus: 'De qua re quid nuper in concilio plurimi coepiscopi cum compresbyteris qui aderant censuerimus ut scires, eiusdem epistolae exemplum tibi misi' (referring to *Ep.* lxx); cf. *Ep.* lxxiii. (778. 18), to Jubaianus: 'Exemplum earundem litterarum tibi misi, quid in concilio cum complures adessemus decreverimus, quid item postea Quinto collegae nostro de eadem re quaerenti rescripserim' (ref. to *Epp.* lxx, lxxi).

(vi) *Ep.* lxxiv. 1 (799. 6), to Pompeius: 'Quanquam plene ea quae de hereticis baptizandis dicenda sunt complexi sumus in epistolis quarum ad te exempla transmisiimus, frater carissime, tamen quia desiderasti in notitiam tuam perferri quid mihi ad litteras nostras Stephanus frater noster rescripserit, misi tibi rescripti eius exemplum;' from which we see that the answers to Cyprian's letters would not necessarily circulate with his.

Antonianus, Quintus, Jubaianus and Pompeius were all African bishops.

Note that the one letter from Rome (*Ep.* 30) mentioned in the Cheltenham list is just that one of which St. Cyprian, writing to Antonianus, speaks as having circulated throughout 'all the churches.'

this could not be systematically carried out with respect to the earlier Epistles, written during persecution, and in his absence from Karthage (some of them too being of only local or momentary interest), it is not unlikely that the authoritative documents in the later controversies were officially circulated throughout the African episcopate. It is worth noting that in *T*, the only one of the older MSS. which contains the whole or nearly the whole of the correspondence as we have it now, the connected Epistles 15–19 occur together, and are immediately followed by the two Epistles (26, 25) in which Cyprian speaks of the circulation of this group of five in Africa. Africa then, the evidence would suggest, was the scene of the incorporation of Cyprian's letters and treatises into collections more or less extensive; and the conclusion is reinforced when we remember that our earliest witness, the Cheltenham List, is itself, as Dr. Sanday has amply shown on independent grounds, African in origin.

NOTE ON THE EVIDENCE OF ST. AUGUSTINE IN RELATION TO EP. 72 (THE KARTHAGINIAN COUNCIL TO STEPHEN).

1. Augustine, *de Baptismo contra Donatistas*, lib. vi. c. 7 (ed. Bened. ix. p. 111; Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* v. p. 210): 'Iam satis, quantum arbitror, non solum ad epistolam quam Iubaiano scripsit, sed etiam ad illam quam ad Quintum dedit, et ad illam quam cum quibusdam collegis ad quosdam collegas, et ad illam quam ad Pompeium, quantum potuimus . . . libris superioribus disputavimus.'

St. Augustine had then examined successively *Epp.* 73, 71, 70, 74; he then discusses one by one the *Sententiae Episcoporum*; *Ep.* 69, though mentioned more cursorily, has both its two parts represented by quotation or allusion. But of *Ep.* 72 we hear nothing.

2. Id. ib. lib. vi. c. 15 (ix. p. 171; Routh, p. 222):—

'*Crescens a Cirta dixit; In tanto coetu sanctissimorum consacerdotum lectis litteris Cypriani dilectissimi nostri ad Iubaianum, itemque ad Stephanum . . . sed aliquis forsitan quaerat, quid de hac re beati Cypriani epistola ad Stephanum dixerit, cuius in hac sententia commemoratio facta est, cum in exordio concilii non sit commemorata, credo quia non putatum est necessarium. nam et ipsam in isto coetu consacerdotum lectam esse dixit: quod factum omnino non dubito, quantum arbitror, ut fieri solet, quo possent iam congregati episcopi etiam de illa causa simul aliquid cognoscere, quae illa epistola continetur. nam prorsus ad quaestionem praesentem non pertinet; et magis miror cur eam iste commemorare voluerit, quam cur in exordio concilii commemoratio eius praetermissa sit. quod si quisquam arbitratur me aliquid noluisse in medium proferre quod in ea positum est praesenti causae necessarium, legat eum et sciat verum esse quod dico; aut si aliud invenerit, redarguat. prorsus enim illa epistola de baptismo apud haereticos vel schismaticos dato, unde nunc agimus, nihil habet.*'

St. Augustine is astonished to find that this Bishop emphasized a letter from Stephen which had nothing whatever to do with the controversy. He

does not deny that there was a letter to Stephen, or that it was read at the Council; nay, he asserts its existence, but asserts at the same time that it dealt with totally different questions. In other words, while our editions give us two letters from Cyprian to Stephen, one of which (*Ep.* 72) is primarily concerned with Rebaptism, while the second (*Ep.* 68) has nothing to do with it, it is clear that St. Augustine knew only one of the two, and that not the one on Rebaptism.

This evidence, taken in connection with the known nearness of relation in time and place between the Cheltenham list and St. Augustine, warrants I think the conclusion that the identification of the *ad Stephanum* of the list with *Ep.* 72, not being supported either by parallels in *L* and *μ*, or by exactness of stichometry, must be considered doubtful.

[NOTE.—While speaking of Cyprianic criticism it may not perhaps be out of place to subjoin a short account of a MS. of Cyprian, not mentioned in Hartel, from the Biblioteca Comunale at Siena (F. V. 14: saec. xiv ex. or xv in. according to the printed catalogue), which the writer noticed and inspected in March of the last year (1890). The order of writings contained in this MS. which may be called *s* is as follows, adopting the notation of Hartel:—

I. X. IX. *de premio martyrum* (I fancy from my notes that this must mean the latter part of the previous treatise IX. *ad Fortunatum de exhortatione martyrii*), *Epp.* 37. 38. 10. V. VII. VIII. XI. XII. XIII. IV. VI. *Epp.* 30. 60. 57. 59. 63. 55. 6. 28. 11. 39. 58. 76. 73. 71. 70. *Sent. Epp.* 74. 40. 49. 52. 47. 45. 44. 51. 13. 43. 65. 1. 61. 46. 66. 54. 69. 69 *b.* 67. 64. 2. 32. 20. 12. 78. 79. 77. 31. 70. 7. 5. 14. 4. 56. 3. 72. 50. 68. 53. 16. 15. 17. 18. 19. 26. 25. 9. 29. II. *de singularitate clericorum, de montibus Sina et Sion*, *Ep.* 48. III (only the introductory letter to Quirinus).

The parallels to this order among Hartel's MSS. would seem to be, for the earlier part *P* (Hartel, p. xxx) *o* (p. xxxviii), for the central portion *T* (p. xxxix) and for the end *ρ* and *ι* (p. lvii), while *r* (p. xlvii) closes like our MS. with the introductory letter to Quirinus. All these MSS. except *P* belong to the *M Q T* family, for which see the genealogy on p. xxxiv.

A second MS. of Cyprian at Siena is numbered F. V. 13, and is of the xvth century.



THE END.

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I.

ST. PAUL AND HELLENISM¹.

[E. L. HICKS.]

—Heavenly John, and Attic Paul,
And that brave weather-battered Peter,
Whose stout faith only stood completer
For buffets.—ROBERT BROWNING, *Easter Day*.

THE Hellenizing of the world began with Alexander the Great. The victory of Greek ideas followed the conquest of his sword. What he began his successors developed; but the conception was his own. He Hellenized the world. I know some have doubted how far Alexander was conscious of the

¹ This was delivered as one of the Oxford Long Vacation Lectures for the Clergy, July 27, 1893. It is printed without alteration except the addition of one or two sentences. A review by G. Heinrici in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1894, pp. 207 foll. has brought to my knowledge an important paper by the veteran Ernst Curtius, *Paulus in Athen*, which may be found in the *Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Preussischen Akademie d. Wiss. zu Berlin: Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 1893, xliii. §§ 925-938. I have been unable to consult the original paper, but, to judge from the review, it goes over much the same ground as my lecture, and adopts a similar point of view. The idea that in Acts xvii. 22 the words *σταθὲς δὲ ὁ Παῦλος ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀρείου πάγου* do not refer to the hill of the Areopagus, nor even to a formal session of the court, but to a preliminary hearing of charges made against the new teacher in the *σποδὸν βασιλείας*, where the Areopagus had its place of business, and therefore close to the market-place,—will be found anticipated in Curtius' delightful *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, 1891, p. 262. I have assumed in my lecture the authenticity of the thirteen Epistles, for my purpose was not apologetic. But such a view is at least more reasonable than the latest theory of certain Dutch and Swiss scholars, that none of the Epistles are Pauline; that the 'unquestioned' four emanated from the Roman Church; and that the features of the real Paul are very different from those we have dreamed of, and are to be recovered mainly from indications in the Acts. This theory is quite sufficiently stated and criticized in Mr. Knowling's *The Witness of the Epistles*, London, 1892.

revolution he was working. But look at his portrait, and you see the man of ideas as well as the man of arms, the dreamer as well as the conqueror. His tutor had been a metaphysician; he had slept with the *Iliad* under his pillow. And amid the wonderful movement of events in his brief life, as he was making history, his ideas doubtless grew as he advanced. It is always so with the greatest men; I believe it was so with St. Paul. The germinal ideas are with them at the first; their life's work is to develop and unfold them in fact.

What, then, was Hellenism? It meant (1) A breaking down of the barriers of race. We realize this in a moment when we read of the wonderful wedding-feast made by Alexander at Susa in February, 324 B.C., when he and his chief captains, to the number of nearly one hundred, all married Persian wives on one day. It was an outward and startling expression of the idea that the clash of arms was now over and done with. Henceforward the East should wed the West.

(2) Hellenism involved—as Alexander conceived it—a breaking down of the narrow politics of the Greek cities. Just after the Susa wedding-feast, he sent Nicanor to the Olympian festival of August, 324, to proclaim the return of all political exiles to their own cities throughout Greece. Thus were the old Greek political landmarks for ever swept away: the cities became merged in monarchies.

(3) Hellenism meant, further, the universal spread of Greek language and culture. I need not dwell on this topic; we shall return to it again and again.

(4) Hellenism (once more) meant a fusion of religions. Wherever Alexander went he paid reverence to the local deities. The gods of Greece followed him to Susa and Babylon, and the teeming brood of the Nile, Sarapis, Isis, Osiris, and the rest, soon learned the Greek tongue and found a home wherever Hellenism went.

Let me recapitulate these definitions. Hellenism meant (1) fusion of races, (2) unity of language, (3) union of cities

in a great monarchy, (4) religious toleration and comprehension.

These great ideas were not wholly realized in the lifetime of Alexander, nor even of his immediate successors. Much was reserved for fulfilment only under the Roman Empire. And even then Rome shrank from the task. It was left for Hadrian to speak of the Greek as the equal brother of the Roman¹. It was reserved for a much later emperor to have it said of him :

Fecisti patriam diversis gentibus unam ;
Urbem fecisti quod prius orbis erat.

But, long before, this fusion had been preached by St. Paul, and had been realized in the Church. Unity of government, indeed, Rome had aimed at from the first. That universal sovereignty which had been the dream of Alexander became a momentous fact in the Roman Caesar. By a marvellous system of roads and forts, only rivalled in perfection by her system of law and of provincial government, Rome organized the world in one. But while Rome could command and control and organize, she could not inspire. She did not teach others her tongue. Her decrees and laws were officially translated into Greek at Rome before their despatch to the Eastern Provinces. Still less had Rome a religion, a system of ideas or conduct to impart to her subjects.

And now let us try and grasp the significance of Hellenism in its bearing upon the Jews. In every city of the Levant, from the third century B. C., there were larger or smaller settlements of Jews. Alexander planted them in his Egyptian city; the growth of trade under the Hellenistic kings tempted thousands more into the various cities of the Mediterranean; the cruelty of the Syrian kings drove forth many thousands

¹ See an epigram of Hadrian from Ephesus, now in the British Museum (No. 539; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, 888 a), in which a friend is praised as

"Εξοχον Ἑλλήνων, πρόκριτον Αὔσονίαν.

The phrase is highly characteristic.

more. While retaining their old beliefs, and maintaining close relations with the Temple, they spoke the Greek tongue, they adopted the Greek dress, and went as far as was possible in the direction of conformity to their Gentile neighbours. For instance, at Iasos in Caria, in an inscription of the second century B. C., I find a certain 'Niketas son of Jason, of Jerusalem,' contributing along with his Gentile neighbours to the building of the city theatre. At Alexandria the Jews were so numerous, and so thoroughly organized, that there soon came a demand for a Greek version of their Scriptures. That version was made gradually, and to meet a popular demand. But this only lends to the fact of the Septuagint a fresh significance. The very Oracles of God had been Hellenized. Nor was this process merely external. How far Hebrew ideas had been Hellenized is to be seen in Philo. In Alexandria, in the Augustan age, there were learned and devout Jews who thought as well as spoke in the Greek language. We must not forget the great readiness with which Orientals acquire a foreign tongue. Even in Palestine itself there were Hellenists who not only read their Scriptures in Greek, but who prayed also in Greek.

Note further that Alexander's conquests had shifted the centre of things. He died June 11, 323, at Babylon; he was King of Macedon, in the far West. And when, upon his death, his successors entered upon their fierce struggles for the mastery, and the tide of conflict rolled backwards and forwards between Europe and Asia, the populations of the Eastern Aegean saw the most of that *gigantomachia*. That is to say, the eastern basin of the Mediterranean is the heart and centre of Hellenism. How difficult it is to conceive of this! How little we know of the life of that part of the world (e.g.) in the third century B. C., i. e. precisely at the Hellenistic time! To realize the period, we must almost forget Athens: she is no more a factor in the problem. Other names have taken her place upon the page: Rhodes, Ephesus, Alexandria, Lysimacheia, Pergamon, Antiochs and

Seleucias more than one. Sculpture has migrated to Rhodes. Even Literature, though lingering at Athens, steps presently eastward, to Alexandria, to Cos. But alas, Literature at this stage almost deserts us. But for Theocritus (who belongs to Cos and Alexandria more than to Sicily), and but for Herodas, whose curious poems have lately appeared from an Egyptian tomb to throw a flicker of light upon this time and region, we have hardly any literary relic of the Levant of the third century B.C.¹ It is to coins, to inscriptions, and to surviving works of art that we have to turn, in order to recall the life of that forgotten epoch. But from such sources we learn very much. We learn, for example, concerning the language of Hellenism, that though its dialect is contributed in the main by Athens, yet the vocabulary, and even the inflexions, show the great influence of the current speech of the Aegean. Thus in the 'Will of Epicteta,' a third-century inscription from Thera, we find striking illustration of so important a word as *συναγωγή* for a religious meeting, and of the curious word *γλωσσόκομον* for a chest². The liturgical term *καρπῶσαι* occurs there also, and in a Coan sacrificial inscription³. Not the Attic *μέτοικος*, but *πάροικος* (-έω, -ία) is the word for sojourner, at Ephesus and all cities of that longitude. Again, words reassume old senses which they had discarded while Attic was the dominant literary speech (*ἀπόστολος*, *κατήχησις*⁴, are examples of this), just as Americanisms like 'humans' for human beings, or 'fall' for autumn, are but survivals of Elizabethan English. Examples might be multiplied indefinitely: let me sum up in a word. The Jews lived near the very centre of Hellenism. They were part of it. And Jewish religion in its expression, and even in its thought,

¹ All this I never so fully realized, as when I was trying to work out the history of the island of Cos; see *Historical Introduction to the Inscriptions of Cos*, by Paton and Hicks.

² *C. I. G.* No. 2448.

³ See *Hellenic Journal*, 1888, vol. ix. p. 336.

⁴ See Lightfoot on Galatians vi. 6; and his note on *ἀπόστολος*, *ibid.* pp. 92-3; and on *γογγυσμός*, *Phil.* ii. 14.

had been very largely Hellenized before the coming of the Gospel. I say, in its thought. For I do not think any idea, certainly no system of beliefs and convictions, can be translated from its native tongue into another, without detaching some elements, and assimilating others. Nor could the Jew live as a Greek, talk as a Greek, and teach and pray in Greek, without certain insensible modifications of his habits of mind. He might never be quite at home with the *indirecta oratio*, but the Greek tongue taught him logic and the possibilities of abstract thinking. And in this there is nothing to wonder at, or to regret. If Judaism, if the Gospel—which came first to man in Jewish garb—was to take lasting hold of ‘the supreme Caucasian mind,’ it was well that it should pass westward through the noblest conceivable medium, that of Hellenic speech and thought.

And this brings us at once to St. Paul: what was his relation to Hellenism?

1. Of course he was bred and born a Hebrew of the Hebrews. His parents, proud of their Benjamite origin, call their son Saul, after the one royal name in their tribe. After his home training is over, he is sent to Jerusalem, where he sits at the feet of Gamaliel. Until his conversion, he is of the strictest sect of the Pharisees. And at his conversion the heavenly voice speaks to his inner soul in the sacred Hebrew tongue. But St. Paul’s genius was many-sided. He inherits from his father the Roman citizenship. His birthplace is Tarsus, a city second hardly to any at the time as a seat of learning: schools, chiefly of course of Rhetoric, abounded there; and philosophy, especially the Stoic, had its representatives. That is to say, Saul of Tarsus was a Hellenized Jew: he could speak *Ἑβραϊστὶ*, i.e. in Aramaic, and in Greek equally well. It is true his Greek was not that of the literary man, still less of the Attic purists. It was provincial, uneducated if you please. But it was Greek, none the less. It is an exaggeration when Renan speaks of his language being almost unintelligible to a literary

Greek. He was intelligible to the provincials whom he wanted to convince. The more educated Corinthians criticized his style (2 Cor. x. 10); it was too full of Hebraisms and Aramaisms. It had no flavour of literary Greek. But it was a real, living, spoken tongue, and that was better. He speaks it, and dictates it also, with a manifest glow of thought. It undergoes no sensible change in ten years. He does not think in Aramaic and translate into Greek. He thinks in the tongue that he speaks and writes. He has the Septuagint text by heart, though he often varies a word or phrase, to emphasize the application. In other words, Saul the Pharisee is also the Hellenist Paulus. We have no proof that he attended the Greek schools of his city. But a nature so alert and sympathetic could not be brought thus near to Hellenic influence without feeling its power. We can infer little from his quotation of a line of Menander in 1 Cor. xv. It was possibly a current quotation—like many a line from Shakespeare to-day. The same may be said of the passage from Aratus or Cleanthes cited at Athens (Acts xvii. 28), or the line of Epimenides in Titus i. 12. But if he was as unread in Greek literature as some suppose, then his careful recollection of lines so casually heard, and his remarkably apt quotation of them, betray all the more his mental leanings.

2. The same thing is evidenced by his metaphors. They are at least as much Greek as Syrian. From Syria came the 'open door,' the 'burthen borne,' and the acts of walking or building to symbolize moral ideas. But on the other hand see how essentially Greek is his perpetual employment of figures drawn from athletic games—*τρέχειν, δρόμος, καταβραβεύειν, ἀγωνίζεσθαι, πυκτεύειν, στέφανος*, and the rest. In all of which we must not think too much of Elis or Nemea, but remember that in Hellenistic and Roman times athletic festivals had become a universal passion, and every city of the Levant had Olympia of its own. Not less essentially Greek are his metaphors from the mysteries (Col. i. 26 and *passim*; Phil. iv. 12), or from civic life (Eph. ii. 12 and 19, and else-

where), or from education (*παιδαγωγός*, Gal. iii. 24)¹. It is plain that St. Paul's mind is stored with images taken from Graeco-Roman life; he calls them up without effort. He returns to some of them again and again. Even when a metaphor is suggested by an Old Testament text like Isaiah lix. 17 and xi. 5, he works up the illustration (1 Thess. v. 8; Eph. vi. 13) after the manner of a pure Greek simply describing a Roman soldier. I cannot enlarge on this topic—the western character of St. Paul's images. But to illustrate my argument, contrast the favourite metaphors of St. Paul on the one hand with the strictly Syrian and rural figures of the Gospels, and on the other with the purely oriental images of the Apocalypse,—images which art cannot express in outward shape without grotesque monstrosity.

But (3), if St. Paul's figures were not usually Hebraic, neither did he derive so much as is commonly thought from Roman customs. Lightfoot points out (on Gal. iv) how St. Paul's use of *νήπιος* and *προθεσμία* does not agree with the details of Roman law. Even when he is speaking to the Romans of *νιοθεσία*, the word reminds me rather of Greek than of Roman antiquities. No word is more common in Greek inscriptions of the Hellenistic time: the idea, like the word, is native Greek.

But (4) the moral teaching of St. Paul takes up into itself some of the best thoughts of Greek philosophy. The very language of Stoicism has lent itself to his service. I need say the less on this head, because of the careful and sympathetic treatment it has received from Lightfoot in a famous Appendix to his *Philippians*. He rightly discards the legend which brought the Apostle and Seneca into personal contact. There is no reason to suppose that St. Paul had read a page of any Stoic treatise. Ideas, like germs, are in the air, and they only

¹ Ernst Curtius, in the paper already referred to, mentions also *χαίρειν* (Phil. iv. 4); *εὐφρομαι* (iv. 8); the Attic salt of Col. iv. 6; the idea of measure in 2 Cor. x. 13. All this betrays, he says, 'den Anhauch hellenischer Lebensanschauung.'

await a suitable host, to live and take effect. I know not how much Mr. Ruskin has ever read of Comte: but I know that some of his Oxford lectures, when I heard them, seemed inspired by all that is best in the Positive Ethics. Nor can I ever read 1 Cor. iv. 8, without being reminded of Stoic phrases about the philosopher-king.

(5) We pass from language and ideas to method of exposition. Here also—I speak with deference—Renan appears to exaggerate grossly when he says, ‘His mode of arguing is strange in the extreme. He certainly knew nothing of the logic of the Peripatetics. His syllogism is anything but Aristotelian; on the contrary, his dialectic comes nearer to that of the Talmud.’ It may be prepossession, but I find in St. Paul much to remind me of Aristotle. I never read 1 Cor. xiii, without thinking of the description of the virtues in the *Nicomachean Ethics*¹. St. Paul’s way of arguing also—making point by point, and covering his whole ground, meeting objections by anticipation, and assuming the questions of a supposed antagonist—recalls to me the method of Aristotle. I know that his style when most rhetorical never reaches the formal and even grandiose manner of the Epistle to the Hebrews: but his method of exposition is really Greek. If any one doubts this, and desires to make St. Paul’s method still Hebraic, let him compare the Pauline Epistles with those of St. John or St. James. The latter circle round certain ideas; advance is made with no apparent logical sequence. St. Paul’s argument is capable of obvious and minute analysis². I would only point further to the systematic classification of moral obligations in Romans xii, or in Ephesians and Colossians, as being quite Hellenic in manner.

(6) St. Paul’s sympathy with Hellenism is shown by his

¹ St. Paul’s ethical teaching has quite an Hellenic ring. It is (1) philosophical, as resting on a definite principle, viz. our new life in Christ, and (2) it is logical, as classifying virtues and duties according to some intelligible principle.

² I should say that this passage was composed before Professor Ramsay’s *Church in the Roman Empire* came into my hands.

method of travel. With quite a Greek instinct he prefers to keep in sight of the sea. The great sea-ports have an attraction for him—Antioch, Troas, Thessalonica, Athens, Corinth, Ephesus. He never stays in the villages, or even the minor towns, where Hellenic influence is feeble: he pushes on to the larger towns of the Roman system, that is, where Hellenism is strong. More and more he feels impelled to do so by a Divine Voice within. When he visits Europe for the first time and lands at Neapolis, he never stops until he gets to Philippi, because it 'is the chief town of that part of Macedonia and a colony.' This practice of St. Paul is finely illustrated by Prof. Ramsay in his *Church in the Roman Empire*. We had all thought that Lystra, a scene of St. Paul's earlier labours, was an out-of-the-way, uncultivated town. We must deem it so no more: it was an important city, and a Roman colony, a centre of Graeco-Roman culture. Hence its attraction for the Apostle.

(7) I pass to the growth of St. Paul's ideas. That such a growth took place few now would deny. I do not mean a change, but a development. The topics of his Epistles, the controversies that successively engaged his mind, show what that development was. First came the question of the universality of the Gospel, and the equality of races within the Church. In fighting for this principle the Apostle was, in fact, working out a fundamental idea of Hellenism, which had never yet been realized, but which was to find its realization in a glorious and divine manner, in a kingdom not of earth but of heaven, in a city whose builder and maker is God.

The second great topic that engaged him was the doctrine of the Person of Christ. This had underlain all his teaching, and each earlier Epistle. But now it assumes a prominent place, as in Phil. ii. and Col. i-iii: and its bearings upon human life and hope becomes of absorbing interest. But here again, the language which enables St. Paul to scale these heights of thought, and to set forth, once and for ever, the doctrine of

the Incarnation in its various aspects, is the language of Hellenism. Greek thought had provided for St. Paul a vocabulary, and a set of ideas as well as phrases, wherein to express his doctrine—a doctrine in no wise borrowed from Hellenic thought, but which could hardly be made intelligible to the minds of his time, or to our own minds to-day, unless Greek thought had prepared the human mind for such grand and far-reaching ideas¹: ὁ γὰρ φιλόσοφος στυροπτικός τις.

There remains a third great topic of St. Paul,—the universality and the unity of the Catholic Church. This fills his Ephesian letter, and forms the climax of his life. Glance back for an instant upon that life, and see how he reached this point. Driven by the Spirit he had found his way to Europe. From Macedonia he passes to Achaia, and spends a year and a half in Corinth. From the capital of Achaia, he passes to Ephesus, and (enlarging upon his Corinthian experiment) spends nearly three years in the capital of Asia. From the capital of Asia his thoughts turn to the capital of the world: 'I must see Rome' (Acts xix. 21). Within a few months the Roman letter was despatched. More and more the marvel of that wide Empire and the majesty of sovereign Rome had become luminous ideas in his mind. And when at last—by God's strange leading—he is at the centre of the world, there Paul the captive gains his clear vision of the Catholic Church, and writes of a polity, of an organization wider than of Rome, and as enduring as God (Eph. ii. 19 foll.): 'Ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints . . . Ye are built upon the founda-

¹ Let the reader compare the three passages Phil. ii, Col. i-ii, Eph. i-ii, and see how in point of philosophic grasp and expression they improve upon each other. Note further the nice use of *μορφή*, *σχῆμα* (Phil. ii. 6), and of the prepositions in Col. i. 16-20. From the Greek schools likewise come such words as *δριστεῖς*, *νοούμενα*, *θειότης* (*θεότης* Col. ii. 9), *ἀφθαρτος* in Romans i, and the highly philosophical distinction between *νόμος* and *ὁ νόμος* in Romans (*passim*). Other Pauline words invite attention from a similar point of view: *σοφία*, *γνώσις*, *ἐπίγνωσις*, *ἐξέσεις*, *αἴσθησις*, *διανοία*, *φρόνησις*, κ.τ.λ.

tion of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief corner-stone.' Here is the first germ of the *De Civitate Dei*.

We reach here the climax of the Apostle's life. Wisely does the author of the Acts drop the curtain at this point. All else was but the epilogue to the great drama. The theology of St. Paul was now complete; his ideas had attained their full orb. There remained nothing more than to organize, to elaborate discipline, to direct and advise. These cares occupy the Pastoral Epistles.

May I close with three general remarks?

1. Let us beware of post-dating the influence of Hellenism on Christian thought. I felt that this error really underlay the otherwise brilliant *Hibbert Lectures* of Dr. Hatch. The influence of Hellenism began in fact with the first preaching of the Gospel; and St. Paul is the foremost representative of the process. That influence was of course indirect and unconscious, and did not involve any deliberate adoption of Hellenic practices¹: but it had been a leaven working in the Church from the first. Then later, in the fourth century, when the fabric of Graeco-Roman civilization was crumbling to its fall, the Church alone was left to rescue from that ruin

¹ We may therefore dismiss the crude suggestion of Prof. P. Gardner (*The Origin of the Lord's Supper*, 1893), that St. Paul borrowed the idea of the Eucharist from the Eleusinian Mysteries, which he may have learned about at Corinth. The writer simply ignores the testimony of the Mark-tradition to the primitive origin of the Lord's Supper, and he also mistakes the essential features of the Eleusinia. These centred in the visit of Iacchos to Demeter and Korè (this formed the *πομπή*), and in the mystery-play which followed (*τὰ δράματα*, hence the *τεροφάντης*). See also Gustav Anrich, *Das antike Mysterienwesen in seinem Einfluss auf das Christentum* (1894), p. iii n. The value of Anrich's essay is chiefly negative. We are not to exaggerate the extent of Gentile admixture in Christian usage, nor date such accretions too early. He rightly insists (p. 106) that Hellenic worship consisted of ritual acts, whereas Christian worship gave the chief place to prayer, praise, and instruction. He points out that it was mainly in connexion with the sacraments, because they involved ceremonial acts, that Hellenic usages and beliefs found opportunity to fasten themselves on to the Christian tradition. This tendency, which developed by degrees, none will deny; see the Abbé Duchesne, *Les Origines du Culte Chrétien*.

much that humanity could ill afford to lose¹. Swiftly therefore and surely, and with no mere blind instinct, during that age of disquiet and change, did the Church take over and consecrate to diviner uses whatever she could of the art, the letters, the ritual of the older world. We may indeed confess that her task was most difficult and delicate; we may complain that it was unskilfully done; that in art she borrowed too little, in ceremonial and in metaphysics overmuch. But I am only concerned to point out here, that this assimilation of Hellenism by the Church, this sympathy with the old Hellenic world had been a reality all along, and was involved in the very fact of the Gospel coming to the western world in the language of Greece.

2. It is vain to regret a process so inevitable, a development so natural to the human mind. It is irrational to appeal from the Nicene Creed to the Sermon on the Mount. For Christianity needs to be expressed in the language, and therefore in the thought and phrase, of mankind at whatever particular date. The thought and phrase of the Greek world of the fourth century were not the same as of Palestine in the first, nor are they the same as our own. And yet, as a matter of fact, when we want to understand the metaphysical and moral bearings of Christian doctrine, if we turn to Athanasius and Chrysostom, how fresh and modern they are! How significant the philosophy of the *De Incarnatione Verbi*, how practical the sober, ethical exegesis of the *Homilies*.

3. Perhaps one of the greatest needs of the Church in our day is that its teachers should learn the method of St. Paul; should learn how to enunciate the Gospel in the phrase and ideas of modern life. For the educated this has been endeavoured by many, and by none with more wonderful freshness and depth than by Robert Browning: witness his *Death in the Desert*, his *Easter Day*, and very much beside. For the industrial classes it certainly has not been done, save very partially, and chiefly outside of the Church. But it must

¹ This is very strikingly put in a lecture by Harnack, on St. Augustine.

be done, and can best be done by men of learning and thought. For scholarship need not lessen their sympathy with others, and culture should give them an imaginative insight into conditions not their own. The Gospel needs translating into the language of the masses ; it must be brought within their range of ideas, must at least understand their prepossessions, must be recommended by illustrations taken boldly from their manner of life. This was St. Paul's method ; it is worth adoption to-day : τοῖς πᾶσι γέγορα πάντα, ἵνα πάντως τιμὰς σώσω (1 Cor. ix. 22).

II.

THE 'GALATIA' OF ST. PAUL AND THE 'GALATIC TERRITORY' OF ACTS.

[W. M. RAMSAY.]

DR. SANDAY asks me to write a paper on the Galatian question. It is difficult to do so within moderate compass, and it would be absurd to do so without referring to the counter-arguments or assertions of critics (Dr. Schürer in *Theologische Literaturztg.* 1893, Sept. 30, p. 506, correcting his article in *Jahrb. f. Protestant. Theologie*, 1892, p. 471; Dr. Chase in *Expositor*, Dec. 1893, and May, 1894; Dr. Zöckler in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1894, pp. 51-102)¹. It is therefore necessary to use a more controversial tone than is pleasant to me, and to speak of some elementary points at disproportionate length, because the controversy concerns especially the fundamental facts and ideas upon which the whole theory rests.

If I have complied with this request, it is not because I have the hope of convincing any whose minds are already made up that the South-Galatian theory is inadmissible and impossible on grounds of grammar, or of geography, or of history. But I ask an unprejudiced hearing in the confidence that those who begin the investigation and weigh the arguments

¹ As the distinctive nomenclature used in my book has been adopted as convenient by two critics, Dr. Chase and Dr. Zöckler, it will be used in this article: 'North Galatia' will denote the territory permanently occupied by the three Galatian tribes in the third century B.C., 'South Galatia' will denote the parts of Phrygia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Isauria, which were included under the rule of the Roman governor of the province Galatia, and the two opposing views will be designated as 'the North-Galatian theory' and 'the South-Galatian theory.'

without that strong (all the stronger because unconscious) bias given by frequent repetition for years of a book so familiar as *Acts*, will see that the South-Galatian theory alone makes *Acts* intelligible and intelligent; and these will be a growing number as time goes on.

One difficulty which faces me is that the North-Galatian theory is professedly based on the view that *Acts* is full of 'gaps in the narrative,' i. e. omissions that offend against our sense of what is right in a history. Hence it avails not to prove that the North-Galatian theory attributes an irrational omission to *Acts*: one more gap does not dismay the theorist who is already impressed with the number of gaps. In time, however, the principle will become recognized even in the criticism of *Acts* (as it is in all extra-Biblical criticism) that the interpreter who is to make any progress must start with the belief that his author was rational, and must prefer the rational theory to the theory of irrational gaps. The concise historian of a great movement may dismiss ten years in a breath and devote a chapter to one step in his subject; but his silence is part of his method and as eloquent as his speech¹. But any one can hold the North-Galatian theory who is ready to help it out with the gap-theory.

I. ANCIENT OPINION.—Asterius, bishop of Amaseia in Pontus, A.D. 401, explains the expression in *Acts* xviii. 23 τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν αὖς τὴν Λυκαονίαν καὶ τὰς τῆς Φρυγίας πόλεις. The North-Galatian theorists are not free to regard these words as the mistaken theory of a late writer: such a theory could not arise in the time of Asterius, for Lycaonia was no longer included in Galatia in his time². The evidence of later ecclesiastical writers is sometimes affected badly by their tendency to intrude the facts of their

¹ That *Acts* was written by a great historian of that order is the argument of my *St. Paul: the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, now nearly ready.

² See *Homily VIII on St. Peter and St. Paul*, in Migne, *Patrolog. Graec.* vol. xl. I owe this quotation to my friend and former pupil Mr. A. F. Findlay. The words of Asterius are quoted below p. 18.

own time into the past, and by their misunderstanding of the old words through want of knowledge of the old circumstances. But neither of these causes can have operated in this case; Asterius contradicts the facts of his own time; and no conceivable interpretation could get τὴν Λυκαονίαν out of τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν except the deliberate adhesion of Asterius to the South-Galatian theory. Now the circumstances of Asterius's life make him an exceptionally good witness in this case: he must have been familiar with the geography of central Asia Minor; the comparative situation of North-Galatia and Lycaonia, and the difference between the two routes open to St. Paul in Acts xviii. 23 on the two theories (North-Galatian and South-Galatian), were points on which he could not make such a mistake as to blunder into the idea that the 'Galatic Region' was 'Lycaonia.'

Asterius, then, held the South-Galatian theory; and this shows that either he had studied past history independently and carefully, and rejected the usual belief, or the usual belief and the unbroken tradition confirmed the view which he states. Now it is most improbable, and quite incongruous with the character of fourth and fifth century Christianity and Church scholarship, to suppose that any one studied such *minutiae* of early history in the scientific and independent spirit that would be required to recreate the South-Galatian theory in opposition to the traditional view; and a slight study of Asterius which I have made for the purpose does not lead to the belief that he was the man to make such an investigation with free and bold spirit. It seems clear that Asterius was brought up to the South-Galatian theory as the accepted tradition.

The commentaries of Theophylact and Chrysostom contain no clear evidence as to their belief on this point; but the South-Galatians will find their words far more intelligent than the North-Galatians. For my own part, it seems difficult to think that Chrysostom, who knew Asia Minor widely, could have said what he has said and not been struck with

the awkwardness, if he had held the North-Galatian theory, whereas, if he had been brought up in an unquestioned South-Galatian tradition, his language is clear and natural.

But the proof that Asterius spoke according to accepted tradition and not according to independent investigation is furnished by the fact that he gives expression to a traditional error in the same sentence. He says μετῆλθεν οὖν ἐκ Κορίνθου πρὸς τὴν τῶν Πισίδων χώραν¹ εἶτα τὴν Λυκαονίαν καὶ τὰς τῆς Φρυγίας πόλεις καταλαβὼν, κακεῖθεν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπισκεψάμενος, εἶτα τὴν Μακεδονίαν, κοινὸς ἦν τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλος. Why does the Πισίδων χώρα come in between Corinth and Lycaonia in this account of Paul's travels from Acts xviii. 18 to xx. 1? The explanation is furnished by the corresponding passage of Euthalius, who is commonly dated c. 458 A. D., that from Corinth Paul went to Ephesus and Caesareia εἶτα δεύτερον εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν τῆς Πισιδίας, εἶτα εἰς τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν¹ καὶ Φρυγίαν, εἶτα πάλιν δεύτερον εἰς Ἐφεσον. It is clear that there was a widespread traditional misinterpretation of Acts xviii. 22 as referring to Pisidian Antioch. Asterius was under the current mistake on this point; but, if he had made such an independent study as to strike out the South-Galatian theory for himself, he could not have remained in error about the Antioch of xviii. 22².

Jerome in his commentary on *Galatians* evidently believes that the letter was addressed to the three Celtic tribes; but this fact cannot weigh against Asterius. Jerome entertained without any doubt the natural thought that the Galatia of St. Paul was the Galatia of earlier and of late time.

The southern tradition had every opportunity of preserving

¹ It is noteworthy that Euthalius read in xvi. 6 τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν, where Chrysostom has τὴν Γαλατικὴν.

² This current error prevents us from claiming Euthalius as an unmistakable South-Galatian. It is true that the South-Galatian theory alone brings Paul to Pisidian Antioch on this journey; but Euthalius gets in Pisidian Antioch on a side-issue. He mentions this as the second visit to Pisidian Antioch: I believe it was the third; but Dr. Gifford, a South-Galatian, makes it the second visit, while Bishop Lightfoot, a North-Galatian, makes it the third.

the real line of St. Paul's journeys. On the other hand hardly a scrap of tradition remains about an early church in North-Galatia. Its history begins in the fourth century with the martyr-bishop of Ancyra, Clemens, under Diocletian¹, and the Council of Ancyra about 314. Only one other North-Galatian bishop appeared at the Ancyran Council, Philadelphius of Juliopolis; and I know of nothing else about the early North-Galatian Church. The earliest known bishop of Pessinus is Demetrius 403, of Tavium Diciasius 325, of the Troknades Cyriacus 325, of Petenissos Pius 451, of Klaneos Salomon 680, of Orcistus Domnus 431. The last four with Pessinus are in the country where, according to Dr. Zöckler, Paul planted Christianity with signal and striking success and founded several churches, yet from the supposed Pauline foundations no scrap of tradition has come down to us, no martyr (so far as I know) is recorded, only one bishop earlier than the fifth century is known. According to Dr. Zöckler Paul never saw Ancyra; yet there, and there alone in North-Galatia, do we find a slight tradition of the early Church. How has this utter oblivion affected the flourishing 'Churches of Galatia'? The only form of the North-Galatian theory that is not a historical absurdity is Lightfoot's, who held that Paul's Galatian churches were in the great cities, especially Ancyra; and Dr. Zöckler repudiates Lightfoot's theory as impossible and irreconcilable with *Acts*².

Contrast this with the history of the South-Galatian Churches. Peter, bishop of Iconium, at the Council of Ancyra 314, is the sixth in Le Quien's list of Iconian bishops, Eulalius in 325 the seventh³. Sergianus, bishop of Pisidian

¹ Theodorus of Ancyra (3rd Nov.) of unknown date is put by Le Quien before Clemens.

² It is noteworthy that the North-Galatians are as widely at variance with each other as they are with me. Lightfoot would have rejected unhesitatingly Zöckler's idea that Paul devoted his time to founding churches in the wilderness of the Axylon (Troknades and similar villages) and at Pessinus. But Dr. Zöckler gravely and seriously assigns this as Paul's sphere of work.

³ The first, Sosipater, is quoted not merely from Rom. xvi. 21, but also on a tradition in some *Menologia*, which perhaps has independent ground.

Antioch at the Council of Ancyra, is the fifth in Le Quien's list. Several very early traditions are connected with Lystra¹, and still more with Iconium and Antioch.

I have made no special search in any of these cases. I take the well-known superficial evidence; but it is all in favour of the view that tradition and history would preserve some record of a group of flourishing Pauline churches. In these churches of South-Galatia, the correct tradition of Paul's journeys was perpetuated until at least the fifth century.

The burden of proof has hitherto been laid on the South-Galatian theorists, but these facts show that it is the North-Galatians who seek to overturn the early tradition and are bound to prove their view.

In the next place we turn to the history of the name and the province Galatia, and try to determine what was the exact situation in South-Galatia about 50 A.D. In my book, such points as the extent of the name Galatia, the use of 'Galatae' in the sense of 'men of the province Galatia,' the boundary close to Derbe, the large *regnum Antiochi*, the vigour of Roman policy in the country, the contempt felt by Romans and *coloniae* and loyal provincials for the appellation 'Lycaones,' not to mention others, were taken as well known². I fancied that even a slight acquaintance with the antiquities of Asia Minor and the Roman imperial administration would show any reader or critic what were the grounds on which these assumptions rested³. In writing about St. Paul one does not expect to begin with a series of arguments on each point of history, geography, and antiquities

¹ The story of Thekla mentions it. Artemas or Artemius first bishop *Act. Sanct.* 20th June, p. 67; Eustochius under Maximian, *Act. Sanct.* 23rd June, p. 472 (he was earlier than the reorganization by Diocletian in 295, for Lystra still was governed from Ancyra in his time). Of Derbe alone I find no trace outside of the New Testament till we come down to the fourth century.

² A brief excursus was added, p. 13 f., as an afterthought in view of Dr. Schürer's article *Zft. f. Prot. Theol.* 1892, p. 471 f.

³ The reasons for my statements can in great part be got in my *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*; but will, I hope, be more easily and in fuller form found in the *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*.

that has to be touched. One must assume a little ; and one expects that a critic who differs will investigate at least the collected and readily accessible evidence before denying these assumptions. Several points of this list, however, have been already disputed. Dr. Schürer denied the first point, but desisted when his attention was called to the contemporary geographers Pliny and Ptolemy ; but Dr. Cheetham still maintains the attack ¹. The second is contradicted by Dr. Schürer and Dr. Blass ; the second and the last are disputed by Dr. Zöckler, and the others are just as likely to be controverted.

2. GALATIA THE NAME OF THE ROMAN PROVINCE. Probably no one dreamed of questioning the correctness of the term 'Galatia' as applied to the whole Roman province until 1892. Historians from Tacitus to Mommsen used the term unquestioningly. But in 1892 Dr. Schürer, on the ground that a number of inscriptions in honour of governors of the province enumerate the various districts composing the province, and do not name it by a single name, hastily concluded that it was not correct to use the single name for the whole, and that therefore Paul could not have used the term 'Galatia' except in the sense of North-Galatia ². Prof. Mommsen, who had edited most of these inscriptions, and thought over every problem connected with them, had not been thereby deterred from applying the term 'Galatia' to the province ; and all those who have studied the Asia Minor inscriptions are familiar with the vainglorious use of terms, which applied the title, governor of Phrygia, Paphlagonia, &c., to officers who ruled only a small part of Phrygia and Paphlagonia ³.

¹ Dr. Zöckler is not so determined as Dr. Cheetham ; he at least has looked into Pliny and Ptolemy, and in a footnote, p. 92, grants the cogency of their authority ; but even he still devotes several pages of his text to arguing that Paul was not likely to speak of 'Galatia' as the seat of his churches in Ioonium, &c.

² *Jahrb. f. Protestant. Theologie*, 1892, p. 471, and *Theolog. Litteraturztg.* 1892, p. 468.

³ *CIL* iii. 312, 318, are not honorary inscriptions, but the reason for the form adopted in them is explained below (see p. 39). The very order used in

As soon as Dr. Schürer's attention was directed to the ancient geographers, Pliny and Ptolemy, he recognized that he could no longer maintain his contention, and in the most scholarly spirit he at once retracted it¹. It would have seemed sufficient to mention this and to pass to the next point. But his brief retraction seems to have escaped the attention of many who have been carried away by the apparently exhaustive erudition of his first article; and even such a careful and learned scholar as Dr. Cheetham has written in the *Classical Review*, November, 1894, to express his belief in the convincing nature of Dr. Schürer's arguments, and his sense of my inability to meet them. It is therefore better to briefly state the reasons which make it necessary to admit that the Romans habitually denominated the province 'Galatia' simply.

Ptolemy arranges his chapters according to the Roman provincial divisions: v. 1. Πόντου καὶ Βιθυνίας θέσις: v. 2. τῆς ἰδίας Ἀσίας θέσις; v. 3. Λυκίας θέσις: v. 4. Γαλατίας θέσις. He states that Galatia is bounded on the south by Pamphylia and on the north by the Euxine sea², including in it Pisidia on the south, and Paphlagonia on the north; he enumerates the parts of which it consisted, Paphlagonia, Pisidia, &c.; and he mentions Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra as cities of Galatia. So also in describing Pamphylia, he says it is bounded by Galatia on the north.

Again, Pliny, v. 146-7, gives an account of Galatia (*dicendum videtur et de Galatia*): he says it reaches to Cabalia of Pamphylia and the Milyae; he declares that it contained 195 peoples and tribes (whereas Galatia proper contained three

them is sufficient to show that the form is not a purely official title; first the official title *provinciarum Galatiae Cappadociae* (the two provinces united under one ruler, see the exposition in the latter part of this section), then the enumeration of parts of Galatia, viz. *Ponti, Paphlagoniae, &c.*, and then the additional part of Cappadocia, viz. *Armeniae Minoris*.

¹ *Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, 1893, Sept. 30, p. 506.

² I pass over the fact that Ptolemy makes some errors in details: the only point that concerns us is his belief as a scientific geographer that the term *Galatia* was properly used to denote the Roman province as a whole.

peoples divided into twelve tetrarchies); and he mentions among its cities Lystra, and other places in the Phrygian, Pisidian, and Paphlagonian districts¹.

So, again, Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 9, says: *Galatiam et Pamphyliam provincias Calpurnio Asprenati regendas Galba permiserat*: Dr. Zöckler acknowledges the force of this passage.

These passages show that 'Galatia' was freely and correctly used to denote the Roman province. No one who reads them over can hesitate on this point. The inference drawn from the inscriptions by Drs. Schürer and Cheetham is wrong, and the inscriptions are guided in their peculiar terminology not by consideration of strict accuracy, but by magniloquence. It is indeed hard to see how Dr. Schürer could seriously maintain that the official name of a Roman province was 'Galatia, Pisidia, Phrygia, Paphlagonia, Lycaonia, Pontus Galaticus, Pontus Polemonianus.' The Romans were a practical and business-like people.

It is true that in some cases Roman official custom employed a compound term to denote a single province: thus 'Bithynia-Pontus' and 'Lycia-Pamphylia' were the regular forms. The Romans continued to feel that each of these provinces contained two separate parts joined together, and it is certain that in both cases a certain distinction was maintained between the parts, even under the joint administration. Thus we have the titles Bithyniarch and Pontarch, and there is reason to think that the titles *Λυκίων τὸ ἔθνος* and *Λυκιάρχης* did not extend to Pamphylia². Again, it is quite certain that when Cappadocia and Galatia were united under the Flavian emperors, the combined name was officially required, and that the two when united were even not called a single province, for in inscriptions we commonly find *provinciae* in the plural.

¹ The passage is discussed in my *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (1895), p. 318 f.

² The fact that Ptolemy gives Lycia and Pamphylia in separate chapters shows that he considered them two provinces under one administrator like Galatia-Cappadocia between 78 and 106 A. D.

That was therefore a case in which two separate provinces were placed temporarily under one head, and is markedly different from the case of Bithynia-Pontus, which is a single province with a double name.

There is at least one case in which a triple name was officially applied to a single province, viz. Syria-Phoenice-Cilicia. That these constituted one single province during the first century is shown by the provincial festival *κοινὸς Συρίας Φοινίκης Κιλικίας*, which united the three parts in the worship of the Emperors and in the feeling of Roman patriotism. But such a name was found to be too cumbrous, and the single name Syria was commonly applied to the whole. Cilicia was after a time separated from that province, and hence it is not often included under the single name, but it is common in the second and third centuries to apply the term 'Syria' to the whole territory administered by the Roman governor. Hence Phoenice and Palaestina were merged in Syria, and the usage became stronger as time passed to treat them as parts of Syria, and to employ such terms as *Συρία Παλαιστίνη* and *Σύρος Ἀσκαλωνείτης Παλαιστίνη* (Kaibel, *Inscr. Graec. in Ital. &c.*, 1661)¹. Even in the case of Cilicia, we find in a Gaulish inscription *κ. Ἀδδάνων τῆς Συρίας*². In *CIG* 5875 b *Τι. Ἰούλιος Σύρ(ος)*³, who makes a dedication to the goddess of Magarsos (the harbour of Mallos), was in all probability a native of Mallos taking the general provincial ethnic among Italian surroundings.

Syria is a name applied (in Dr. Schürer's phrase) *a parte potiori*: the name of the 'predominant partner' was applied for convenience to the whole partnership. In the strictest sense, it is incorrect; but in names usage is everything, and

¹ In this case the man (a soldier of the praetorian guard) calls himself *Σύρος*.

² Quoted by Le Blant, *Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule*, i. p. 328, from t. III Gori *Etr.* p. xxxvi (inaccessible to me): probably same as Kaibel no. 2306.

³ Kaibel puts it among the 'false or suspected' no. 70: and it depends on Ligorio's testimony alone. But there is nothing suspicious in the inscription; rather its peculiarities are such as were not likely to occur to a forger, and tell in favour of its authenticity. All Ligorio's inscriptions are not spurious by any means; though those that rest only on his authority are always suspicious.

when a name, however incorrect in origin, becomes usual, it becomes correct. Hence, even though the name Galatia were simply that of the predominant partner applied loosely to the whole province, we have in the case of Syria a proof that the name *a parte potiori* might become habitual for the whole province, and the ethnic connected with the name might be accepted by the whole people. But I go much further than this. I maintain that the name Galatia was used officially from the beginning to denote the whole province, that the intention of Roman policy was to override all tribal differences and to force a Roman unity, under a single name, on the province, that this scheme was urged with all the power of Rome, and that the use of the Roman name was in itself a proof of attachment to the Roman policy. I fully grant that the attempt was ultimately a failure, that the native names outlived the Roman name, that the expansive power of the old Roman idea grew weaker towards the end of the first century, while the spirit of individuality and attachment to national characteristics grew stronger, and that Hadrian consciously and intentionally and wisely modified the Roman idea, so as to bring it more into alliance with the native character in the different countries. But in the time of Paul the old Roman policy was still vigorous, the people of Iconium called their country the Γαλατικὴ Ἐπαρχία (CIG 3991), and it was a mark of loyalty and Roman spirit to use the Roman provincial designation ¹.

Moreover it is highly probable that the inclusion of Iconium and Lystra in Galatia is much older than the creation of the Roman province; and in § 4 the facts are arrayed to show that the district round those cities was organized as one of the twelve divisions of the Galatian state (tetrarchies).

The words of the *Menologion Sirletianum* on Sept. 28 (*hi*

¹ That is of course perfectly consistent with using the city-ethnic, as Paul does to the people of Thessalonica. He would doubtless have addressed the congregation of Antioch alone, as 'Men of Antioch'; but the only common address possible for those of Antioch, Iconium, Derbe, and Lystra, was 'Men of the province Galatia' (see § 6).

*S. Martyres fuerunt sub Diocletiano imp. in urbe Antiochiæ Pisidiæ ex regione Phrygiæ Galaticæ*¹ *sub praeside Magno*) contain the term *Phrygia Galatica*, and are explicable only on the South-Galatian view: this late authority retains a scrap from some early and good authority, written when Antioch was in Phrygia Galatica. Here we find the proof complete in itself, even without any corroboration, that the South-Galatian interpretation of Acts xviii. 23 and xvi. 6 is true to facts, and at the same time a proof of a genuine old martyr-fragment in a late document.

The following identification is doubtful, but it seems to deserve mention. In *CIG* 4006, found at Iconium, Aurelia Rufina of the village Golia or Golie is mentioned. In *CIG* 9764, found at Rome, Dokimos is said to belong to the village Goloe of Little (i. e. as Kirchhoff explains, Asiatic as distinguished from European) Galatia. The two villages are probably the same, and the exact situation was in Lycaonia, in the province Galatia, not very far from Iconium. If this is correct, we have a native of a village near Iconium defining his home simply as in Galatia².

3. GALATAE THE INHABITANTS OF THE ROMAN PROVINCE GALATIA. Now we come to the second question, Could the people of the entire province Galatia be called Galatae? or, in other words, Could the term Galatae be used in the sense 'inhabitants of the province Galatia'? Dr. Schürer, when he abandoned the first line of defence, retired to this one, saying, *Völlig undenkbar scheint es mir, dass Paulus, wenn er an Leute in Pisidien und Lykaonien geschrieben hätte, diese als Γαλάται angeredet haben sollte.*

¹ *Galaciac* in MS.: *Acta Sanctorum*, Sept. 28, p. 563 (where this beautiful antique touch is misunderstood). Some will prefer *Galaticae*.

² I count this example doubtful, not because one need hesitate to identify Golie and Goloe, but because 'Little Galatia' was used occasionally in the years following 396 in the sense of the newly-instituted division Galatia Salutaris (according to its far commoner name). But Kirchhoff is (as I believe) right. The Roman inscription is certainly Christian, and might perhaps be as early as the third century.

When the distinguished historian wrote this sentence, it is difficult to think that he had looked into the evidence¹. I can hardly believe that any one who looks into the facts will deliberately maintain, that in any case where the Romans designated one of their provinces by a single name, they thought themselves debarred from using the derived ethnic to indicate the people of the province. Yet Dr. Blass uses a similar argument, *gravius autem errarunt qui Galatas Pauli intellegi voluerunt Lycaonas, quippe qui a Romanis Galatiae provinciae essent attributi, neque enim (ut mittam alia) ea re ex Lycaonibus Galli facti erant* (xvi. 6). His argument assumes that the word Galatae could not be employed by the Romans except on the ground of hereditary descent from the Gallic invaders of Asia Minor. Neither Dr. Schürer nor Dr. Blass gives any reason for distinguishing Roman usage in this province from their usage in other provinces; and therefore we must suppose that they take the rule as universal for all the provinces, and that they believe that the ethnics connected with the names of Roman provinces were not used except on the ground of blood and descent. As almost every Roman province contained peoples of different stock and race, Dr. Schürer and Dr. Blass seem to be maintaining that the Romans were hardly ever able to express the idea 'inhabitant of a province' except by a circumlocution.

I venture to maintain, on the contrary, that to the Roman mind provincial division outweighed all other considerations such as blood or descent, that the Romans habitually divided their provinces according to convenience of administration with utter disregard of racial limits²; and that they regularly used the ethnic connected with the name of the province to denote the inhabitants of the province, when purposes of classification and definition required such a term.

¹ His expression is noteworthy: he gives no reason and states no corroborating fact.

² Strabo, p. 629, complains of the difficulty caused to the geographer by the Roman disregard for national distinctions, τὸ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μὴ κατὰ φύλα διελεῖν.

I should have thought that any one who considered what was the character of the Roman policy in subject countries would recognize at once the truth of this statement: the Roman classification and the Roman appellation were to be imposed on each Roman province. While it was necessary for the sake of clearness to use the recognized geographical terms on many occasions, yet, in all cases where classification or general definition was intended, the Roman policy prescribed the use of the Roman provincial names. It is involved in this policy that the whole population of a province should be designated by the ethnic derived from the provincial name, and that this designation should overrule all differences of nationality or local pride. The Roman unity was deliberately intended to destroy the old national differences within the province. Thus, for example, the Phoenicians of Carthage despised the natives of Africa, treated them as a conquered and enslaved caste, and scorned the name *African*. But the Roman policy intentionally comprehended all inhabitants of the province Africa under the name *Afri*. So also the Greek cities of Sicily pointedly distinguished themselves from the *Siculi* or native non-Greek tribes of the island; but the Romans classed the entire population for administrative purposes and in general definitions as *Siculi*. Similarly we can have no doubt that the Greeks of the Greek colonies in Spain and Gaul, and the Carthaginians in Spain, prided themselves on their difference in nationality from the native Spanish or Gaulish tribes; but a Roman ruler, or any person who spoke from the Roman point of view, summed all up in the provincial designation. Of course, the distinctions of local pride were long maintained, and often appear even in Roman writers. The same writer, who at one time and from one point of view summed up the population of *Sicilia Provincia* as *Siculi*, would at another time and for another purpose pointedly emphasize the Greek character of the people in Syracuse or Messana.

The following examples, which might easily be multi-

plied¹, justify the use of the proper ethnic in regard to some provinces, where strong diversities of race and name are obvious.

Afri, the whole population of the province Africa; Juvenal, viii. 120; Pliny, *Epist.* ii. 11, 2.

Siculi, the population of Sicily; Cicero, *Verr.* ii. 13, 32, *Att.* xiv. 12, 1.

Hispani, the population of Roman Spain; *saepissime*.

Bithyni, the population of Bithynia; Pliny, *ad Traj.* 79; Gaius, *Instit.* i. 193.

Baetici, the whole population of Hispania Baetica; Pliny, *Epist.* iii. 9 (*et saepe*).

Even *Narbonenses* (though so specially appropriated to the narrow and proper sense, 'citizens of Narbo'), is sometimes used in the wider sense of 'the people of the province Gallia Narbonensis' (e. g. Orosius, i. 2, 62 and 70)².

Now let us take a case where the region which became a Roman province had no unity and no connected geographical consistence, previous to the time when it was made a Roman province.

The Aquitani were only one of a great number of tribes in South-western Gaul; yet a large region, which was made a Roman province, was called after them *Gallia Aquitanica*³. Here we have to deal with a purely Roman unity introduced among a set of diverse tribes. But the name *Aquitania*⁴ was applied to the province; and the name Aquitani was used not only of the single tribe, but also of the whole population of the province. The latter usage gradually became more

¹ I have not tried to find out examples, but simply quote some which are familiar to me, consulting De Vit on *Tarraconensis*, *Lugdunensis*, *Narbonensis*, and some other names.

² De Vit, *Onomast.*, says in reference to the adjoining province *Lugdunenses tum incolae civitatis Lugduni, tum etiam Lugdunensis provinciae*; but his examples (*Vopiscus, Procul.* 13, *Sidon. Ep.* i. 8) are insufficient. He says rightly also, *Narbonenses incolae tum urbis tum provinciae*.

³ Compare the use of *Galaticus* in Φρυγία Γαλατική, Πόντος Γαλατικός, Γαλατική χώρα, Γαλατική ἐπαρχία.

⁴ Compare the use of *Galatia* for the whole province.

common than the old stricter and narrower use. Finally, there occur even such expressions as *Bituriges Aquitani*, though Strabo, p. 191¹, pointedly insists on the diversity of race between the Bituriges and the Aquitani².

The fact is that genealogical terms and ideas were used far more loosely in ancient times than with us; and even so late as the imperial time in the Roman provinces the genealogical fiction tended to grow up. We find the term *ἔθνος* used not merely of the population of Lycia, where diversity of race (though real) was not so patent, but also of the people of Asia who belonged to almost as many and as diverse races as the people of Galatia. An inscription of Ephesus (*Inscr. Brit. Mus.* CCCCLXXXVII) uses the expression τοῦ ἔθνους τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, 'the governors of the province Asia,' just as the Lykiarchai are termed ἀρχοντές τοῦ Λυκίων ἔθνους, 'archons of the population of the province Lycia' (Le Bas and Wadd. no. 1219). Again at Aphrodisias we find the expression ἐν τῇ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔθνει (*CIG* 2802). In fact ἡ Ἀσία τὸ ἔθνος translates the Latin *Asia provincia* (cp. Dion. Cass. liv. 30).

There is one difference between Asia and Galatia: the province Asia had a far longer history than the province Galatia, and there was more time for usage to harden in the case of Asia. But in all other respects these provinces stand in remarkably close analogy to one another: both grew out of a pre-existing kingdom bequeathed to the Romans by its king, and both contained a great number of separate countries and races. And just as the name Galatia in the larger sense failed ultimately to permanently establish itself as a geographical entity, so also did the name Asia fail. When about A.D. 295, the province Asia was broken up after more than

¹ Where he reckons them among *ἔθνη προσκείμενα τοῖς Ἀκκυρανοῖς*.

² The same corps which is sometimes termed *cohors I Biturigum* is at other times termed *cohors I Aquitanorum Biturigum*, i.e. the cohort raised among the inhabitants of the province Aquitania (in the special district of the Bituriges). [The term *cohors I Biturigum* is inferred from *Cohors II Biturigum*; the terms *coh. Aquitanorum*, *coh. Biturigum*, and *coh. Ag. Bit.* are hard to distinguish.]

four centuries of existence, the previous names Lydia, Phrygia, Caria, were at once resumed; and the name 'Asia' died the moment the Roman unity was dissolved; or rather it began a new life as the designation of a new Roman province containing parts of Lydia, and Mysia and Caria, with the Ionian and Aeolic coasts.

It is therefore natural to expect that the provincial name *Galatia* and the ethnic *Galatae*, Γαλάται, should have the same history as *Asia* and *Asianus*; and that their extension should vary exactly according to the limits of the province. Now we find (CIG 6541) Λ. Ἀντωνίου Ἑκκίνθου Λαοδικεῖ τῆς Ἀσίας¹, 'to Lucius Antonius Hyacinthus, a man of Laodicea of Asia,' and in 6626, Οὐαλερία Ὀλυμπιάς, Ἀσιαγῇ ἀπὸ Λαοδικείας, 'Valeria Olympias, an Asian from Laodicea'²; and I do not see how we can resist the evidence that, when a city was reckoned to the province Asia, the inhabitants were entitled to use, and did sometimes use, the ethnic appellation 'Asian.' Those who deny that *Galatae* can be used in the same way as *Asiani* ought to prove their case, and not simply to assume it.

It must be conceded, and in trying to understand the complex political problems of western Asia Minor, it has to be carefully observed, that few cases occur where the natives of Asia apply the Roman expression Ἀσιανός to themselves. There were of course so many more cases where descent and actual birthplace had to be expressed by an individual than those in which his province had to be expressed, that there is not so much opportunity for using Ἀσιανός or Γαλάτης in the provincial sense. But, apart from this, it seems clear that the natives used these terms in the Roman sense chiefly or solely when they were amid Roman surroundings or desired to lay some stress on the Roman idea. When Paul addressed his converts in Iconium, &c. as 'Galatae,' he was speaking as

¹ Cp. CIG 6512 Π. Ἀλφῆνος Μαρτιάλης Λαοδικεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας and CIG 6478 Λαδικὺς (!) τῆς πρὸς Λύκον. These exemplify the many possible variations.

² The woman is so styled by her own family.

a Roman citizen to members of the Roman empire; he was really taking the Roman side in the social, educational, and political problems of the country; and he was giving to the idea of the Universal Church a form which it preserved and made fixed (only too firmly fixed!) in the following centuries¹. Moreover the formal address is to 'the churches of Galatia;' once he slips into the address 'Galatae' in a peculiar apostrophe (see *Church in Rom. Emp.* p. 43).

Since few cases occur where a native of the province Asia calls himself Ἀσιανός (though they are quite enough to prove the usage and show its character), we cannot expect to find many examples of the word Galatae (Γαλάται) applied to the natives of the whole province, which did not last so long as Asia; but there are a few. A single case like Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 6, 5, *Pontica et Galatarum Cappadocumque auxilia*, is a complete answer to the above-quoted statements of Dr. Schürer and Dr. Blass².

Again, St. Gregorius Magnus, *Dialog.* iv. 38³, says, *Est etiam nunc apud nos Athanasius Isauriae presbyter qui in diebus suis Iconii rem terribilem narrat evenire. Ibi namque ut ait quoddam monasterium τῶν Γαλατῶν dicitur, in quo quidam monachus magnae distinctionis habebatur. ἔστι δὲ καὶ νυνὶ παρ' ἡμῖν πρεσβύτερός τις ὀνόματι Ἀθανάσιος ἐκ τῆς χώρας Λυκαονίας γενόμενος πόλεως δὲ τοῦ Ἰκονίου, ὅστις πρᾶγμα φοβερὸν ἐκείσε ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ γεγονέναι διηγείτο οὕτω λέγων ὅτι μοναστήριον αὐτόθι ὑπῆρχε τῶν Γαλατῶν λεγόμενον.* The Greek, as Mr. Predergast says on the authority of Dr. Bright, is a translation made about a century later from the Latin original. Athanasius is described in *Ep.* vi. 66, p. 842 (Migne, iii. 850) as *presbytero monasterii Sancti Mile cui est vocabulum Tamnaco quod in Lycaonia est provincia constitutum.*

¹ See my article in *Expositor*, July, 1895, on *Forms of Classification in Acts*. I hope soon to work out this view in an account of Paul's work in the eastern provinces.

² Cp. *Ann.* xiii. 35, 4 *habiti per Galatiam Cappadociamque dilectus*. In both cases it is beyond doubt that levies from the provinces are described.

³ I am indebted for this reference to Rev. J. M. Predergast, Oxford.

In the time of Gregory Iconium was no longer in the province Galatia, but in Lycaonia (which was constituted a province in A.D. 374); but it seems improbable that a monastery τῶν Γαλατῶν should have been founded near Iconium, unless there had been some recognized connexion between Iconium and the Galatae, and this connexion will be described in § 6.

The κοινὸν Γαλατῶν founded in the time of Augustus was in all probability an association of the whole province in the worship of the emperors and the spirit of loyalty to the state¹. To confine the association to a part of the province would defeat the purpose of Roman policy by recognizing and perpetuating a division. Moreover, it is impossible to suppose that one of the twelve tetrarchies was left out of the *Commune Galatarum*; and I shall in § 6 try to prove that the district of Lystra and Iconium was long recognized as one of the tetrarchies. If this proof is successful, I believe it will have to be admitted that that district formed part of the association which delighted in the name of Galatae. Apollonia, which was situated in the same district as Pisidian Antioch, but still further away from Galatia proper, built a temple similar to that at Ancyra, and engraved on it the

¹ The statements in this paragraph are all mere probabilities: none can as yet be proved on distinct and conclusive evidence of inscriptions; but they are worth making, in order to suggest the direction in which evidence may be sought. It is, however, certain that the Romans often allowed a previously existing κοινόν of part of a province to survive, e. g. in Asia the κοινὸν τῶν ἐγ' πόλεων and the κοινὸν τοῦ Ἑργαλέων πεδίου. The κοινὸν Φρυγίας cannot be quoted as an example. It is argued in my *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, vol. ii. ch. xi (with Mommsen's approval), that the κοινὸν Φρυγίας was a society of Romans resident in Phrygia.

M. Perrot, *Explor. Arch. de la Galatie*, i. p. 199, thinks that the existence of a κοινὸν Λυκαόνων proves the existence of a series of κοινά for each nation. But he has not observed that this κοινὸν Λυκαόνων belongs to a later period, when the *Regnum Antiochi* had been incorporated in the empire; and it is pointed out in my *Histor. Geogr.* p. 377, that the Lycaonian Koinon was probably not instituted until the Triple Eparchy, Cilicia-Isauria-Lycaonia, was formed by Antoninus Pius. This Eparchy is a good example of the difference from 'Galatia': the compound province is always called 'the three Eparchies,' and we find such a phrase as μητρόπολις τῶν γ' ἐπαρχιῶν.

same inscription, viz. the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*. It is probable that this temple was a foundation of the Κοινὸν Γαλατῶν in pursuance of the same patriotic and romanizing scheme as the Ancyran temple.

Again, we have at Apollonia a Greek dedicatory inscription dated probably A.D. 56, in which the dedicant declares his *patris*, i. e. Apollonia, to be in the land of the Galatians. If my interpretation is correct, this inscription is conclusive; but we cannot begin with proper advantage to discuss it until we have gone more carefully into the history of the province Galatia (see § 6).

4. ESTIMATE OF THE DESIGNATIONS, 'LYCAONIAN,' 'PISIDIAN,' &c. The question must be answered by those who take Prof. E. Schürer's side, By what term could Paul address his converts of Iconium, Lystra, &c., collectively, if he was not to term them Galatians? They themselves called the official who was administering them about A.D. 54 'procurator of the Galatic province'¹; by what general term would the procurator address the population under his charge? Surely not as 'Phrygians and Lycaonians and Pisidians and Milyae and Orondeis, and so on.' Dr. Schürer can hardly believe that there was no common designation by which a Roman official could comprehend the provincials under his charge; yet if he denies that the common designation of the provincials was '*Galatae*,' *men of the province*, he asserts that there was not any even theoretical unity in the province, and that it was considered by the Romans themselves to be a mere congeries of alien scraps, whose people they could not designate by any term which included them all and them alone. I cannot believe that Dr. Schürer meant this. He would surely allow that a Roman governor could issue an edict comprehending the whole population of his province as *Galatae*, and excluding all who were not of the province, as Tacitus does *Ann.* xv. 6, 5.

But if the Roman officer and the historian could use the

¹ CIG 3991.

term, why could not the Roman Paul? Was there any other unity under which Derbe and Antioch and Iconium could be summed up except the Roman unity? There was none. Was there any other term by which the Roman unity could be designated in their case except the common province? There was none: they were not *cives Romani*, and therefore they had no footing in the Roman state except as *provinciales*. Do the North-Galatian theorists commit themselves to the declaration that Paul would not write to his four churches as a group, that he would not regard them as a unity? And, if they shrink from that extreme, what unity do they consider that Paul found in them, and by what designation would he bring out that unity?

The North-Galatian theorists ignore Paul's Roman character entirely; they apparently do not even think what must have been his surroundings and upbringing in the house of a Roman citizen, nor how powerful an influence this must have exerted on him. In fact, many of the so-called historical investigations into Paul's life and attitude and views are written by critics who seem not to have realized even the elementary fact that he must have had a Roman *praenomen* and *nomen*, and that *Paulus* was only his *cognomen*. It is quite pardonable in the school of investigation which accepts Paul as essentially a religious personality, known to us by evidence of higher character than ordinary historical documents, to ignore Paul's *civitas*; but among the critics who profess to stand on the platform of pure historical investigation, it is simply astounding to read the disquisitions on his names *Paulus* and *Saul*: I know no treatise on Paul in which even an attempt is made to determine from the inscriptions what was the meaning of the alternative name in eastern provincial society (still less what was the triple aspect, and what meant the triple name, of a person in a grecized province as (1) Roman with *tria nomina*, (2) Greek with a Greek name (usually the cognomen)¹, (3) member of

¹ It must always be borne in mind that the eastern Roman provinces were

an ἔθνος, whether Hebrew or other, with an alternative name).

I formerly asserted, and I now repeat, that, even if Paul had been addressing his Antiochian congregation alone, it would have been an insult to address them as either 'Pisidians' or 'Phrygians'.¹ Dr. Zöckler devotes several pages, 95 f., to the expression of his opinion that my assertion is false, and that it has misled me into extremes which in his estimation are quite extraordinary.

My standpoint is this: the national appellations, *Lycao*, *Phryx*, &c., were essentially extra-Roman, and placed the person thus designated outside the bounds of the Roman state. Thus, for example, they were characteristic names for slaves. The geographical terms, Phrygia, &c., were necessary; but the national appellative was a reproach. Such was the legal and theoretical point of view: in practice there were exceptions, for the Roman empire was as much a natural growth, and shared as much in the necessary illogicalities of development, as the English race. The best way to test my statement is, of course, the epigraphic; and I am fortunately able to avoid the tedium of an examination, by quoting Mommsen. He has examined with his characteristic thoroughness and legal precision the Roman usage in designating soldiers of the *legiones*, the *auxilia*, and the *classarii*, and has laid down the principles regulating the variation between the national designation², *Arabus*, *Afer*, *Cilix*, *Cappadox*, *Dalmata*, recognized by the state as bilingual, Greek being allowed and used as a legal language; hence Greek nomenclature comes in as a complicating element.

¹ I have pointed out that Pisidian Antioch was not a Pisidian city but *ἡ πόλις Πισιδία* (*Church in R. Emp.*, p. 26; *Strab.* pp. 557, 577, who says it was in the country of the Phrygians, p. 569); but Dr. Zöckler still maintains that its inhabitants were Pisidians. In reality there is evidence that the population counted themselves in origin as *Magnetes*, i.e. Greeks; and that the name 'Pisidian' would on this ground also (apart from the pride of a Roman *colonia*) have offended them.

² He expressly recognizes that the national and the provincial designations often have the same form, e.g. *Hermes*, 1884, p. 33 *Keineswegs handelt es sich hier um Angabe der Provinz, wenn auch in manchen Fällen, wie bei Sardus, Corsus, Thrax, Dalmata, Landschaft und Provinz zusammenfallen.*

Grecus, Bithynus, Phryx, Ponticus, Pamphylus, Aegyptius, Libycus, Germanus, Sardus, &c., and the designation either by province or by city (as one of the units¹ composing the province). He points out that in the view of the Roman state and law, the national designation is the servile designation. Hence it is used for the *classiarii*, as those troops were originally servile in character and standing. The designation by city or province or unit underlying the province could not be used for a slave or for a horse, nor in strict usage was it applied to a *classarius*: the slave had no city and no *pater*, and only a geographical designation expresses the place from which he has come: we find race-horses called *Cappadox* and *Afer*, and slaves and *classiarii* called *Afer, Phryx, Syrus, Lycas*².

It may be well to quote a few words from Mommsen, l. c., on this point, as it is a complete justification of my statement which seems so wrong to Dr. Zöckler. *Wenden wir uns dazu, den rechtlichen Werth der Heimathangabe mittelst der Landschaft zu erörtern, so hängt sie ohne Zweifel an der ursprünglichen Unfreiheit der Flottensoldaten (classiarii). Unfreie Leute haben eine Heimath im Rechtssinne nicht: aber die Herkunft als ein factisches Verhältniss wird auch bei den Sklaven angegeben, &c.* (see *Hermes*, 1884, p. 35 f.). He had been guided to this principle by a long examination of facts and details, which he summed up thus, '*Also in dem Kreise des Classiarier hat die Heimathangabe nach der Landschaft ihren eigentlichen Sitz, und hier allein tritt sie als allgemeine und feste Norm auf* (l. c., p. 33).

¹ Where the province was made of cities, a soldier's *domus* was his city, but where a tribe (e.g. Bessi) was recognized as one of the provincial units (i. e. where the Greek organization by cities had not spread), a soldier was necessarily designated by the tribe as *Bessus*. But *Lycas* was not a unit in the province.

² It is of course true that in some cases Roman soldiers are designated, not by their *patria* (city, or other provincial unit as *Bessus*), but by the terms *Syrus, Cilix, Cappadox*: but (1) these are exceptional cases; Mommsen establishes the rule definitely; (2) *Syrus, &c.*, are to be understood as 'belonging to the province Syria' (used perhaps because the *patria* was not known more accurately). But in the servile designation, *Lycas, Phryx, Cilix, Cappadox, &c.*, are the national names, as Mommsen clearly recognizes.

Another way in which the national designations kept a place in Roman usage was in the titles of *cohortes* and *alae* of Paphlagones, Ituraei, and so on. But these were all auxiliary troops, and were therefore styled by extra-Roman names, for they were theoretically soldiers supplied by nations that were in alliance with Rome but not included in the Roman empire: such was their origin, and the names and theory persisted after the nations were incorporated in the empire.

These are the facts in their legal aspect. In practice, of course, the intermediate standing of provincials as not *Romani cives*, as sprung from countries whose names remained necessarily in use, and yet as recognized members of the Roman state, gradually developing by half conscious process towards the Roman citizenship (which they finally attained universally under Caracalla)—that illogical half-developed standing caused inconsistencies and illogicalities in practice. But it is, as we have said, involved in the Roman idea, that the pre-Roman nations were non-Roman and extra-Roman. Slaves, who were non-Roman and extra-Roman, were designated by those national names, but not free citizens (provincials or Romans), nor Roman soldiers in the strict sense. To address the people of a Roman colony like Antiocheia Caesarea or Julia Augusta Gemina Lustra¹ as 'Lycaonians' or 'Phrygians' would have been an insult from a Roman, and a suitable address only from an orator who was attempting to rouse in them national and non-Roman (i. e. anti-Roman) emotions. Nothing could mark more emphatically the *himmelweite* difference between the North-Galatian theory and my point of view on all that concerns Asia Minor, than the words used on this subject by Dr. Zöckler on pp. 95-97. We look at the same thing: he says 'this is black'; I say 'this is white.' On the most fundamental points of the historical questions that were being fought out in the development of Asia Minor

¹ The very spelling *Lustra*, used on coins and inscriptions, is a claim for Latin character: a native city like Prymnessos used the Y even in Latin. Colonia Lustra used Latin in its municipal acts in the first century.

about A. D. 50, we are diametrically in opposition. One or other of us is hopelessly wrong: let the world of scholars decide!

5. HISTORICAL STANDPOINT OF THE NORTH-GALATIAN THEORY.

On the mere point of the difference between geographical and administrative designation our opinions are as different as in other respects. That in geographical points the old names were needed and used by the Romans, I have urged repeatedly: only in administrative and classificatory respects were the Roman terms used or useful. But Dr. Zöckler, p. 95, appeals to *CIL* 312 and 318 in such a way as to suggest that in them Caesennius Gallus 80-82 A. D. is designated as governor of a series of countries on a milestone. That is not the case. Gallus speaks about *vias provinciarum Galatiae, Cappadociae, Ponti, Pisidiae, Paphlagoniae, Lycaoniae, Armeniae Minoris*. If he had merely mentioned the roads 'in the (united) provinces Galatia-Cappadocia' (see above, p. 23), he would have given no conception of the extent of his road-making operations, for the roads on the single route from Amasia to Tavium might be rightly called *Vias provinciarum Galatiae Cappadociae*. Here, if anywhere, geographical terms are needed; and we do not begin to realize the vast scale of these engineering works, until we read the sequel, *Ponti, Pisidiae, Paphlagoniae, Lycaoniae, Armeniae Minoris*.

Much can be learned from epigraphic evidence, if we begin by understanding properly the rule, and then scrutinize minutely the apparent exceptions, which will always be found (when carefully studied) to make the rule more precise and luminous. We must, however, cling hard to the single aim of understanding the inscriptions, and not merely turn over the pages of the *Corpus* in search of evidence to demolish an opposition theory. But, apparently, to the North-Galatian theorists an inscription is an inscription and it is nothing more. They do not seem to me to see the inscription in its surroundings and accompaniments as a piece of history, nor to recognize the adaptation of words and names to the

situation ; while I seem to them to drive a vain prejudice through all obstacles¹. It is, however, a little hard that Dr. Zöckler should declare that there is no evidence in my favour. One expects that the North-Galatian critics would have familiarized themselves with Mommsen's dissertations on the subject (*Hermes*, 1884, 1-79, 210-234, and *Ephem. Epigraph.* v. 159-249). It is expected that the controversialists who judge questions of Roman history should be familiar with Mommsen before they criticize and condemn the opinions of others ; and give some reason beyond subjective opinion for the condemnation. I may venture to prophecy that some critic will hereafter censure me for having adopted Mommsen's views on the Roman feeling towards national names without due acknowledgement. As is stated in my preface, I have merely applied to early Christian history the principles which I have learned from Mommsen beyond all others.

A serious and unpleasant difficulty faces me from the outset, especially in the case of Dr. Zöckler, whose courteous and graceful tone in controversy deserves the most cordial and grateful acknowledgement on my side. My case rests on the belief that all my adversaries' arguments are founded on misconceptions about an obscure and remote country, and that the case is clear as noon-day when one understands the words of the historians and geographers. It is very distasteful to me to say in regard to sentence after sentence that 'this statement derives its plausibility entirely from a misunderstanding of some authorities, and an omission of others.' Some German critics of my *Historical Geography* keenly resented two features in it, (1) the strictures on errors made in German works, (2) the want of acknowledgement of what had been rightly said by previous German writers. If I corrected some error of a predecessor, that showed my malignity ; if I passed his error unnoticed, that showed

¹ *Man sieht, wohin das übermässig zähe Festhalten an einer vorgefassten Meinung führen kann !* says Dr. Zöckler, p. 95.

my disposition to borrow without acknowledgement¹. If I now make any reply I shall only give further occasion for such criticism. Let me say that in the young German travellers, Buresch, Wilhelm, and many others, I find constant help, a full recognition of the difficulties of the subject, and a survey of the authorities from a proper point of view, which often guides others to results beyond those contemplated by the writer. But these qualities, which are conspicuous in other parts of the work of my North-Galatian opponents, desert them in Asia Minor, because they do not recognize that the subject is difficult and has changed completely in recent years; and they write with the prejudice of early ideas biasing their judgement. I regret to have to say this; but it is fundamental in the case, and, if I discuss the question, I must point it out. I can only assure the North-Galatian theorists that I do not estimate their other work by what seem to me to be the faults of their arguments, when they tread the soil of Asia Minor. In Asia Minor they seem to me, in the attempt to prop up their fundamental mistake about Galatia, to be led on to further and worse mistakes. Such a statement requires examples: I will give a specimen or two at random.

On p. 78 Dr. Zöckler says, that *Josephus* (*Jüd. Alt.* xvi. 6, 2) *für Ancyra das Wohnen von Juden daselbst direct bezeugt*. That is one of the old-fashioned tralaticious blunders, handed on from commentator to commentator on *Acts*, until the dawn of modern scholarship; but I did not expect to find it drawn forth in the year 1894; no weapon, however, is too rusty for the North-Galatian theorist, and this one appears not merely in Dr. Zöckler's article, but in the index to Dr. Schürer's *Gesch. des Jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* (1890), i. p. 690.

¹ If any one thinks this is an unfair account, let him read the forty-six columns of *Berliner Philolog. Wochenschrift*, 1891, that are devoted to the book, by a writer whose sad death this spring is deplored by every one, and by me as much as any. I had never the advantage of seeing Prof. G. Hirschfeld, but we exchanged a few letters in the course of years; and in Feb. 1884, only the length of a journey from Berlin to Königsberg prevented me from going to meet him.

If we take two of the fundamental books that every scholar who ventures to write a page about Asia Minor is expected to know and to use, Mommsen's *Monumentum Ancyranum*, 1883, p. x, and Waddington's *Fastes de la province d'Asie*, p. 102, we find a very different treatment of the passage (perhaps too bold in Waddington).

It is rather absurd to waste time and paper in 1895 in stating the facts; but one may ask the North-Galatians (who almost all¹ quote the passage) how the words ἐν ἐπισημοτάτῳ τόπῳ γενηθέντι μοι (i. e. to Augustus) ὑπὸ τοῦ Κοινοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐν Ἀργύρῃ (where Scaliger alters the text to Ἀγκύρῃ and some more recent critics to Ἀγκύρα) can be understood of Ancyra in Galatia. How could the *Commune Asiae* build a temple to Augustus in the capital of Galatia? If Scaliger's alteration were accepted, we should have to understand that the Phrygian Ancyra was meant; but Chishull, followed by every one who studies Asia Minor, recognized that Scaliger was wrong.

It is not surprising that the North-Galatian theorists, starting from such vague conceptions as to the activity of the *Commune Asiae* in Galatia, reach false conclusions about the direction of Paul's journeys and the names of his hearers. Even Lightfoot, who is usually so accurate, quotes this passage of Josephus: 'in the generation before St. Paul Augustus directed a decree, granting especial privileges to the Jews to be inscribed in his temple at Ancyra, the Galatian metropolis.'

Throughout his whole article Dr. Zöckler makes the impression, not of using his knowledge of Asia Minor to judge a difficult question, but of having decided the question and then gone to look in Asia Minor records for proofs to support his decision. Hence he sees only what seems to agree with his decision. There can I think be no other reason why he makes some of the statements which vex me so often. Let me take just one of his opening principles, which is perhaps

¹ I must except Lipsius, who is correct on this point: see his edition of *Galatians*, p. 1, in the *Handkommentar zum N. T.*

the most fundamental point in his reasoning. He says (p. 56), *Läge dieser lukanische Bericht über ein erstmaliges Gelangen Pauli nach der 'Galatischen Landschaft' für sich allein vor, so hätte ein Zweifel daran, dass Nordgalatien hier in Rede stand, niemals sich bilden können. Die Sachlage ist so klar als nur möglich: wie Φρυγία, 'Ασία, Μυσία, Βιθυνία Landschaftsnamen und nicht politische Administrativbezeichnungen sind, ganz ebenso muss Γαλατική χώρα aufgefasst werden.* If his statement about Φρυγία, 'Ασία, &c., were right, it would be almost conclusive! But he assumes three false premises, which contain his desired result implicit.

(1) The single phrase 'Galatische Landschaft,' so far from being in his favour, seems to me (as stated in my book, p. 80) dead against him. Dr. Zöckler's adversary had founded his strongest argument on that special phrase; and Dr. Zöckler, without meeting or even alluding to the argument, founds his opening argument on the assertion that that phrase is entirely in his own favour. That may be a telling forensic stroke; but, when used by a scholar, it rather takes one aback, and is hard to reply to.

(2) 'Ασία is the name of a Roman province: on what ground does Dr. Zöckler say that it is not an administrative term? Further than this, I say that in every case where 'Asia' is mentioned by Strabo or by Pliny or by Ptolemy or by Tacitus, it means the Roman province or a region more extensive than the Roman province, and not, as Dr. Zöckler assumes, one that is narrower than the province. In my book the possibility is conceded that Asia might be used in *Acts* in the narrow sense; to this concession it must now be added that I have failed to find any example of that narrower use in writers of the period¹. Ptolemy contrasts τὴν μεγάλην Ἀσίαν the continent with τὴν ἰδίαν Ἀσίαν (also τὴν ἰδίως καλουμένην Ἀσίαν) the province (and he uses Ἀσίαν simply to indicate the province in several places, e.g. v. 4, 1; v. 5, 1). Strabo has

¹ An example is quoted by Strabo, p. 627, from Demetrius of Skepsis, 'ράχα γὰρ ἡ Μιθρία,' φησίν, 'Ἀσία ἐλέγετο.' That example is not strong.

the same contrast between Asia the continent¹ and 'Ἀσίαν ἰδίως λεγομένην' (p. 577) the province (using 'Ἀσίαν simply to indicate the province on pp. 624, 628)². The same contrast appears in Pliny³, and in all the prose writers of the time whom I have consulted. The meanings 'continent' and 'province' are therefore the only ones possible in *Acts*, if we go by the analogy of contemporary writers. The former, of course, cannot be thought of in *Acts*: the latter is purely administrative; it cannot be traced earlier than the Roman province, and it ended the moment that the Roman province was dissolved. It arose in Roman usage, which designated Attalus's kingdom as 'Asia'; and it forced itself into Greek use only very slowly. I am ashamed to take the position of teaching scholars far better than myself such elementary facts as this. Sound scholarship is conspicuous in Dr. Zöckler's work (from which I have learned much); and only the distorting influence of a fundamental error could have led him to some of the statements which he makes about Galatia. But even the best scholarship cannot give sound reasons for a false theory⁴.

With regard to the narrow sense of 'Asia' as the Aegean coast, which I allowed in my book to be possible, I find no examples in authors of this period. De Vit in his *Onomasticon* speaks of it thus: *Strab. 14 init. specialiter Asiam vocat Ioniam ubi Ephesus sita fuit. Hinc et in Novo Testamento hoc nomine saepe Ionia venit, ut Luc. Act. xvi. 6, coll. ii. 9, vi. 9, xix. 10, xx. 16, etc., 1 Cor. xvi. 19, 2 Cor. i. 8, 1 Pet. i. 1, Apocal. i. 4 et 11.* Among De Vit's examples I find none

¹ 'Ἀσίαν προσαγορεύσαντες ὁμόνυμον τῇ ἡπείρῳ, calling the province Asia with the same name as the continent, p. 624. In one case, p. 126, he seems to use 'Asia' in the sense of what we would now call Asia Minor.

² 'Ἀσία in Strabo, p. 618, is doubtful, but without other confirmation it must be taken in the usual sense. 'Ἀσίην, p. 634, I take in the narrowest sense, but Mimnermus is the writer, not Strabo.

³ Except in one curious passage, noticed below.

⁴ Dr. Zöckler's countryman Forbiger, in his *Alte Geogr.*, speaks quite sensibly about Asia, whereas my countryman, Cramer, writes vaguely and inaccurately. Kiepert, in his *Manual of Ancient Geography*, makes only few references to Asia, but all correct (I assume his index to be complete).

that support him¹. 'Asia' occurs twice in the first ten pages of Strabo's *Lib.* xiv : in one case we have ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἀβυδὸν Ἀρισβαν Παισόν, where it is too ridiculous to make it mean 'Ionia'; in the other τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου, i.e. 'Asia on this side Taurus,' which is larger than the province Asia. The usage of *Acts* is in dispute. If any one maintains that 'Asia' in 1 Cor. xvi. 19, 1 Pet. i. 1, Apocal. i. 4 and 11 means Ionia, it is vain to argue with him.

Of course the poets are not included in my survey. We speak of the usage of prose authors.

It need hardly be added that in the inscriptions of Ionia, Lydia, Caria, Phrygia, in the early centuries of our era, the term 'Asia' often occurs, and regularly in the sense of the province. But the North-Galatian theorists insist that the language of *Acts* is not like that current in the country; and the odd thing is that they insist upon it as a self-evident and axiomatic fact, that the author of *Acts* must have used his terms in his own unexampled way, and they never dream of supporting their contention by quoting any similar usage (except Pliny v. 28 [102]).

We must consider the hard passage of Pliny, v. 28 (102), which Blass on *Acts* xvi. 6-8 considers to warrant the conclusion that 'Asia' ordinarily denotes *Mysiam, Ioniam, Lydiam, Cariam, Phrygia tamen exclusa*. They run thus, 'from Telmessos (begins)² the Asiatic or Carpathian Sea and Asia in the strict sense. Agrippa divided it (i.e. Asia) into two parts: one of these parts he enclosed on the east by Phrygia, Lycaonia, on the west by the Aegean Sea, on the south by the Egyptian Sea, on the north by Paphlagonia . . . The other he marked off on the east by Armenia Minor, on the west by Phrygia, Lycaonia, Pamphylia, on the north by the Pontic Province, on the south by the Pamphylian Sea.' This is hard to understand on any theory. Blass understands that the first part was ordinarily called 'Asia,' and that it

¹ Dion Cassius, 38, 38, speaks of the country described by De Vit, but can only indicate it by a circumlocution: ἡ Ἀσία ἢ περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν.

² Pliny, v. 101, quae Lyciam finit Telmessos.

contained Mysia, Ionia, Lydia, Caria: he does not explain how this part can be bounded by Paphlagonia, nor how Phrygia can be a boundary of both parts (surely if it bounds the one, it must be in the other). To be brief about a passage that would need a long discussion¹, it may be said that Pliny seems here to give a confused account derived from an authority who distinguished the province Asia (*quae proprie vocatur Asia*) as bounded on the east by Phrygia Galatica, Lycaonia, [Galatia], on the north by Paphlagonia, [Bithynia], from Asia in the sense of Asia Minor; and that Pliny's first part is the provinces Asia and Lycia and Pamphylia and Bithynia taken together and badly defined, and his second part is got by subtracting this from Asia in the sense of Asia Minor. But I see no possibility of taking either part in the sense of Mysia, Ionia, Lydia, Caria, as Dr. Blass assumes.

(3) Bithynia was both a *Landschaftsname* and a *politische Administrativbezeichnung*: and its extent in the former sense is nearly the same as in the latter. Dr. Zöckler assumes as self-evident that *Acts* uses it in the former. I have argued in *Expositor*, July, 1895, that *Acts* uses it in the latter. At any rate I have given reasons: Dr. Zöckler assumes.

(4) Phrygia has two uses in *Acts* and elsewhere. It is sometimes a great country, part in Asia and part in Galatia; at other times it is used, either as a noun, or as an adjective with *χώρα*, in the sense of *Phrygia Galatica*. Dr. Zöckler surely does not deny the second use as a noun in such inscriptions as *CIL* iii. 312 and 318, which he quotes.

6. THE LYCAONIAN TETRARCHY. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, v. 95, says²: 'The Pisidians are bounded by the Lycaonia [i. e. that part of Lycaonia] which looks to the jurisdiction of the

¹ Strabo, p. 126, may be used to illustrate it. He there uses *Asia* almost exactly in the sense in which we use *Asia Minor*, and says *καλοῦμεν Ἀσίαν ταύτην ἰδίως καὶ ὀνομάζομεν τῇ ὅλῃ*.

² *Hos* [i. e. *Pisidas*] *includit Lycaonia in Asiaticam iurisdictionem versa, cum qua conveniunt Philomelienses, Tymbriani, Leucolithi, Pelteni* (!), *Tyrienses* (!) [*vv. ll. Peltheni, Pateni, Tirienses, Titienses, Hyrienses, Datien-ses*]. *Datur et tetrarchia ex Lycaonia, qua parte Galatiae contermina est,*

province Asia [i. e. is classed under the Asian jurisdiction], in the same conventus with which are the people of Philomelion and of Tymbrion, the Leucolithi, the Pelteni, the people of Tyriaion: from Lycaonia also, on the side which adjoins Galatia, a tetrarchy is furnished, containing fourteen cities, the most famous being Iconium. Of Lycaonia proper (as distinguished from Asian Lycaonia and the Tetrarchy), the famous cities are Thebasa in Taurus, Hyde on the frontier of Galatia and Cappadocia.'

In this passage it is plain that Pliny distinguishes three separate divisions of Lycaonia, (1) a part assigned to the province Asia, belonging to the conventus of Philomelion¹, (2) the Tetrarchy, containing Iconium and thirteen other cities, conterminous with Galatia proper, (3) Lycaonia strictly so called², containing Thebasa and Hyde.

What was this Lycaonian Tetrarchy³? We can hardly doubt that it was nearly equivalent to the part of Lycaonia that was assigned to Amyntas, and afterwards made part of the Roman Empire (while Lycaonia *ipsa* was given to Archelaus, and afterwards to Antiochus)⁴. But why should

civitatum XIV, urbe celeberrima Iconio. Ipsius Lycaoniae celebrantur Thebasa in Tauro, Hyde in confinio Galatiae atque Cappadociae. A latere autem eius super Pamphyliam veniunt Thracum suboles Milyae quorum Arycanda oppidum. In the last sentence *eius* must refer back to *Pisidia*, which is understood from *Pisidae* in 94. The account of Lycaonia is taken as parenthetical, being merely a statement of the boundary of Pisidia. It is impossible to understand that Pliny was so far wrong in his topography as to put the Milyae on the border of Lycaonia.

¹ Apparently he is here led into some error by the fact that a people called Lycaones were settled in the eastern parts of central Phrygia. In an inscription this people is distinguished as *Λυκάονες πρὸς ἑνδον*. If any part of the country usually called Lycaonia was included in the province Asia, it must have been Tyriaion, which Pliny mentions in addition to Asian Lycaonia (if the text of Sillig be correct; but for my own part I am inclined to read *Tilyassenses*).

² I take the exact force of *Lycaonia ipsa* to be the country which actually bears the name Lycaonia, as distinguished from the part called Galatic and the part called Asiatic.

³ In the following investigation it is distinguished as 'the Tetrarchy,' from the ordinary Galatian tetrarchies.

⁴ To Archelaos 20 B. C.; to Antiochus 37 A. D. See § 7.

this part of Lycaonia be called 'the Tetrarchy'? There are only two possible explanations of this name (so far as I can judge). The first would be that the Romans gave this title to the part of Lycaonia which was included in the province. Now, as is perfectly well-known, the idea of Tetrarchies was a peculiarly Galatian institution; and if the Romans gave to part of their province the name Tetrarchy, they must have applied the peculiar Galatian organization to that part of the province, and made it Galatian in the strictest sense. That would suit the South-Galatian theory excellently; but I cannot think it is probable.

There is no reason to think that the Roman province was organized according to tetrarchies; rather the scanty evidence leads us to think that the tetrarchies were disused when the province was instituted, and that the use of the term indicates a pre-Roman institution. We must, I think, prefer the second explanation—that the Lycaonian Tetrarchy originated in the pre-Roman period, i.e. the Lycaonian Tetrarchy conterminous with Galatia proper was one of the twelve Galatian tetrarchies, four of which composed the territory of each of the three tribes.

Now it is clear that this Lycaonian Tetrarchy was not part of the original Galatian territory, for in that case it would have been merged in North Galatia, whereas clearly it was distinguished from Galatia; and moreover, Pliny implies that a Tetrarchy was given or added (*datur*) out of Lycaonia to an already existing Galatia. The Tetrarchy must therefore have been a later conquest, made after the term Galatia had become fixed in a precise geographical sense.

Other reasons also point to the conclusion that the Lycaonian Tetrarchy was conquered by the Galatians at a comparatively late period. It is clear that the conquest had not taken place in 190 B.C., for Lycaonia is mentioned as one of the countries which had belonged to Antiochus, and were transferred to Eumenes¹; and it would be absurd to assign

¹ In the *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (1895), pp. 285, 351, I have

Lycaonia to Eumenes, if the Tetrarchy belonged to the Galatians. Moreover, it is clear that the road across Lycaonia was in the hands of the Seleucid kings of Syria, whose armies marched back and forward over it: in fact, the Seleucid empire in Asia Minor was impossible, unless that road was under their power and in their territory. Their kingdom would have been severed into two practically unconnected parts, if the Tetrarchy had been conquered by the Galatians.

Further, the very names of the cities along the Great Eastern Highway, Apameia, Lysias, Laodiceia Katakekaumene, show that the route was guarded by foundations of the Seleucid kings.

The conclusion is, therefore, certain: the Lycaonian Tetrarchy had not been conquered by the Galatians in 190 B.C.

The history of central Asia Minor in the century that followed the peace and the redistribution of power in 190 B.C. is most obscure. Lycaonia was assigned to Eumenes, according to Livy and Polybius; but there is not the slightest evidence that the Pergamenian kings ever ruled it. A vast territory had been suddenly assigned to them, and it is obvious that they must have found some difficulty in establishing their power over it¹. Lycaonia was in no way useful for the maintenance of their empire, as it had been for the Seleucid kings; and it was not a specially desirable or defensible country in itself, consisting chiefly of open, flat plains. Moreover, it is certain that Eumenes was involved in frequent wars with the Galatae, and that he was not loyally supported by the Romans, who were rather jealous of his growing strength and success. In fact, the Romans on the whole rather prevented him from vigorously prosecuting the war

hesitated about the reading and the history of this episode, and have left the question open; but the following investigation shows that the reading *Lycaonia* must be right in Livy xxxvii. 54, 11, and Polyb. xxii. 5, 14; though there is still a possibility (but no more) that it is wrong in Livy xxxviii. 39, 16, and Polyb. xxii. 27, 10.

¹ See *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 259.

against the Galatae. His earlier wars indeed from 190 to 170 were more successful; he conquered the Galatae, and obtained some regular and acknowledged rights over them¹; the altar of Zeus the Saviour, with its magnificent sculptures (now at Berlin), was built to commemorate his victories; and Galatian horsemen served in his armies². But this fair prospect was clouded over, owing to Roman jealousy. The selfish policy of the Republic did not desire a powerful king in Asia; its aim was to let the states of Asia wear themselves out in mutual warfare. Hence it began to favour the Galatae; and when in 167 they had penetrated into the Pergamene kingdom as far as Synnada, a Roman envoy pretended to order them to retire, and reported that they despised his orders. The difficulties in which Eumenes was involved became more serious, and in the years that preceded his death he was involved in frequent wars with the Galatae. It is highly probable that some of the tales of depredations committed by the Gauls in Asia must be referred to this period.

We have then to answer the question, what was the fate of Lycaonia during this period? Although there is no direct evidence, we can hardly doubt that it was plundered and overrun by the Galatae; and the fact seems certain that Lycaonia, which was assigned to Eumenes in 190, was not in the territory bequeathed by Attalus III to the Romans in 133. We must, I think, conclude that the western and north-western part of Lycaonia passed into the hands of the Galatae soon after 167, and was made one of the Tetrarchies.

In the next place, can we determine to which of the three tribes, Tolistobogii, Tectosages, or Trocmi, the new Lycaonian Tetrarchy belonged? It is obvious that, if all the tribes together, or one of the complete tribes, had seized this part

¹ Livy xlv. 20 speaks of the war in 167 B. C. as *Gallorum defectionem*.

² Livy xlv. 13 *equites Gallos, quos secum adduxerat*. See Van Gelder, *Galatarum res in Graecia et Asia*, p. 260 f., to whom I am much indebted in this investigation. He has collected all the authorities, and used them excellently.

of Lycaonia, we should not expect that the territory would be constituted a distinct new tetrarchy, but rather that it should be incorporated as additional land in the existing tetrarchies, whose number was fixed. There is apparently only one way in which the new territory could have become one of the tetrarchies, viz. if one of the tribes had lost part of its land and the new territory replaced the lost land. Now, when the Galatae were pressing so hard on the Pergamenian kingdom to the west, it is unlikely that the western tribe, Tolistobogii, or the central tribe, Tektosages, would lose part of their land. But the tribe on the east, Trocmi, were hard pressed by their neighbours, both of Pontus and of Cappadocia. They are more likely to have required new land for a tetrarchy, in compensation for losses on the east. Let us scrutinize the few recorded facts.

Pharnaces, king of Pontus before 183 and at least as late as 169, pressed very hard on the countries west of him¹. As Van Gelder says, 'it seems probable that Pharnaces had held Galatia either as subject or as allied since 185'; and in 183 an envoy was sent from Rome to make an arrangement between Eumenes and Pharnaces. But, in spite of this and other Roman embassies and the agreements they patched up, war continued for some years to rage between Pharnaces on the one side, and Eumenes and Ariarathes king of Cappadocia on the other. In this war part at least of the Galatae were on the side of Pharnaces. But Eumenes and Ariarathes gained the advantage in 181, and would have certainly punished Pharnaces, had not the Romans interfered and declared that they would themselves arrange peace—one of the first overt symptoms of their growing jealousy of Eumenes. Their orders and negotiations produced no result; and in 180 and 179 the allied kings Eumenes and Ariarathes seem to have had their own way unimpeded, and a peace was concluded in 179, one of the conditions of which was that

¹ The ensuing paragraph is practically an abstract of what Van Gelder says, *Galatarum res in Graecia et Asia* (Amsterdam, 1888), p. 257 f.

Pharnaces should evacuate Galatia, and that all arrangements which he had made with them should be void.

Whether or not Pharnaces succeeded either at this moment or later in retaining some part of the Galatian territory (which could only be in the Trocmian country), certain it is that a few years later, in 164 as we learn from Polybius, the Trocmi were making constant but unsuccessful efforts to wrest some territory from Ariarathes. These efforts imply that their country had become too narrow for them; and the hypothesis which seems to suit all the facts is that part of their country had been seized either by Pharnaces, or by Ariarathes, or both; and that after vainly trying to extend themselves to the south into Cappadocia, they directed their efforts to the southwest and occupied part of Lycaonia.

According to Van Gelder, p. 274, the dispute between Ariarathes and the Trocmi as to the territory on the frontier was decided in 160 in favour of the Cappadocian king; and our hypothesis leads us to the conclusion that the Lycaonian territory, already overrun frequently by the Galatae in their long wars against Eumenes, and prostrate before them, was then made a part of the Galatian state, and the Lycaonian Tetrarchy was constituted as the fourth Trocmian Tetrarchy.

This inference, which possesses plausibility and a certain degree of probability, is raised to a very much higher level in historical reasoning by the evidence of an inscription, which hitherto has not been correctly understood. It belongs to Apollonia, a city in that part of Phrygia which was incorporated in the province Galatia, and which previously had been in the kingdom of Amyntas; and it is dated in the year 247 of an era whose beginning is uncertain¹. A certain Sagaris placed this inscription on an altar, which he dedicated to the king of the gods as a thanksgiving, because Zeus had saved his oxen during a famine and preserved the lives of men (i.e. the owners), and brought him

¹ Perhaps 190; see below. The inscription is published by M. Waddington as no. 1192 in *Le Bas's Voyage Archéologique*, &c. vol. iii.

safe to his fatherland, the country of the Galatae, and given his son honour among the Troemi.

7 καὶ βόας ἐρρύσω, ψυχὰς δὲ βροτῶν ἐσά[ωσας,
καὶ Γαλατῶν γαίης ἡγάγεσ ἐς πατρίδα,
ὡς τ' ἐμὸν κύδην ἐν Τρόκμοις ζαθέουσι·

10 τοῦνεκεν οὐ μέγα δῶρον ἐγὼ τὸν βωμὸν ἔθηκα.

It seems not open to doubt that the *πατρίς* which is here meant is the country where Sagaris erected the altar. It is irrational to suppose that he erected in a distant foreign land an offering of gratitude to the god who brought him to his own fatherland. The altar is therefore a clear proof that this city of the province Galatia might be styled by a citizen 'his home among the Galatae¹,' i.e. 'his home in the province of Galatia': to it Zeus brought him back in safety when he travelled, and in it he made his thank-offering, and there his son gained a good position among the Troemi.

Apollonia then ranked as a city of the Galatae Troemi at the time when this inscription was composed. There is no way in which it could be classed to the Troemi, except through its contiguity to the Lycaonian Tetrarchy: we must suppose that the part of Phrygia round Apollonia was added to the Tetrarchy, and thus became part of the territory of the Troemi; and a citizen of Apollonia who attained distinction might be said to gain glory among the Troemi.

It would be of some importance to determine the date of this inscription. Unfortunately this is uncertain. The year 247 is given on the stone; but the era is uncertain. Waddington suggests doubtfully the Phrygian era 85-4 B.C.; but it seems improbable that a city of the province Galatia could have reckoned from the era of Sulla's reorganization of Asia. Moreover this inscription seems to me (so far as one can judge from a printed epigraphic copy) to be hardly so late as A.D. 162-3, which Waddington's conjecture would make it. The possibility may be suggested that

¹ One's native city is one's *πατρίς* according to the regular usage.

Apollonia dated from the era of freedom 190 B.C., when it was released from the yoke of the Seleucid kings. It was then assigned to Eumenes; but there is much doubt whether it ever became really subject to Pergamos¹. The same era 190 was used at Ariassos for the same reason². Our inscription would then date A.D. 57; and the famine referred to would be the dearth 'throughout all the world, which came to pass in the days of Claudius' (Acts xi. 28). That famine raged in Jerusalem in 46, in Rome in 51; but the inscription seems to imply that the dedicator made a journey after (or on account of) the famine, and erected the thank-offering after his safe return to his own land. This is, of course, all uncertain: further evidence is needed. The only other dated inscription of the Apollonian valley, Sterrett, *Wolfe Exped.* no. 539, affords no evidence: it suits either era, 85 or 190³. Further, subsequent history forces us to the conclusion that, if Lycaonia did become a Tetrarchy, the change is not likely to have occurred much later than 160. It seems clear that, at some period during the following thirty years, Galatia was conquered by the kings of Pontus. In 129 the Roman proconsul, Manius Aquillius, sold Phrygia Magna to Mithridates V, king of Pontus; and, as Van Gelder, p. 277, points out⁴, it would be absurd for the Pontic king to covet Phrygia, if the vast independent country of Galatia lay between his own dominions and Phrygia. The fact that Mithridates ruled Phrygia until his death in 120

¹ G. Hirschfeld made Apollonia a Pergamenian foundation: but he does not take into account that, if Apollonia had been a Pergamenian city, it would have been included in the province Asia. The coins (of the Imperial period) honour Alexander as Founder; and Hirschfeld gives no good reason for discrediting their authority as to its Macedonian (i.e. Seleucid) origin.

² See my *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 352.

³ It must be acknowledged that in an inscription of Conana, twelve miles south of Apollonia (Sterrett, 472), the era 190 is impossible on account of the *praenomen* Aur., which occurs twice; the era there used is quite uncertain.

⁴ But the words used by Van Gelder, p. 277, are rather loose and inaccurate, 'Galatae, cum exigua iis esset terra.' The writer of these words seems not to have kept his eye on the map, or only to have looked at a small map.

implies that he also ruled Galatia. There is every probability that the Galatae, though sometimes independent, were usually subject to Pontus from this time onwards until the final defeat of Mithridates VI and the reorganization of central and eastern Asia Minor and Syria by Pompey in 65. They could not at this time conquer Lycaonia: it is more probable that the Tetrarchy now became subject to Pontus. Thus a connexion was established between Pontus and the Tetrarchy, which seems to have persisted for nearly a century, so far as we can judge from the scanty records. In 74 B.C. Eumachus, the general of Mithridates VI, conquered the Pisidians and Isaurians, and the country of Cilicia. This seems a senseless account, unless we understand that Lycaonia was already under the Pontic power, for the campaigns against the other countries would have to be made from Lycaonia as basis of operations.

7. My hope was in this article to bring down the history of the province Galatia to the middle of the first century after Christ; but already the allotted limits are more than exhausted. The chief points that remain are these: (1) The activity and direction of Roman policy on the south-eastern frontier of Galatia: this needs a long discussion, as it involves several obscure and doubtful points. (2) The boundary of Galatia on the south-east: it may be said briefly that both Derbe and Laranda were incorporated in the province in A.D. 25; that probably, but not certainly, both Derbe and Laranda were included in the Realm of Antiochus, formed in A.D. 37 but very soon dissolved¹; and that Derbe was retained in the province, and Laranda assigned to Antiochus, when his Realm was restored to him by Claudius in A.D. 41. (3) The organization and subdivisions of Southern Galatia: there were probably certain *Regiones*, called in Greek *χωραι*,

¹ There is no evidence what were the bounds of Caligula's gift to Antiochus, unless Ptolemy's description be interpreted about it (as is done in my *Histor. Geogr.* p. 373): Ptolemy's description is not true of Claudius's gift, but the *Regnum Antiochi*, as restored by Claudius, was probably smaller than Caligula's gift.

viz. (a) Pisidia, (b) Isauria (Ἰσαυρικὴ [χώρα] in Strabo, p. 569), (c) Phrygia Galatica (as distinguished from Phrygia Asiana, called Φρυγία χώρα in Acts xviii. 23, and Φρυγία καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώρα in Acts xvi. 6, (d) Lycaonia Galatica (as distinguished from Lycaonia Antiochiana, called ἡ Γαλατικὴ χώρα [τῆς Λυκαονίας] in Acts xviii. 23). The fourth *Regio* included two cities, Claudio-Derbe and Colonia Lystra, with a stretch of cityless territory organized on the Anatolian village-system¹. The term *Regio* was used as a Roman governmental term to indicate certain subdivisions of the vast province Galatia; for an Antiochian inscription² mentions a ἑκατοντάρχην ῥεγεωνάριον, i. e. a centurion who had certain duties extending over a *Regio* of which Antioch was the centre: according to our interpretation this *Regio* is the χώρα mentioned in Acts xiii. 49 and xvi. 6.

But though I cannot print the second half of my paper here, I trust that enough has been already said to prove that only through the general ignorance which prevails about that obscure and remote province could it have appeared inconceivable to any one³ that the inhabitants of Antioch, Iconium, Derbe, and Lystra should be summed up as 'Galatae.' Probably that line of defence will not be maintained; but the question will in future take the form, which interpretation, out of two that are conceivable and possible, suits best the words of Acts and of Paul?

On that question four brief remarks may here be made. (1) Dr. Zöckler, p. 89, represents me as saying that the old names Pisidia, Lycaonia, &c., passed out of use, and that Paul and Luke *must* use the Roman names only. I never made nor implied either of these statements: and it is only because Dr. Zöckler has not yet made his mind quite clear as to the facts about Asia Minor that he could have attributed such

¹ On the nature of that system I may refer to *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. pp. 10, 103 f., 124 f., &c.

² The inscription is published by Sterrett, *Epigr. Journey*, No. 92. He wrongly alters his copy to read [λ]εγεωνάριον.

³ For example to Dr. Schürer as quoted on p. 26 above.

meaning to my words. As a matter of fact Luke has never used Γαλατία in the sense of the province Galatia: he has never used the word at all, but has *avoided* it. The adjective Γαλατικός alone is used by him, and its sense is made clear by the inscription *CIG* 3991 and by Ptol. v. 6, 3 and 9. I might devote much space to this adjective; but I think that, if Dr. Zöckler will study the use of the adjective Λακωνικός as a problem in historical and political geography, he will find some instructive results about Γαλατικός.

(2) Dr. Zöckler, p. 55, lays a good deal of stress on the fact that in Luke's account of the first missionary journey, there is no mention of 'Galatia.' I accept the implied challenge, and have already in print the proof that, from the first journey alone, the South-Galatian theory can be established: see my forthcoming *St. Paul: the traveller and the citizen*, ch. v, vi.

(3) With many better scholars, I maintain that, in τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν, Φρυγίαν must be an adjective. The North-Galatians say that it must be a noun; if so, let them give examples where a noun with its adjective is connected anarthrously by καὶ to a preceding noun and article. We of the South-Galatian persuasion think that καὶ here connects two adjectives, as e.g. Strabo calls one of the Nile-mouths τὸ δὲ Κανωβικὸν καὶ Ἡρακλεωτικόν (p. 788), while, if two separate mouths are meant the order is τὸ Μενδήσιον στόμα καὶ (τὸ) Ταυτικόν (where τό is not essential, compare Acts xviii. 23).

(4) The character of Roman policy in Galatia was such that Christianity at first was necessarily on the same side with it in the great questions that were agitating society; and the development of Church organization from the first onwards took place necessarily, perhaps unintentionally, and certainly inevitably, according to the existing facts of communication and political administration: see the two chapters just quoted from my *St. Paul*.

III.

ACTA PILATI.

[F. C. CONYBEARE.]

IN his *Evangelia Apocrypha* (Lipsiae, 1876), Tischendorf separated two recensions of the *Acta Pilati*, which he called A and B. These rival texts tell the same story in much the same way, but B seems to be a later recension or overworking of A. Without making a detailed comparison of the two, it is enough in defence of this view to point to the following peculiarities of B.

1. Its language is throughout more rhetorical and less simple and archaic than that of A. Professor Rendel Harris has pointed out that long passages of B, e.g. ch. x and xi, are imitated from the *Iliad*. Nor was Homer alone the writer's model, for the wailings of the Virgin over her Son recall the strains of an Euripidean chorus.

2. The same thing is apparent in its handling of citations of the N.T. E.g. in ch. x. 1, where the A text has *πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ οἶδασιν τί ποιῶσιν*, the B text reads: *πάτερ, μὴ στήσης αὐτοῖς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ταύτην*, κ.τ.λ.

3. B strives to harmonize itself with canonical or later texts. Of this we select two salient examples. According to the A form, the Ascension took place in Galilee from a mountain of which the name is spelt *μαμίλχ*, Mambre, Malrech, &c., in the various sources. In B ch. xiv. 1, the event still occurs in Galilee, but from the *Mount of Olives*¹. The same

¹ Alfred Resch (*Aussercanonische Paralleltexte*, Leipzig, 1894, p. 381 ff.) suggests that in the *Acta Pilati*, as also in Mat. xxviii. 16, *Γαλιλαία* is not the

harmonizing tendency is already seen in some Greek MSS. of the A form, and also in the old Latin version of A; for it reads, ch. xiv. 1, 'in Monte Oliveti, qui vocatur Mambre sive Malech.' Similarly from the A form there is absent the teaching of the virginity of the mother of Christ. Twelve leading Jews appear before Pilate, and meet the hostile allegation that Jesus was born of fornication by swearing that he was the legitimate son of Joseph and Mary. The B text however has it thus, cap. ii. 3, οἶδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ Μαρίαν ὁ Ἰωσήφ κατὰ λόγον μνηστείας ἐδέξατο εἰς τήρησιν. So in B x and elsewhere Mary is called ἡ θεοτόκος.

4. Comparatively late theological ideas figure in B. E.g. ch. xv. we read as follows: οὐδὲν ἄπιστον εἰ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη· προτύπωσις γὰρ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὁ προφῆτης Ἠλίας ἦν. Here the word προτύπωσις indicates a reflective stage of Christian belief of which there are no signs in A.

5. The Coptic version given in a papyrus of the fifth century, the Latin version of parts of which there is a palimpsest text at Vienna as early as the fifth or sixth century, and lastly the Armenian version, which was probably made in

region of North Palestine referred to everywhere else in the Gospels, but a tract close to Jerusalem, mentioned in the P. E. as *περίχωρος*, of which word indeed he believes the name Galilee to be here the Aramaic original. He further suggests that the Mount of Olives is in the A. P. called Mamilch, because of its association in Israelitish history with the worship of Moloch. But Matt. xxvi. 32 and 69, not to adduce many other passages, seem to me conclusive against Resch's ingenious hypothesis. As regards the A. P. the words in *Monte Oliveti* are clearly but a late gloss, for they do not appear in good MSS. of the earlier or A form of the text, and the Coptic and Armenian versions also lack them. The gloss however, if it be one, is in two MSS. of the Latin A. P. of the thirteenth century. Perhaps the Itineraries appealed to by Resch (*Aussercan. Parallelt.* p. 386) have themselves been influenced by so widely diffused a writing as the A. P. e.g. Resch cites Antonius de Cremona: 'Prope montem Oliveti est mons collateralis, qui olim dictus est mons offensionis, eo scilicet quod rex Salomon quondam posuit ibi ydolum Moloch adorans illud. In eodem monte offensionis est locus, qui vocatur Galilaea, ubi apparuit Christus discipulis suis.' May not the place in question have acquired among pilgrims the name of Galilee owing to the reflex influence of the A. P.?

the sixth century, all give the A text. This is good evidence that that is by far the older of the two.

6. Another sign of the inferior age of the B text is that it omits the Aramaic originals preserved in A of the words *σωσον δή, ὁ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου* (ch. i. 4); also of the words (ch. xi. 1) *εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθημι τὸ πνεῦμά μου*.

The Armenian version follows the A text, and I have used three MSS. of it which I call α , β , γ .

α = Ancien Fonds Arménien in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, No. 44. This is a large paper codex, 520 \times 332 mill., and very heavy. It contains 501 folios. The writing of this codex, as appears from notices it contains, was completed A.D. 1194, or 643 of the Armenian era. The writing is uncial, in double columns. The A. P. occupy f. 402–f. 410 verso. This text I myself transcribed.

β = No. 88 of the same collection, a codex similar to α , but written on parchment in uncials of a more archaic form than those of α . It is not dated, but is certainly an older codex than α . It contains 643 folios, and is 510 \times 326 mill., two columns to the page. The A. P. begin on f. 125. I owe my copy of this text to the kindness of the Rev. Father Carékin of the Mechitarist Congregation of Venice.

γ is a more recent codex in the library of San Lazzaro, Venice, but well and correctly written. It gives the same text as β . I owe my collation of it with β to Father Carékin.

In the following pages I give a literal retranslation into Greek of α , and a literal Latin translation of β . There is so much difference between the two texts that it was too laborious to print one only and give the variants of the other below the text. To facilitate comparison of the two, I have bracketed in the Latin version of β all words or sentences that do not occur in α , and in α all passages which are simply absent from β .

I have also printed in italics those passages of β where

a has another text. Insignificant variations in the order of the same words I have not thus marked, but, as I follow the order of the Armenian words in each translation, the reader can for himself detect these minor variations.

These two Armenian texts are two recensions of one and the same version, and their fundamental identity is clear to any one who will glance over my Latin version and mark how much of it is the same in *a*. At the same time their differences are not explicable as an inside growth of an Armenian text, but must be the result of a fresh comparison with Greek texts of the original Armenian version. This is proved by the many cases in which the peculiar readings both of *a* and *β* are reproduced in the Greek, Latin, or Coptic sources. Here is an example:—

TEXT OF *a*. CAP. XV. 5.

Καὶ ὑπήντησεν αὐτοῖς Νικό-
δημος καὶ λέγει (or? εἶπεν)
εἰρήνη ὑμῖν καὶ τῷ Ἰωσήφ.
καὶ εἰσήνεγκεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν
κῆπον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἤκουσεν ἅπαν
τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ Ἰωσήφ ἐκάθισε
μέσον Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα.
ἀνοίξας δὲ Νικόδημος.

TEXT OF *β*. CAP. XV. 5.

Τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον, παρασκευῇ
ἦν ὀρθρίσαντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς
καὶ οἱ Λευῖται εἰς τὸν οἶκον
Νικοδήμου εἶπαν. εἰρήνη σοι
καὶ τῷ Ἰωσήφ. καὶ ἡσπάσαντο
ἀλλήλους. καὶ λαβὼν αὐτοὺς
Νικόδημος εἰσήνεγκεν εἰς τὸν
κῆπον αὐτοῦ ἐκάθισαν ἅπαντες
καὶ Ἰωσήφ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν.
καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν ζητεῖν
ῥῆμά τι. ἔπειτα εἶπεν πρὸς αὐ-
τοὺς Ἰωσήφ τί ἐστιν ὅτι ἐκεκλή-
κατέ με; αὐτοὶ δὲ διανεύουσι
τῷ Νικοδήμῳ ὥστε λαλῆσαι
πρὸς τὸν Ἰωσήφ. καὶ εἶπε (or?
ἔπειτα λέγει) Νικόδημος.

We find the peculiarities of each of these texts in other sources. To begin with those of *a*: The words τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον —Νικόδημου are not in Tischendorf's Greek codex C, which

therefore agreed here with *a*. *Kal* is added before *ὑπήντησεν* by A C (see Tischendorf's App. Crit. p. 270). The words *καὶ εἶπεν εἰρ. ὑμῖν* are omitted by C, but given in A B E Vatt. Then the reading *καὶ τῷ Ἰωσήφ. καὶ εἰσῆν.* is found in A alone, of which the text here provokes this remark of Tischendorf: 'A in his haud dubie vitiosus est; omittit enim καὶ εἶπαν una cum εἰρήνῃ σοι, ita ut καὶ τῷ Ἰωσήφ cum εἰρήνῃ ὑμῖν coniungat; rursus καὶ παντὶ usque Ἰωσήφ omittit.' I question however whether A has not here the right text. Then *εἰσήμεκεν αὐτούς* is in A B E, but not in C which has *ὡς ἤνεγκαν αὐτούς*. Then *εἰς τὸν κῆπον αὐτοῦ* is in C, but not in A B E, which with the Latin texts read *οἶκον* for *κῆπον*. The reading *ἤκουσεν* may be due to a corruption in the Armenian text. *ἅπαν τὸ συνέδριον* is read in all the Greek sources except C which seems here defective; so are the next words *καὶ Ἰωσήφ—Καϊάφα*. For the omission which follows of the words *καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμ.*—*πρὸς τὸν Ἰωσήφ* I can find a single and but partial parallel in the sources which Tischendorf arrays, namely in codex C of the Latin version which omits *καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωσήφ. τί ὅτι ἐκεκλήκατέ με*; Turning now to *β*, we find the words *τῇ δὲ ἐπ.*—*Νικοδήμου* in all sources except Greek C, in much the same form as in *β*, except that for *οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευ.* is read *οἱ ἀρχισυνάγωγοι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευ.*: B however reads with *β*: *οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευ.* After *Νικοδήμου* Tischendorf reads *ὑπήντησεν αὐτοῖς Νικόδημος καὶ εἶπεν εἰρήνῃ ὑμῖν καί*, words which *β* omits. The Greek codex C omits *καὶ εἶπεν εἰρήνῃ ὑμῖν*, but continues *καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ ἀρχισυνάγωγοι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευῖται*. The Latin C has as follows: 'et occurrerunt eis Nicodemus et Ioseph et postquam salutaverant se ad invicem, considerunt, sedente Ioseph in medio Annae et Caiaphae.' Proceeding with the text *β* we find the words *εἶπαν. εἰρήνῃ σοι καὶ τῷ Ἰωσήφ* in most of the sources. Then *β* agrees with *a* in rejecting the words *καὶ παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ σου καὶ παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰωσήφ*. They are partially absent from the Greek C, and wholly from the Latin C. The next words,

καὶ ἡσπάσαντο ἀλλήλους, occur in the Latin C alone. The next words, καὶ λ. αὐ. Νικόδημος εἰσ., are reflected in the Greek sources B Vatt. and in all MSS. of the Latin versions except Latin C. Most Greek MSS. omit Νικόδημος.

We noticed that εἰς τὸν κῆπον αὐτοῦ agrees with *a* and with Greek C. The words which follow ἐκάθισαν ἅπαντες καὶ Ἰωσήφ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν agree with Latin C alone: 'consederunt, sedente Ioseph in medio Annae et Caiaphae;' other texts have καὶ ἐκαθέσθη ἅπαν τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ Ἰωσήφ ἐκάθισε μέσον Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα or similar. ζητεῖν in the next sentence is reflected in the 'interrogare Iosephum verbum' found in Latin C and in no other MS. ῥῆμά τι occurs, only transposed, in Greek C. In the next clause πρὸς αὐτούς is found also in Greek C and Vatt. and in the Latin version. τί ἐστιν ὅτι comes in Greek C. αὐτοὶ δὲ διανεύουσι is reflected in the Latin version: 'illi vero innuerunt.' The phrase 'ut loqueretur cum,' which exactly fits the Armenian, but which I render by ὥστε λαλήσαι πρὸς, only occurs in the Latin version. Lastly, *β* omits the phrase ἀνολίζας . . . τὸ στόμα, for which Latin B substitutes the word 'surgens.'

Such an analysis might be extended throughout the two texts *a* and *β* with the same results, and it shows that, where *a* and *β* differ from each other, they do so, because the original Armenian version was compared afresh with a Greek manuscript and in either one or both of *a* and *β* we have the results of such a recension.

From what language was the Armenian version originally made? From what MSS., Greek or Latin, was the recension made? At what date was the version made? Which of the two texts *a* or *β* is the older? Of what value for the history of the text is the Armenian version? Here are questions which may be taken in order.

The original Armenian version was probably made from Greek. If not, it is difficult to account for the rendering in ch. xii. 1 'in communi monumento,' ἐν κοινῷ μνημένῳ, found

both in *a* and *β*. It is of course conceivable that *κωνῶ* was in the Greek text, and is not the translator's misreading of *καινῶ*. The Greek MS. B actually has *κωνῶ* in this passage. I have noticed but a single marked Syriacism in the Armenian text (in ix. 1). Moreover the text reads throughout like a translation of the Greek. The later recension was also made from Greek copies. For in ch. xv. 1, the Greek *ἐν παντὶ ὁρίῳ* is translated in *β* as = 'in omnes fines,' but in *a* as = 'in omnibus montibus' (*ὁρίῳ*). Whichever of the two renderings be the result of a recension, it must have been a Greek manuscript from which the recension was made. In ch. ix. 2 in *a* we have *καταγελάτε*, a misreading of *καταλέγετε*, where *β* has *λέγετε*.

The date at which the version was made cannot be determined. The A. P. was the most popular of all apocryphs; it is therefore likely to have been one of the earliest books translated into Armenian. The style of the version is certainly identical with that of the Armenian Gospels; but the text of the latter seems to have been fairly well fixed when the A. P. were translated, for the scrappy citations of the Gospels and N. T. in general which they contain are on the whole rendered in the same terms as in the Armenian Vulgate. In the Greek retranslation of *a* I have given in heavy type all such citations of the *Armenian* N. T. Such an amount of agreement is only conceivable, if the A. P. were translated by one familiar with the Armenian Vulgate. This latter was completed soon after 400 A. D.; so we have here a 'terminus a quo.' The A. P. were probably translated before 700 A. D., and most likely before 600 A. D. For neither *a* nor *β* nor *γ* give the prologue of Ananias Protector, which was prefixed to the Acts in the reign of Flavius Theodosius, and which is already included in the Coptic version and in the Vienna Palimpsest. This consideration, however, really proves no more than that the Armenian translator used an old text which lacked this addition. On grounds of style, however, I would not date the

version later than A. D. 650. We must not assume that either α or β gives without contamination the original Armenian version, or that one embodies more of that version than the other. If the view to which one naturally leans, that the shorter and terser text is the earlier, be just; then α is the older text. Thus in ch. ii. 4, we find omitted or at least absent in α the words 'ad Iudaeos qui dixerunt eum esse ex fornicatione natum.' So in ii. 5, the words 'quoniam non est natus ex fornicatione,' and just below, 'viris qui dicebant quoniam non est natus ex fornicatione.' These words are not essential to the sense, and putting aside the omissions in α attributable to homoioteleuton, we find that in most cases where it is shorter than β , it is so by the absence of matter quite unessential to the narrative. It may, of course, be said that a scribe anxious to shorten his task might have made such omissions; but what is to be said of other omissions in α like the following? In ii. 4, α omits 'et maleficus est' ($\kappa\alpha\iota \gamma\acute{o}\eta\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\nu$), and again in ii. 6. No scribe would have omitted these words twice over in order to simply shorten his labour by removing a superfluity. Still less would he remove for such a reason the words in ii. 4 $\delta\tau\iota \theta\rho\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\alpha \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\nu\alpha\nu$, or in ii. 4 the words $\kappa\alpha\iota \gamma\grave{\alpha\rho} \epsilon\iota\varsigma \tau\grave{\alpha} \theta\rho\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\alpha \text{ '}\iota\omega\sigma\eta\phi \kappa\alpha\iota \text{Μαρίας παραγεγόναμεν'}$ ¹. It is only in α that these omissions occur, and we can only explain them by supposing that they occurred in the Greek text originally rendered into Armenian, or were made at a later time for dogmatic reasons. The latter alternative need hardly be discussed. Any such reason as could have led to their rejection from the Armenian, would have excluded them from several Greek copies; but they occur in all. Nor are they words which, being already in the version, an Armenian reviser would have excluded, because he found them absent from his later Greek copy. To put it briefly, a reviser would probably supplement the text of his version

¹ Cp. also omission of the words 'Gibberosus eram,' &c., in vi. 2, where γ confirms α . Compare also the parallel omissions of α in xiii. 3 and xiv. 3.

from Greek copies consulted afresh, but he would be little likely to curtail it. It is therefore probable that α is the older form of the Armenian text. Beyond probabilities, however, we cannot go, the more so as β occasionally omits important matter found in α . E.g. in ii. 1 Pilate repeats in α the substance of his wife's dream: *πολλὰ γὰρ ἔπαθον ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτί*, but adds *καὶ ἔγνων ὅτι οὗτός ἐστι κριτῆς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν*. Now it would be possible to explain the absence from β of the words *πολλὰ* to *νυκτί* as the rejection of a superfluity, for they have been given just above in the message of Pilate's wife. But the sentence *καὶ ἔγνων, κ.τ.λ.*, has not been so given, and it is therefore no superfluity.

We saw above that the omissions in α are, as a rule, omissions of matter retained in all other sources. In the same way this addition, *καὶ ἔγνων, κ.τ.λ.*, is of words given in no other source. It is possible that it formed part of the original Armenian version, and was excluded from β as being an addition to the canonical text of Matt. xxvii. 19. In xiv. 1 there is another notable omission from β of matter found in α . The latter text gives, in common with the Greek and Latin sources, verses 15–18 of Mark xvi., as teaching delivered by Christ to His disciples on Mount Mambrech, just before His ascension. Now β omits verses 17 and 18, and gives verses 15 and 16 very imperfectly, and in such a way as to suggest that he has Matt. xxviii. 19 and John iii. 18 in his mind¹. The reason of the omission in β is probably this, that the Armenian church after the fifth century rejected Mark xvi. 9–20 as spurious; and the author of the β text accordingly rejected so much of these verses as he could not assimilate to other and canonical parts of the N. T. There is no chronological reason why a fifth or sixth century version of the A. P. should not give these verses, as they stand in the Armenian Vulgate; for the last twelve verses of Mark were certainly

¹ The omission by β of *καὶ βαπτισθεὶς* in v. 16 recalls the Greek *Descensus ad Inferos* ii. 2 (Tisch. p. 325).

translated into Armenian in the fifth century. Eznik, one of the translators of the Bible in that century, quotes them, and they are read in Armenian bibles which go back to an early age. We may therefore explain this omission in β as a mere matter of recension. Being uncanonical, these verses are much less likely to have been added to the Armenian A. P. by a recensing hand than to have been taken away. It may be noticed however that in the later B text of the Greek Acts vv. 17 and 18 are similarly excluded, perhaps for a kindred reason.

So much for the omissions and additions which characterize α as compared with β . Yet another consideration in favour of its higher antiquity may be adduced. If there be a version, which at any time has been revised by fresh consultation of the original Greek, we shall surely be able, of two rival texts of it, as are α and β , to distinguish the more primitive by the survival in it of solecisms, which the revising hand will have removed from the less ancient text. Of this rule we have an example in ch. ix. 2, where Tischendorf reads *καὶ νῦν καταγγέλλετέ μου ὅτι βασιλέα μισῶ*. Here α translates *καὶ νῦν καταγελᾷτέ μου*, 'and now you laugh at me'; but β has a reading which gives very good sense, and is found in the old Latin version: 'et nunc dicitis mihi.' Some Greek sources have also: *καὶ νῦν καταλέγετέ μου*. Here *καταγελᾷτε* of α is too obviously wrong for the reviser to have substituted it for *λέγετέ μοι*. We may conclude that α , which contains the solecism, is more primitive than β , which is without it. It cannot, of course, be explained as a corruption which has grown up within the Armenian text itself.

My object in translating α and β respectively into Greek and Latin is simply to add to our knowledge of the sources of the text of the A. P. I have not chosen Latin as the medium into which to render β , because I suppose it to be a recension according to Latin texts; but merely to avoid the labour of a second Greek translation. I preferred to retranslate α into Greek rather than into Latin, because many shades of

meaning, especially in regard to the use of the article, can be ill-rendered in a Latin dress.

The Armenian version clearly reflects a very primitive text of the A. P. In analyzing the passage from cap. xv. 5, we saw that the texts α and β , even where they disagree, yet cut across the other sources; following no one in particular, but going from one to the other. This feature is still more marked in those passages wherein α and β agree. The Armenian text leaps from manuscript to manuscript, from version to version. In a few passages I have added footnotes to point out the dispersion throughout other sources of readings lying together in the Armenian.

The weakness of Tischendorf's Greek and Latin texts lies in this, that they are not real texts which ever existed, but pieced together by him from one source after another, according to his judgement of how the text should run. I hope that any one trying to unravel the interrelations of the other sources will find my work of use. Where the texts α and β coincide, we have certainly a witness to the text of respectable antiquity. The narrative of the crucifixion contained in the Acts of Pilate is a rough harmony of the four Gospels. If they be the same Acts to which Justin Martyr and Tertullian allude, they must contain evidence as to the condition in the first half of the second century of the text of the N. T. which should not be neglected, and which indeed merits to be set alongside of the more extended harmony of Tatian.

Here is not the place to argue the question of the antiquity of the A. P. It would seem, however, that the late Bishop Lightfoot, in his anxiety to save the credit of Tertullian as a critic, passes a very hasty judgement upon the A. P¹. A text which at so early a date presents

¹ Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers*, vol. i. p. 55: 'It is a mistake to suppose that he (Tertullian) quotes the extant spurious *Acta Pilati* as genuine (Apol. 21 'ea omnia super Christo Pilatus . . . Caesari tunc Tiberio nuntiavit'). Tertullian, like his predecessor Justin M. (Apol. i. 35, p. 76 and i. 48, p. 84), assumes that the Roman Archives contained an official report sent by Pontius Pilate to Tiberius.

so many varieties of reading must have had a long history behind it, even if we take into account the fact of its being popular and uncanonical. Tischendorf, in his prolegomena (p. lxii ff.), adduces a continuous chain of testimony to the 'extant forgery,' as Lightfoot terms our A. P., from Justin Martyr up to Gregorius Turonensis. This chain of testimony may also be strengthened. For example, the very archaic fragment of a homily De Latrone preserved in Armenian, and ascribed to the philosopher Aristides, author of the famous Apology, almost certainly contains a reference to the Acts of Pilate, for these alone inform us that it was the right-hand thief who repented. For this extra-canonical detail we look everywhere in vain except in the A. P. ch. xii. 2. In Aristides de Latrone (Venice, 1878) we read: 'Remember me, Lord, in thy kingdom. . . . This day with me shalt thou be in the garden. . . . And now I pray you all, friends of the Christian race, to be instructed by the faith of the right-hand thief and to agree with him. Despise the left-hand one and his associates. For he held aloof from the voice of the crucified one, and has not in common with him the ancient, right-handed, and beautifully equipped mansion; but has withdrawn himself to the left hand, and stations himself

He is not referring to any definite literary work which he had read. The extant forgery was founded on these notices of the early fathers and not conversely.' The answer to be returned to this criticism is fourfold: (1) On any but a forced interpretation of their language Justin M. and Tertullian *do* allude to a document which they had seen. (2) Their critical sagacity need not have been so ample as to prevent their supposing that the extant document constituted the genuine Acts. Theirs was an age and school of criticism which believed the Enoch Apocryph to have been written before the flood, the prophecies of the Christian Sibyll to have been uttered in the remotest antiquity. (3) A Christian forger later than Tertullian would not have written A. P. ch. ii, (pp. 26, 27), as it stands in the A form. (4) He would not have represented the ascension as taking place on the Mount Mambrek or Mamelech in Galilee, but would have followed the canonical text which located it on the Mount of Olives near Jerusalem. The absence from the oldest texts of the A. P. of any attempt to harmonize their narrative with the canonical text is a sign that they were composed before the N. T. canon was fixed, i. e. before A. D. 150 or 160.

there. Concerning each of these robbers the expositions are near at hand for you, and are constantly paraphrased and read aloud in the priestly books (et recognoscuntur in sacerdotalibus litteris).' This passage seems to put back ch. x of the A. P. as far as A. D. 130-150, and is our earliest reference to it. Next we have the testimony—according to Tischendorf incontestable—of Justin Martyr and Tertullian. In the reign of Decius we meet with a reference to the A. P. in the Acts of Polyeuctes, which, though only embedded in a homily of about A. D. 363, seems to be in essential respects a document of A. D. 260 or earlier. In these Acts (see *Polyeucte dans l'histoire*, par B. Aubé, Paris, 1882) Nearchus, the friend of the martyr, says: 'Yes, and thou mayest remember yet another incident . . . and this is from the *history* of the Lord. Bethink thee of the thief who was crucified on the right-hand side; what did he say to the thief who was crucified on the left, and who reviled the Lord?' The 'history of the Lord' in question was probably the A. P., which in the oldest copies bear the title *ὑπομνήματα τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πραχθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου*.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

A. P. = Acta Pilati.

P. E. = Pseudo-Petri Evangelium.

α = Paris Codex Armenus 44.

β = „ „ „ 88.

γ = Venice Armenian Codex of A.P.

In the critical notes at the foot of page the references to Greek, Latin, and Coptic sources are taken from the *Evangelia Apocrypha* of Tischendorf, Lipsiae, 1876.

Square brackets in the Greek version of α signify lacunae due to abrasion of the paper of the MS.

Round brackets in the Greek version of α mark passages absent in β .

Square brackets in the Latin version of β mark passages omitted in α .

Italicized passages in the Latin of β are those in which it presents significant differences of text from α other than actual omissions or additions.

Heavier type in the Greek of α indicates a verbal identity of α with the text of the Armenian Vulgate.

ACTA PILATI.

Ἐπομνήματα ^α ἦσαν ^β ἔμπροσθεν Ποντίου Πιλάτου ^γ ^α Tisch.
(περὶ τῆς ἀνασταυρώσεως ^δ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ ^ε P. 210.
Χριστοῦ) ^ς.

Ἐν ζτεῖ ἐννεακαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας (Τιβερίου)
⁵ Καίσαρος βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἡρώδου τοῦ υἱοῦ
Ἡρώδου ⁶ ὃς [ἦν] βασιλεὺς τῆς Γαλιλαίας ^β ἐν [ἐννεα-] ^β Lu. 3. 1
καιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ. καὶ τῇ πρὸ ⁷ ἐννέα καλαν- and 23. 7.
δῶν Ἀρέγ ⁸ μηνὸς ἥτις ἦν εἰκὰς καὶ πέμπτη ἐν ὑπατείᾳ

Memoriae quae fuerunt [de Christo] coram Pontio
Pilato [praeside Iudaeae].

In anno *octavo* decimo ⁹ imperii Caesaris regis
Graecorum ¹⁰, et Herodis filii Herodis, qui erat rex
Galilaeorum, in nono decimo imperii eius et ante
quam *octo* kalendarum *Arnu*, quod in vicesimo quinto

¹ The words rendered *ἦσαν* might also = τὰ γενόμενα. F H have *πραχθέντα* ; C has *ἃ ἐπράχθησαν*.

² β ἦσαν περὶ Χριστοῦ.

³ β adds τοῦ ἡγεμόνος τῆς Ἰουδαίας.

⁴ περὶ τ. ἀναστ. is absent from the Greek ; only D adds *εἰς τὴν ἀποκαθήλωσιν* which might underlie the Arm.

⁵ Χριστοῦ] C adds a prologue beginning *ἐγὼ Ἀνανίας*. Also Copt. ; but A D E F G H I agree with Arm. in omitting it.

⁶ καὶ Ἡ. τ. vl. Ἡ. cum E Lat.

⁷ τῇ π. ἐ. καλ. cum A Lat.

⁸ Ἀρέγ] The Arm. month *արեգ* might answer to any Western month according to the year. All the Greek sources except A add *Ἀπριλλίων* after *καλανδῶν*. Latin *Aprilis*.

⁹ The Greek codices D E have *ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ*. The Latin codices and Coptic have *ἐννεακαιδεκάτῳ* with *α*. The rest of the Greek codices have *πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ*.

¹⁰ γ adds *Tiberii*.

‘Ρούφου, καὶ ‘Ρουβελινού¹ ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει αὐτῆς², καὶ³ δυοῖν ἡγεμόνων⁴ ἀρχιερέων τῶν ‘Ιουδαίων, Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα. Καὶ ὅσα μετὰ τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὸ πάθος τοῦ Κυρίου, ἱστόρησεν Νικόδημος τὰ γενόμενα τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ‘Ιουδαίοις· (καὶ ἔταξεν⁵ Νικόδημος⁵), Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα, καὶ Σίμωνι, καὶ Δώθῳ⁶; (καὶ Γαμαλιήλ,) ‘Ιούδας, Λευί, Νεφθαλίμ, Ἀλέξανδρος

*Hromphae*⁷, *ante Babelonis*⁸, in quarto anno eius et duorum principum sacerdotum Iudaeorum, Annae et Caiaphae. Et quanta post crucem et passionem domini, historiatus⁹ est Nicodemus quae facta sunt summis sacerdotum aliisque Iudaeis, Annae et Caiaphae et Simeōni, et Dōkae¹⁰, Iudas, Levi, Nephtalim,

¹ ‘Ρούφ. κ. ‘Ρουβ.] Greek A I G C, Latin Copt. correspond; but B has Βικεντιανοῦ and E omits entire passage. The spelling Rubellinum preserved in the Fasti Siculi is closest to the Arm.

² αὐτῆς] Arm. may also = αὐτοῦ; E has τῆς αὐτῆς ὀλυμπιάδος; but other sources have τῆς διακοσιοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος. D omits entire clause.

³ καί] other sources have ἐπί.

⁴ δυοῖν ἡγ.] Greek sources omit or have simply ἐπί; the Latin has *sub principatu sacerdotum*.

⁵ ἱστόρησεν usque Νικόδημος] So E which has ἱστ. Νικ. τὰ περ. τοῖς ‘Ιουδαίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι, συνέταξεν δ αὐτὸς Νικ. All the Greek sources, except D which omits the entire passage, add γράμμασιν Ἑβραϊκοῖς. So Latin and Copt.

⁶ In CG I, in Latin and Copt. which are nearest to Arm., Annas and Caiaphas and Simon and Dotha are of the number of those who went before Pilate, and are therefore like Gamaliel and the rest put in nom. case at the beginning of a new paragraph. They are, according to the Arm., the recipients of Nicodemus' instructions. Perhaps ἔταξεν is a mistranslation of συνέταξεν and led to the four first names being put in the dative. Tischendorf following A F H adds before Ἄννας the words συμβούλιον γὰρ ποιήσαντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς.

⁷ γ reads *Romae*.

⁸ An obvious corruption of *Rubellionis*.

⁹ γ reads *et hist.*

¹⁰ In α and β the proper names as far as *Dōkae* are in the dative. From *Iudas* they are in the nominative case.

(καὶ Ἰάριος) καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ¹ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, (καὶ) ἦλθον
 ἔμπροσθεν Πιλάτου κατηγοροῦντες τοῦ αὐτοῦ² περὶ
 πολλῶν πράξεων κακῶν (λέγοντες)· οἶδαμεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν
 υἱὸν³ Ἰωσήφ⁴ ἀπὸ Μαρίας γεννηθέντα⁵, καὶ λέγει ἑαυτὸν
 5 υἱὸν θεοῦ^a καὶ βασιλέα· οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο⁶, ἀλλὰ καὶ ^a Lu. 23.
 τὰ σάββατα βεβηλοῖ^b, καὶ τὴν πατρίαν θρησκείαν ² and
 ἡμῶν⁷ καταλῦσαι βούλεται. Λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος· ^{Jno. 19.}
 τί ἐστίν⁸ ὃ πράττει καὶ βούλεται καταλῦσαι; Λέγουσιν⁹ ⁷⁻
 οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· νόμον ἔχομεν ἐν σαββάτῳ μὴ θεραπεῦσαι ^b Mat.
 10 τινα· οὗτος δὲ χωλός¹⁰, τυφλός^c καὶ παραλυτικούς καὶ ^{12. 5.}
 λεπρούς, καὶ δαιμονιζομένους¹² ἐθεράπευσεν ἐν σαββάτῳ ^c Mat. 11.
⁵ and
^{Lu. 7. 22.}

Alexander¹³, atque alii Iudaeorum venerunt coram
 Pilato, accusabant omne¹⁴ de multis actionibus malis.
 Novimus Iesum filium Iosephi [fabri]¹⁵ ex Maria
 natum, et dicit se filium Dei et regem. Et non
 solum hoc, sed et sabbata dissolvit et paternam
 religionem nostram destruere vult¹⁶.

Dicit illis Pilatus: Quid est quod agit et vult
 destruere?

Dicunt [illi] Iudaei: Legem habemus in sabbato
 non curare aliquem; sed ille claudos [et prostratos],

¹ οἱ λοιποὶ] Arm. = *alii*.

² τοῦ αὐτοῦ] All other sources have or imply τοῦ Ἰησοῦ here.

³ υἱόν] So G and Latini; others add ὄντα before it or ὀνομαζόμενον.

⁴ β adds τοῦ τέκτονος.

⁵ ἀπὸ Μ. γεν.] Cum CG Copto Latinis.

⁶ οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο] So CDGI and Latini.

⁷ νόμον ἡμῶν cum A Copto Latinis . . . C G om. ἡμῶν.

⁸ τί ἐστίν δ] A.

⁹ β adds αὐτῶν.

¹⁰ β adds et prostratos.

¹¹ β om. καὶ before λεπρούς.

¹² χωλὸς . . . δαιμ.] So G only adding καὶ κυρτοὺς after καὶ τυφλ. The Latin
 codices A B reflect G, but the Latin C which has *claudos caecos paralyticos*
leprosos et daemoniosos is the only source which exactly agrees with Arm.

¹³ γ adds et Iarios.

¹⁴ The word in β, *qamlekuju* = *omne*, must be a corruption of *qamleku*
 = *cum*.

¹⁵ All the sources except α have *fabri*.

¹⁶ γ has *vult dest.*

ἀπὸ κακῶν πράξεων. Λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος· ποίων

^a Mat. 9. 34 and Lu. 11. 15. πράξεων κακῶν¹; Λέγουσιν αὐτοί· γόης ἐστίν, καὶ ἐν² τῷ ἄρχοντι³ δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια^a, καὶ πάντα αὐτῷ ὑποτάσσεται^b.

^b Lu. 10. 17 and Paul 1 Cor. 15. 27. Λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος· τοῦτο οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐν ἀκαθάρτῳ⁵ πνεύματι ἐκβάλλειν τὰ δαιμόνια, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς⁴ τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ⁵.

^c Mat. 27. 19 and Jno. 19. 13. Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Πιλάτῳ· ἀξιούμεν τὸ σὸν μέγεθος ὥστε αὐτὸν παραστήναι ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος^c σου καὶ ἀκούσατε αὐτοῦ⁶. προσκαλεσάμενος ὁ Πιλάτος τοὺς¹⁰ Ἰουδαίους⁷ λέγει αὐτοῖς^d. πῶς δύναμαι ἐγὼ ἀνὴρ⁸ ἡγεμῶν βασιλεῖα ἐξετάσαι; Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· ἡμεῖς οὐ

caecos et paralyticos, leprosos et daemoniosos curavit in sabbato malis operibus. Dicit illis Pilatus: quibus operibus malis?

Dicunt: Maleficus est [et Beelzebulo] principe daemonum eiicit daemones, et sunt omnia huic subiecta. Dicit illis Pilatus: Istud non est in immundo spiritu eiicere daemones, sed in *deo* Asclepio.

Dicunt Iudaei Pilato: Precamur tuam magnitudinem, ut veniat stet ante tribunal tuum et audiat illum. Vocavit ad sese Pilatus Iudaeos et dicit ad illos: Quomodo possum ego vir praeses regem interrogare?

¹ λέγ. αὐτοῖς ὁ Π. π. κ.; Λέγ. αὐτ.] cum G Copt. Latt. . . A C om.

² β ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ ἄρχ.

³ All other sources add Βεελζεβοὺλ either before or after τῷ ἄρχοντι, but C omits ἄρχ. τ. δαίμ. ⁴ β τῷ θεῷ.

⁵ ἀλλ' . . . Ἀσκληπιῷ] So most sources, but G E omit, and Copt. et multi Codd. Latini sed in virtute (nomine) dei. For the plural however τοῖς θεοῖς the other sources have τῷ θεῷ.

⁶ ὥστε usque ἀκούσατε αὐτοῦ] The Arm. literally = *ut venerit et steterit coram tribunali vostro et audieritis ab illo*. This combines the readings of C G E Copt. Latt. ὥστε αὐ. παραστ. τῷ βήματί σου καὶ ἀκουσθῆναι with that of D which is ὥστε αὐ. παραστ. ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματός σου καὶ ἐρωτηθῆναι παρὰ σοῦ.

⁷ προσκ. ὁ Π. τ. Ἰουδ.] So A (only adding δέ after προσκ., where others add καί before it) and Lat. Flor.: *Advocans ad se Pilatus Iudaeos dicit eis*.

⁸ ἀνὴρ] Not in Greek or Latin.

λέγομεν αὐτὸν βασιλέα^a, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς^b λέγει ἑαυτὸν¹. ^a Jno. 19.
 προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ² ὁ Πιλάτος τὸν κούρσωρα λέγει³. ⁵
 μετὰ ἐπιεικειᾶς εἰσελθὲτω ὁ Ἰησοῦς. ἐξελθὼν ὁ κούρ- ^b Lu. 23.
 σωρ καὶ γνωρίσας αὐτὸν προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ καὶ λαβὼν
 5 τὸ φακεόλιον⁴ τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἤπλωσε χαμαὶ⁵ καὶ λέγει·
 Κύριε, ἐπὶ τούτου⁶ περιπάτησον⁷ καὶ εἴσελθε, ὅτι⁸ ὁ
 ἡγεμὼν καλεῖ σε⁹. ἰδόντες¹⁰ δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ὁ ἐποίησεν
 ὁ κούρσωρ¹¹ κατέκραξαν λέγοντες τῷ Πιλάτῳ¹²· διατί ὑπὸ
 πραικῶνος¹³ οὐκ εἰσήγαγες αὐτὸν¹⁴ ἀλλ' ὑπὸ κούρσωρος ;

Dicunt illi : nos negamus de illo, quod rex est, sed ipse dicit de sese. Vocavit Pilatus cursorem, et dicit [illi] : cum moderatione ingrediatur Iesus.

Quum exisset cursor foras et agnosset illum, et tollens faciale in manu suo expandit in terra et dicit : Domine super hoc ambula et ingredere intra, quia vocat te praeses. Et quum vidissent illud¹⁵ Iudaei quod fecit cursor, clamaverunt Pilato et dicunt : Cur tortore non introducebas illum intra, sed cursore ? Nam

¹ Λέγουσιν usque ἑαυτὸν] So in general C D E G Copt. Flor. Vatt. The Arm. answers in particular to C E G in omitting *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι* after αὐτῷ, to G in reading αὐτὸν βασιλέα, to D in omitting εἶναι after βασιλέα, to C D E in retaining αὐτός, to none in reading λέγει before ἑαυτὸν instead of after.

² β om. δέ.

³ β adds αὐτῷ.

⁴ φακεόλιον] So D E F H, Latini *fasciale*. Other sources have καθάπλωμα.

⁵ ἤπ. χ.] Cum A D et Latinis.

⁶ ἐπὶ τ.] So Latin *super hoc*. Greek sources have various readings.

⁷ περιπ.] Arm. = *incede*.

⁸ ὅ ἡγ. κ. σε] So Latin *quia praeses vocat te*. Greek has order καλεῖ σε ὁ ἡγ.

⁹ β has order καλ. ὁ ἡγ.

¹⁰ β adds τοῦτο or ἐκεῖνο.

¹¹ κατέκ. usque Πιλάτῳ] This agrees best with D : κατέκραξαν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Πιλάτον λέγοντες. Most sources have κατέκ. τοῦ Πιλάτου λέγοντες. So also many Latin sources, but not all.

¹² β has τοῦ Πιλάτου λέγοντες.

¹³ πραικ.] The Arm. word answers rather to *basaniastou*.

¹⁴ οὐκ εἰσήγ. αὐ.] The Latin A B C *Cur eum praeconis sub voce non ingredi fecisti* best answers to the Arm. The Greek sources have ἐκέλευσας or ἐκάλεσας εἰσελθεῖν.

¹⁵ γ om. ἰλλud.

καὶ γὰρ ὁ κούρσωρ θεασάμενος αὐτὸν προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ¹
καὶ τὸ φακέλιον ὃ εἶχεν² ἤπλωσεν χαμαὶ καὶ εἶπεν
αὐτῷ· Κύριε, καλεῖ σε ὁ ἡγεμών³.

‘Ο δὲ Πιλάτος καλεσάμενος τὸν κούρσωρα λέγει αὐτῷ·
τί ἐποίησας τοῦτο; Λέγει αὐτῷ⁴, ὅτε ἀπεστείλάμην⁵
ἐγὼ⁶ εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἶδον καθή-
μενον αὐτὸν⁷ ἐπὶ ὄνου, καὶ οἱ παῖδες Ἰουδαίων ἔκραζον,
ἔχοντες κλάδους⁸ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν⁸. ἄλλοι δὲ
ὑπεστρώνουν⁹ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ⁹
λέγοντες· δόξα^c ἐν ὑψίστοις¹⁰. εὐλογημένος ὃς ἔρχει ἐν¹⁰
ὀνόματι Κυρίου.

^a Mat. 21.
8.

^b Lu. 19.
36 and
Mat. 21.
8.

^c Lu. 19.
38.

cursor quum vidit illum, adoravit illum, et faciale quod
habebat [in manu], expandit in terra et dixit: Domine,
vocat te praeses.

Vocavit cursorem Pilatus, et dicit illi: Quid fecisti
istud?

Dicit cursor: Quo tempore missi sumus in Ieru-
salem ad Alexandrum, vidi illum sedentem super
asinum et pueri Iudaeorum clamabant habentes ramos
in manibus suis, et alii sternebant vestimenta sua
ante illum, et dicebant: Gloria in excelsis, beatus qui
venis in nomine Domini.

¹ αὐτῷ] So Latin. Greek omits.

² ὃ εἶχεν [quod habebat)] So Latin forms add quod gerebat (or tenebat)
in manu. But Arm. a has not in manu. Greek has αὐτοῦ simply.

³ καὶ εἶπεν usque ἡγ.] So FH and Latin D^{abc} et dixit ei Domine vocat te
praeses; but other Latin sources and rest of Greek have καὶ ὡς βασιλεῖα αὐτὸν
περιπατήσαι πεποιήκεν or similar.

⁴ β has ὁ κούρσωρ and om. αὐτῷ.

⁵ ἀπεστείλάμην ἐγὼ] A and Latini have με ἀπέστειλας, other sources ἀπέστείλας
με.

⁶ β om. ἐγὼ.

⁷ β has αὐτ. καθήμ.

⁸ ἔκραζον usque αὐτῶν] So D and less closely the Lat. D^{abc}.

⁹ ἔμπρ. αὐτοῦ] Not in Greek; perhaps it = Lat. in via.

¹⁰ δόξα ἐν ὑ.] This is nearest to A ὡσαννὰ ἐν τ. ὑ. The other Greek
sources and also Latin have σῶσον δὴ, ὃ ἐν τ. ὑ. or similar. But the B form
of the Acts omits the latter and agrees with Arm.

Ἐκραζον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ λέγουσιν τῷ κούρσωρι· Ἑβραίων¹ μὲν οἱ παῖδες ἑβραϊστὶ ἔλεγον², σοὶ δὲ πόθεν ἦν γινώσκειν³ τὸ ἑλληνιστί⁴; Λέγει (αὐτοῖς)⁵ ὁ κούρσωρ· ἠρώτησά τινα τῶν Ἑβραίων καὶ εἶπα· τί (ἐστιν ὁ)
 5 κράζουσιν⁶ ἑβραιστί; καὶ κέινος ἐρμήνευσέν μοι. Λέγει αὐτοῖς⁷ ὁ Πιλάτος· πῶς ἔκραζον⁸; Λέγουσιν⁹ αὐτῷ¹⁰.
 δόξα¹¹ ἐν ὑψίστοις¹² θεῷ¹³. Λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος· * Lu. 19.
 εἰ ὑμεῖς μαρτυρεῖτε τὰς φωνὰς¹⁴ τὰς παρὰ τῶν¹⁵
 παίδων¹⁶ κραζομένων¹⁷, τί ἡμαρτεν ὁ κούρσωρ; οἱ δὲ
 10 ἐσιώπησαν.

Clamaverunt Iudaei dicentes ad cursorem: Hebraeorum pueri hebraice *clamabant*: sed tibi unde τὸ Romane? Dicit cursor: Interrogavi quendam ex Iudaeis et dixi: Quid clamant hebraice? et ille exposuit mihi. Dicit ei Pilatus: Quomodo clamabant [hebraice]? Dicit ei: Gloria in excelsis. Dicit eis Pilatus: Si vos attestatis [ipsi] vocem quae ab infantibus *dicta* est, quid peccavit cursor? Illi autem

¹ β τῶν Ἑβρ.² β ἔκραζον.³ β om. ἦν γιν.

⁴ σοὶ usque ἑλληνιστί] This is closest to Latin sources A B C, especially C, which have *unde tibi gentili* (C om.) *hoc* (B est hoc) *nosse*, but the order is that of Latin D^{ac} *tu autem cum sis Graecus, quomodo linguam hebraeam nosti?* Similarly the Arm. unites features from each of the various forms which the sentence assumes in the Greek, e.g. σοὶ from B F, the order σοὶ πόθεν from A, γινώσκειν from B, τὸ ἑλληνιστί from B F and A, also Copt. Note that the Latin follows C E, which have ἑβραιστί instead of ἑλληνιστί.

⁵ β om. αὐτοῖς.⁶ β has τί κράζ. and om. ἐστιν ὁ.⁷ β αὐτῷ.⁸ β adds Ἑβραιστί.⁹ β λέγει.¹⁰ λέγ. αὐ.] So C . . . the rest add οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι.

¹¹ δόξα usque θεῷ] The nearest to this is the Latin 'Osanna in excelsis.' The Greek sources have ὡσαννά· μεμβρονῇ. βαρουχαννά. ἄδοαί. λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος· Καὶ τὸ ὡσαννά καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τί ἐρμηνεύεται; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· σῶσον δὴ, ὁ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου. The Latin have the same addition. The Greek A D omit the whole passage beginning from λέγει αὐ. ὁ Π. π. ἔκρ.

¹² β om. θεῷ.¹³ β τὴν φωνὴν τήν.

¹⁴ κραζομένους] So Latin *voces et verba quibus ab infantibus acclamatum est* . . . Greek has λεχθείσας.

¹⁵ β λεγομένην.

λέγει¹ (ὁ Πιλᾶτος) τῷ κούρσῳ· ἔξελθε καὶ ὥσπερ βούλει εἰσάγαγε αὐτόν. Ἐκβὰς ὁ κούρσῳ ἐποίησεν κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον σχῆμα καὶ² λέγει τῷ Ἰησοῦ· Κύριε,

^a Mat. 27. εἴσελθε· ὅτι ὁ ἡγεμὼν^a καλεῖ σε.

^{2.}

Εἰσελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τῶν σιγνοφόρων κατε- 5

χόντων τὰ σίγνα, ἔκαμψαν τὰ σίγνα τὰς προτομὰς ἑαυτῶν καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ Χριστῷ³. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἑβραῖοι (⁴ τὸ σχῆμα τῶν σίγνων, ἀπερ ἐκάμφθησαν καὶ προσεκύ-

^b Mar. 15. νησαν τῷ Ἰησοῦ⁴), περισσῶς^b ἔκραζον^c κατὰ τῶν σιγνο-

^{14.}

^c Mat. 27. φόρων. ὁ δὲ Πιλᾶτος λέγει πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους^d. οὐ¹⁰

^{23.}

θαυμάζετε πῶς ἔκαμψαν τὰ σίγνα τὰς προτομὰς ἑαυτῶν^e, ἀλλὰ κράζετε κατὰ τῶν σιγνοφόρων, ὥσπερ εἰ αὐτοὶ ἔκαμψαν^f; λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Πιλᾶτῳ· ἡμεῖς

tacuerunt. [Deinde] dicit^g cursori: Egredere et quomodocumque vis introduce eum. Exiens cursor fecit secundum prius schema, et dicit ad Iesum: Domine ingredere, quia praeses vocat te.

Ingresso Iesu, signiferi tenebant signa et curvaverunt signa capita sua et adoraverunt *Iesum*. Videntes autem Iudaei amplius clamabant adversus signiferos. Pilatus vero dicit ad Iudaeos: Non miramini quomodo incurvaverunt signa capita sua [et adoraverunt Iesum]? Sed clamatis adversus signiferos, quasi ipsi curvaverint [et adoraverint]. Dicunt Iudaei ad Pilatum: Nos vidimus *quemad-*

¹ β τότε λέγει and om. ὁ Πιλ.

² β om. καί.

³ β τῷ Ἰησοῦ.

⁴ β omits words bracketed.

⁵ I have written Ἰουδαίους here and elsewhere, because Tischendorf's text has it and it was pedantic to alter it. But it may be noticed that the Armenian has but one word Hraek to render both Ἰουδαῖος and Ἑβραῖος and their derivatives.

⁶ β adds καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ Ἰησοῦ.

⁷ β adds καὶ προσεκύνησαν.

^g γ adds praeses.

εἶδομεν πῶς ἔκαμψαν οἱ σιγνοφόροι προσκυνῆσαι¹ τῷ
 Ἰησοῦ. προσκαλεσάμενος ὁ ἡγεμὼν^a τοὺς σιγνοφόρους^a Mat. 27.
 λέγει αὐτοῖς· τί οὕτως ἐποιήσατε^a; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ².
 ἡμεῖς ἄνδρες Ἕλληνές ἐσμεν ἱερόδουλοι², πῶς προσεκυ-
 5 νήσαμεν αὐτῷ; καὶ γὰρ κατεχόντων ἡμῶν τὰ σίγνα
 ἐκάμφθησαν καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ Ἰησοῦ³.

Λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος⁴· ἐκλέξασθε ὑμεῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν
 ἄνδρας δυνατοὺς καὶ κραταιούς, καὶ αὐτοὶ κατὰσχωσιν τὰ
 σίγνα, καὶ ἴδωμεν εἰ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς κάμπτονται. ἐκλεξάμενοι
 10 δὲ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀνδρὰς δώδεκα δυνατούς⁵,
 ἀνὰ ἕξ ἕξ ἐποίησαν κατασχεῖν τὰ σίγνα, καὶ ἐστά-
 θησαν^b ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος^c τοῦ ἡγέμενος. λέγει ὁ^b Mat. 27.
 Πιλάτος τῷ κούρσωρι· ἔκβαλε. αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ πραι-
 11. τωρίου^d, καὶ εἰσάγαγε αὐτὸν πάλιν, ὥσπερ. καὶ σὺ^c Mat. 27.
 15 βούλει. καὶ ἐξῆλθον ἔξω τοῦ πραιτωρίου ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ^d Mat. 27.
 27 and
 Jno. 18.
 28.

modum inclinaverunt signiferi et adoraverunt Iesum.
Advocans praeses signiferos dicit eis: Quare sic
fecistis⁶? Dicunt illi: Nos viri gentiles sumus [et]
templorum servi: quomodo adoramus eum? nam
nobis tenentibus signa curvata sunt et adoraverunt
eum.

Dicit Pilatus *synagogae*: Eligite vos ex vobis viros
potentes et fortes, et ipsi teneant signa, et videmus si
 ex se curventur. Et elegerunt seniores Iudaeorum
 viros duodecim fortes [potentesque], et senos senos
 fecerunt tenere signa, et steterunt ante tribunal⁷
 praesidis. Dicit Pilatus cursori: Eiice istum foris
 praetorium, et intramitte iterum quomodo tu volueris.
 Et exivit foras praetorium Iesus et cursorum princeps.

¹ β καὶ προσεκύνησαν.² β καὶ ἱερόδ.³ β αὐτῷ instead of τῷ Ἰησ.⁴ β λέγ. ὁ Π. τῷ πλήθει.⁵ β κραταιοὺς καὶ δυνατούς.⁶ γ *fec. sic.*⁷ γ om. *trib.*

ὁ κούρσωρ. καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος ὁ ἡγεμὼν τοὺς κατέχοντας τὰ σίγνα λέγει αὐτοῖς· ὥμοσα κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτι ἐὰν καμφθῶσιν τὰ σίγνα εἰσιόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἀποτεμῶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν. καὶ ἐκέλευσεν (ὁ ἡγεμὼν¹) εἰσελθεῖν (τὸν Ἰησοῦν²) ἐκ δευτέρου. καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ κούρσωρ κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον σχῆμα, καὶ πολλὰ παρεκάλεσεν ὁ κούρσωρ τὸν Ἰησοῦν³ ἵνα ἐπιβῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ φακεωλίου³. εἰσελθόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ πάλιν ἐκάμφθησαν τὰ σίγνα ἐν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ Ἰησοῦ.

CAPUT II.

Ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος⁴ ἰδὼν ἔμφοβος γενόμενος ἐβουλεύετο⁵ 10
^a Mat. 27. ἀναστήναι ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος^a. ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐνθυμουμένου
 19. ἀναστήναι, ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἔπεμψεν πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγουσα·

Vocavit ad se praeses [viros] qui signa tenebant, dixitque eis: Iuravi per Caesarem, quia, si inclinant se signa quando intrat Iesus, amputabo capita vestra. Et iussit⁶ ingredi secunda vice. Et fecit cursorum princeps ad prius schema, et multum precabatur ut ambularet super faciale Iesus et ingrederetur. Introeunte autem, iterum inclinaverunt se signa ex sese et⁷ adoraverunt Iesum.

CAPUT II.

Ut vero⁸ vidit Pilatus, extimuit, voluit surgere de tribunali. Dum vero ille cogitabat surgere, uxor sua misit ad illum dicens: Nihil stat tibi et homini

¹ β om. ὁ ἡγεμὼν.

² β om. τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

³ β adds ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ εἰσελθῇ.

⁴ The text of Mat. runs thus: Καθημένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, ἀπέστειλε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, λέγουσα, μηδὲν σοι καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ ἐκείνῳ· πολλὰ γὰρ ἔπαθον σήμερον κατ' ὄναρ δι' αὐτόν. Where for σήμερον the Cop. (item Ar^p Pers.) read 'hac nocte.'

⁵ β ἐθέλησεν.

⁶ γ adds praeses.

⁷ γ = et ex sese.

⁸ γ omits.

μηδέν σοι καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ ἐκείνῳ· πολλά γὰρ ^a ἐκακούμην ¹ τῇ ^a Mat. 27.
 νυκτὶ ταύτῃ. Ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος προσκαλεσάμενος ἅπαντας ¹⁹.

τοὺς Ἰουδαίους λέγει αὐτοῖς· οἴδατε ὅτι ἡ γυνή μου θεο-
 σεβής ἐστιν καὶ (μᾶλλον) ² Ἰουδαία³. λέγουσιν (αὐτῷ) ⁴.

⁵ Ναί, οἴδαμεν. Λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος· ἰδοὺ ἐπεμψεν
 πρὸς ἐμέ ⁵ λέγουσα· μηδέν σοι καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ ἐκείνῳ.
 (πολλά ⁶ γὰρ ἔπαθον ⁷ ἐν ταύτῃ ⁸ τῇ νυκτὶ, καὶ ἔγνω ὅτι
 οὗτός ἐστι κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν) ^b ⁹.

^b Ac. 10.
⁴².

Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ¹⁰ τῷ Πιλάτῳ ¹¹· μὴ εἴπαμέν σοι ὅτι
¹⁰ γόης ἐστίν; ἰδοὺ ὄνειροπόλημα ἔπεμψε τῇ γυναικί σου ¹².

Ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος προσκαλεσάμενος ¹³ αὐτοὺς ¹⁴ λέγει αὐτῷ·
 τί οὗτοι καταμαρτυροῦσίν ^c σου; οὐδὲν λαλεῖς ^d;

^c Mat. 26.
 62 and
 27. 13
 and Mar.
 14. 60.
^d Mar. 15.
⁴.

iusto ¹⁵ isti: multa enim passa sum [propter eum] in
 hac nocte. Pilatus autem convocavit omnes Iudaeos
 et dicit eis: Scitis quia mulier mea cultrix dei est et
 Iudaea [est ea sicut vos]. Dicunt: immo scimus.
 Dicit eis Pilatus: Ecce misit ad me [uxor mea]
 dicens: Nihil stat tibi et [homini] illi iusto: Iudaei
 [autem responderunt et] dicunt Pilato: Non diximus
 tibi [prius] quia magus est? ecce misit somnium
 videndum uxori tuae.

Pilatus autem vocavit *Iesum* et dicit ei: Quid isti

¹ β adds δι' αὐτόν.

² β om. μᾶλλον.

³ β adds ἐστὶν ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς.

⁴ β om. αὐτῷ.

⁵ β adds ἡ γυνή μου.

⁶ β omits from πολλά down to καὶ νεκρῶν.

⁷ πολλά γ. ἔπ. The Arm. literally = 'For many sufferings happened to me.
 So in the Arm. Vulgate. Just above the Greek phrase was rendered literally.

⁸ ἐν τ. τ. νυκ.] So Latin, in hac nocte. Greek simply νυκτός or διὰ τῆς νυκτός.

⁹ καὶ ἔγνω usque νεκρῶν] All other sources omit.

¹⁰ β has οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀποκριθέντες λέγ.

¹¹ Λέγουσιν usque Πιλάτῳ] The Latin C is nearest to this.

¹² ὄνειρον. usque σου] Arm. literally = somnium dedit videre foeminae tui.

¹³ β τὸν Ἰησοῦν for αὐτούς.

¹⁴ αὐτούς] Greek, Latin, Copt. have τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

¹⁵ γ omits iusto.

‘Ο δὲ Ἰησοῦς φησί· εἰ μὴ εἶχον ἐξουσίαν οὐκ ἂν ἐλάλουν· ἕκαστος γὰρ ἐξουσίαν ἔχει τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ

^a Mat. 27. λαλεῖν ἀγαθὰ τε καὶ κακὰ· αὐτοὶ ὄψονται ^a.

²⁴.

‘Αποκριθέντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν Ἰουδαίων λέγουσιν
Jno. 8. 41. τῷ Ἰησοῦ· τί ὀπτόμεθα (ἡμεῖς)¹; πρῶτον ὅτι ἐκ πορνείας ⁵
γεγέννησαι· δεύτερον ὅτι ἐν γεννήσει σου ² Βηθλεεμαίων ³
ἢ ἀναίρεσις γέγονεν· τρίτον ὅτι ὁ πατήρ σου Ἰωσήφ καὶ
ἡ μήτηρ σου Μαριάμ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἔφυγον διότι μὴ εἶχον
παρρησίαν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ λαοῦ.

^b Lu. 2. Λέγουσιν τινες τῶν παρεστηκότων εὐλαβεῖς ^{b 4} ἐκ τῶν ¹⁰
²⁵ and Ἰουδαίων· ἡμεῖς οὐ λέγομεν ὅτι ἐκ πορνείας γέγονεν,
Ac. 2. 5. ἀλλ’ οἶδαμεν ὅτι ἐμνηστεύσατο Ἰωσήφ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ
Μαριάμ, καὶ οὐ γεγέννηται ἐκ πορνείας. Λέγει ὁ

testificantur *propter te*? nihil loqueris? Iesus autem dicit: Si non haberent potestatem, non loquerentur. Quoniam unusquisque potestatem habet oris sui loqui bona et mala: et ipsi videbunt.

Responderunt seniores Iudaeorum et dicunt ad Iesum: Quid *videbimus*? primum quod ex fornicatione natus es: secundo quia in nativitatem tuam Bethleemensium trucidatio facta est: tertio, quod pater tuus Ioseph et mater tua Maria in Egyptum fugitivi fuerunt eo quod non haberent fiduciam in populo.

Dicunt quidam qui adstabant ex Iudaeis pii: Nos non dicimus quod ex fornicatione natus est, sed scimus quoniam desponsavit Ioseph matrem eius Mariam, et

¹ β has ὀπόμεθα and om. ἡμεῖς.

² ἐν γεν. σου] So Ven. Fabr. *pro* (in) *nativitate* tua and all Latin sources approximate. Greek has ἡ γέννησίς σου or ἡ σὴ γέννησις, but E has γεννηθέντος σου.

³ Βηθλ.] A is nearest ἐν Βηθλεέμ. All other sources add νηπίων, *infantum*.

⁴ β ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδ. εὐλ.

¹ Πιλάτος ²· οὗτος ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν ³ ἀληθής ⁴ ἐστίν ⁵, καθὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν οἱ σύνεθνοι ὑμῶν ⁶. Λέγουσιν τῷ Πιλάτῳ Ἄννας καὶ Καϊάφας· ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος κράζομεν ὅτι ἐκ ⁷ πορνείας γεγέννηται ⁸, καὶ οὐ πιστεύεις, οὔτοι δὲ
5 προσήλυτοὶ εἰσιν καὶ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ.

Λέγει Πιλάτος ⁹· τί ἐστίν ὅτι προσήλυτοὶ εἰσιν ¹⁰ ;

Λέγουσιν ¹¹· Ἑλλήνων τέκνα ἐγεννήθησαν, καὶ νῦν γεγόνασιν Ἰουδαῖοι. Ἀπεκρίθησαν οἱ εἰπόντες ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ πορνείας γεγέννηται· Λάζαρος ¹² καὶ Ἀστέριος καὶ

non est natus ex fornicatione. Dicit Pilatus [ad Iudaeos qui dixerunt eum ex fornicatione natum esse]: Hic sermo vester [non] est verus [quoniam desponsatio facta est], sicut ipsi cognati vestri dicunt. Dicunt Pilato Annas et Caiaphas: omnis multitudo clamamus quoniam ex fornicatione natus est [et maleficus est] et non credis: isti autem proselyti sunt et discipuli eius.

Dicit Pilatus [Annae et Caiaphae]: quid sunt proselyti?

Dicunt [ei]: Gentilium filii sunt nati et modo facti sunt Iudaei. Responderunt ii qui dicebant quia non est de fornicatione natus, Lazarius et Asterius,

¹ Πιλάτος] All sources add πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τοὺς λέγοντας εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐκ πορνείας.

² β adds πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τοὺς λέγοντας περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἐκ πορνείας γεγέννηται.

³ ὑμῶν] All sources add οὐκ except A which has the question: ἀληθὲς ἐστὶ τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα;

⁴ ἀλ. ἐστίν] All sources add ὅτι ὁρμαστρα γέγοναν or similar.

⁵ β οὐκ ἐστίν ἀλ. and adds ὅτι ὁρμαστρα γέγοναν. ⁶ β οἱ σὺν. ὑμ. λέγ.

⁷ ὅτι ἐκ usque πιστεύεις] So A and C E I (but these last transpose καὶ οὐ πιστεύεις, ὅτι, κ.τ.λ.). Other Greek sources as B have same order as C E I but read πιστευόμεθα. The Latin has for καὶ οὐ πιστ. et maleficus est.

⁸ β adds et maleficus est.

⁹ Λέγ. Πιλ.] The Latin C alone agrees: Respondit Pilatus.

¹⁰ β adds πρὸς Ἄνναν καὶ Καϊάφαν.

¹¹ β τί εἰσιν προσήλυτοι.

¹² β adds αὐτῶν.

'Ανδρόνικος¹ καὶ² 'Ιάκωβος³ καὶ Ζηρᾶς, Σαμουὴλ καὶ⁴ 'Ισαὰκ καὶ⁵ Φιλιῆς⁶, καὶ Κρίσπος⁷ καὶ 'Αγρίππας⁸ καὶ 'Ιούδας· ἡμεῖς προσήλυτοι οὐ γεγόναμεν, ἀλλὰ τέκνα 'Ιουδαίων ἐσμὲν καὶ ἀλήθειαν⁹ λαλοῦμεν¹⁰.

Λέγει¹¹ ὁ Πιλάτος πρὸς τοὺς δώδεκα ἄνδρας¹² οἱ ἔλεγον 5
ὅτι οὐ γεγέννηται ἐκ πορνείας¹³. ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τῆς
τύχης¹⁴ Καίσαρος¹⁵, εἰ ἀληθές ἐστιν ὃ¹⁶ λέγετε¹⁷.
Λέγουσιν τῷ Πιλάτῳ, νόμον ἔχομεν ματαίως¹⁸ μὴ

Andronicus, Ianopus et Zeras, Samuel, Isaac, *Finees* et *Crospos* et Iudas: Nos proselyti non sumus facti, sed filii Iudaeorum sumus, et veritatem loquimur: [etenim in sponsalia Mariae et Iosephi interfuimus.]

Convocavit Pilatus duodecim viros qui dicebant quia non est de fornicatione natus [dicitque ad eos]: Adiuro vos per *vitam*¹⁹ Caesaris, si verum est quod dicitis [quia non est de fornicatione natus].

Dicunt Pilato: Legem habemus non iurare vane,

¹ 'Ανδρόνικος] The other sources have 'Αντώνιος.

² β om. καί. ³ β has 'Ιάκωπος.

⁴ β om. καί before 'Ισαὰκ.

⁵ Φιλιῆς] Other sources Φινέες.

⁶ β Φινέες.

⁷ β Κρίσπος.

⁸ β om. καὶ 'Αγρ.

⁹ After λαλοῦμεν B C E I Latt. add: Καὶ γὰρ εἰς τὰ ὄρμαστρα 'Ιωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας παραγεγόναμεν. A omits.

¹⁰ β adds Καὶ γὰρ εἰς τὰ ὄρμαστρα Μαρίας καὶ 'Ιωσήφ παραγεγόναμεν.

¹¹ β λέγει . . πορνείας] β has προσκαλεσάμενος ὁ Πιλάτος τοὺς δώδεκα.

¹² Λέγει usque ἄνδρας] B C E I Latt. and Copt. have προσκαλοῦμενος δὲ ὁ Π. τοὺς δώδ. ἀνδ., and just below after πορνείας adds λέγει αὐτοῖς. But Greek A has γνοῦς δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος ὅτι ἀληθὴ εἰσὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν λεγόμενα, λέγει αὐτοῖς.

¹³ Tisch. reads τοὺς εἰπόντας ὅτι οὐ γεγ. ἐκ π. λέγει αὐτοῖς.

¹⁴ τύχης] All other sources have σωτηρίας.

¹⁵ β τῆς ζωῆς Καίσαρος.

¹⁶ λέγετε] Greek, Latin and Copt. add ὅτι οὐ γεγέννηται ἐκ πορνείας.

¹⁷ β adds ὅτι οὐ γεγέννηται ἐκ πορνείας.

¹⁸ ματαίως] Other sources omit.

¹⁹ This answers to the phrase εἰς τὴν ζωὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος found in form B of the A. P. However the Arm. word might render σωτηρίαν.

¹ ὁμνύνειν ^a, ὅτι ἁμαρτία ἐστίν ². οὗτοι ὁμόσουνσιν ^b ὅτι ^a Jns. 5.
οὐκ ἔστιν καθὼς εἶπαμεν, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐνοχοὶ ^b ἐσόμεθα ¹².
θανάτου ⁴. ^b Mat. 26.
66.

Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος πρὸς Ἀνναν καὶ Καϊάφαν οὐκ ^c Mat. 14.
5 ἔχετε τι ⁵ ἀποκρίνεσθαι ⁶; Λέγουσιν Ἀννας καὶ Καϊάφας ⁶⁴.
πρὸς τὸν Πιλάτον· οἱ δώδεκα οὗτοι ⁷ πιστεύονται ⁸,
ἡμεῖς ⁹ δὲ πάντες τὸ πλῆθος (κράζομεν) ¹⁰ ὅτι ἐκ πορνείας
¹¹ γεγέννηται ¹² καὶ λέγει ἑαυτὸν βασιλέα καὶ υἱὸν
¹³ θεοῦ ¹⁴ καὶ οὐ πιστεύεις ἡμῖν ¹⁵.

quia peccatum est. Isti iurent [per fortunam
Caesaris] quia non est istud sicut diximus, et nos rei
simus mortis. Dicit Pilatus Annae et Caiaphae:
Nihil habetis respondere [ad hoc].

Dicunt Annas et Caiaphas ad Pilatum: Hi duodecim
credibiles sunt [quoniam non est natus ex fornicatione],
et nos omnis plebs ¹⁶ quoniam ex fornicatione natus est
[et maleficus est], et dicit se ipsum esse filium dei et
regem, et non credis nobis?

¹ β μὴ ὁμν. ματ.

² ὅτι ἁμ. ἐ.] cum B Latt. Copt. . . A C E I om.

³ β adds κατὰ τῆς τύχης Καίσαρος.

⁴ οὗτοι usque θανάτου agrees generally with B E I, A and Latt.; but all
these sources except A add κατὰ τῆς σωτηρίας Καίσαρος after ὁμόσουνσιν.

⁵ οὐκ ἀποκ.] Arm. literally = non habetis aliquid respondere? All other
sources add πρὸς ταῦτα.

⁶ β adds πρὸς ταῦτα.

⁷ οἱ δώδ. οὐ. πιστ.] cum B E C, item Codd. Lat. aliquot; most Latin and
Greek sources add quoniam non est natus ex fornicatione, but Greek A and
Latin C omit with α.

⁸ β adds ὅτι οὐ γεγέννηται ἐκ πορνείας.

⁹ ἡμεῖς] comp. Latin C.

¹⁰ β om. κράζ. but γ has λέγομεν.

¹¹ γεγέννηται.] Here B E C, item Codd. Latt. except C add καὶ γόνις ἐστίν,
and A adds καὶ ὅτι πλάτος ἐστί.

¹² β adds καὶ γόνις ἐστίν.

¹³ βασ. κ. υἱ. θ.] The other sources have υἱ. θ. καὶ βασ.

¹⁴ β has υἱὸν θ. καὶ βασιλέα.

¹⁵ καὶ οὐ πιστ. ἡ.] The other sources have καὶ οὐ πιστεύομεθα.

¹⁶ γ adds dicimus.

(Καί)¹ ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Πιλάτος (ἅπαν)² τὸ πλῆθος ἐξελθεῖν
ἐκτὸς τῶν³ δώδεκα⁴ καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκέλευσε χωρισθῆναι⁵.
Λέγει (ὁ Πιλάτος)⁶· ποίῳ λόγῳ⁷ θέλουσιν⁸ ἀποκτεῖναι;
⁹ Λέγουσιν¹⁰· ζῆλον ἔχουσιν, ὅτι ἐν σαββάτῳ θερα-
πέυει.
Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· περὶ καλῶν ἔργων¹¹ θέλουσιν¹²
ἀποκτεῖναι¹³;
(Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· ναί)¹⁴.

Iussit Pilatus multitudinem foris eiicere, absque
duodecim [viris¹⁵ qui dicebant quoniam non est natus
ex fornicatione]; et Iesum iussit *sequestrare*.

Et dicit [eis]: *Propter quam iniuriam* volunt
occidere [Iesum]?

Dicunt [Pilato]: Zelum habent, quoniam in sabbato
curat.

Dicit Pilatus: [ergo] propter bona opera volunt
occidere [eum]?

¹ β om. καί.

² β om. ἅπαν.

³ δώδεκα] All sources add τῶν εἰπόντων ὅτι οὐ γεγέννηται ἐκ πορνείας except C which varies it thus *excepto XII viros qui veritatem dicebant*.

⁴ β adds ἀνδρῶν τῶν εἰπόντων ὅτι οὐ γεγέννηται ἐκ πορνείας.

⁵ καὶ τ. Ἰη. ἐκ. χ.] So all sources except A.

⁶ β καὶ λέγ. αὐτοῖς and om. ὁ Πιλ.

⁷ π. λ.] β διὰ τί.

⁸ β adds τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

⁹ λέγουσιν] A B I Copt. add τῷ Πιλάτῳ: C E Lat. αὐτῷ.

¹⁰ β adds τῷ Πιλάτῳ.

¹¹ περὶ κ. ἔργων] The Arm. is equally compatible with περὶ καλοῦ ἔργου or περὶ καλῶν ἔργων.

¹² θέλουσιν] Greek and Latin add αὐτόν.

¹³ β = *ergo propter bonum opus volunt occidere ierum*.

¹⁴ β om. λέγ. αὐ. ναί through homoiotele.

¹⁵ γ om. viris.

CAPUT III.

(¹ Θυμοῦ πλησθεὶς ^{2 a}) ὁ Πιλάτος ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω τοῦ ^a Jno. 18.
πραιτωρίου καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· μάρτυρα ἔχω τὸν ἥλιον ὅτι ²⁸
οὐδεμίαν ἁμαρτίαν εὗρίσκω ἐν αὐτῷ ^{3 a}.

^b Ἀπεκρίθησαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ εἶπαν τῷ Πιλάτῳ· εἰ μὴ ^b Jno. 18.
ἦν κακοποιὸς ⁴ (ὁ ἄνθρωπος) ⁵ οὗτος, οὐκ ἂν παρεδώκαμεν ³⁰
αὐτόν σοι ^b.

^c Λέγει ⁶ ὁ Πιλάτος· λάβετε ⁷ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑμέτεραν ^c Jno. 18.
θρησκείαν ⁸ κρίνατε ^c. ³¹

^d Λέγουσιν ⁹ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· οὐκ ἔστιν ¹⁰ ἡμῶν ¹¹ (νόμος) ¹²
¹⁰ ἀποκτεῖναί τινα ^d. ^d Jno. 18.
³¹.

CAPUT III.

Exit foras praetorium [Pilatus] et dicit eis : Testem habeo solem, quia nec unam culpam invenio [in homine isto].

Responderunt Iudaei et dicunt Pilato : Si non esset [hic] malefactor ¹⁸, non tradidissemus eum tibi.

Dicit [illis] Pilatus : Tollite [eum vos] et secundum legem vestram iudicate.

Dicunt [ei] Iudaei : *Nobis non est fas interficere quemquam.*

¹ θυ. πλ.] So Latin.

² β om. θυ. πλ. and tr. ὁ Π. after πραιτωρίου.

³ β for αὐτῷ has τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ.

⁴ β has εἰ μὴ ἦν οὗτος κακοποιός and om. ὁ ἄνθ.

⁵ ὁ ἄνθ.] Greek and Lat. om.

⁶ β adds αὐτοῖς after λέγει.

⁷ β adds αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς after λάβετε.

⁸ β τὸν νόμον ὑμῶν.

⁹ β λέγουσιν αὐτῷ.

¹⁰ β ἡμῶν οὐκ ἔξεστιν.

¹¹ The Arm. = 'it is not for us law to kill.' The Arm. Vulgate here = *nobis non est dignum* (δοσιον).

¹² β om. νόμος.

¹⁸ γ = *mortis reus*.

Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος ¹. ὑμῖν εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς μὴ ² ἀποκτεῖναι, καί ³ μοι εἶπεν ;

^a Jno. 18. ^a Καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον Πιλάτος καὶ λέγει τῷ
³³. Ἰησοῦ ⁴. σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ^a ;

^b Jno. 18. ^b Ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς· σὺ εἶπας ὅτι βασιλεὺς εἰμι, ἐγὼ ⁵
³⁷. δὲ εἰς τοῦτο γεγέννημαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐλήλυθα ἵνα ἀκούσωσιν
τῆς ἀληθείας ^b ⁵.

Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γῆς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλήθεια.

Dicit Pilatus [Iudaeis]: Vobis *non dixit* deus occidere [quemquam], mihi dixit?

[Iterum] ingressus est Pilatus praetorium, [vocavit Iesum secreto] et dicit ad *eum*: Tu es rex Iudaeorum.

Respondit Iesus, [et dicit Pilato: A temetipso (or ex te) dicis istud, an alius dixit tibi de me? Respondit Pilatus et dicit Iesu: Numquid et ego Iudaeus sum? Gens tua et pontifices tradiderunt te mihi. Quidnam factum est tibi?

Respondit Iesus et dicit: Si ex mundo hoc esset regnum meum, ministri mei hoc agerent ne traderer Iudaeis: nunc autem regnum meum non est hic.

Dicit ei Pilatus: si hoc huiusmodi sit, ergo tu rex es.

Respondit Iesus ⁶:] Tu *dicis*, rex sum; sed ego *in istud quidem natus sum*, et propter illud veni, ut

¹ β adds πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους after Πιλάτος.

² β ὑμῖν οὐκ εἶπεν and om. μὴ.

³ β om. καί.

⁴ This text awkwardly combines the reading of CI Ven. Eins. with that of A B Fabr.; Tisch. reads: Καὶ εἰσῆλθεν πάλιν εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον ὁ Πιλάτος καὶ ἐφώνησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν κατ' ἰδίαν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ. The Greek and Latin sources show the utmost difference of reading, but all agree in giving κατ' ἰδίαν.

⁵ The Latin has *ut testimonium perhibeam veritati, et omnis qui est ex veritate audit meam vocem*. So A; but B C E I om. *ut testim. perh. ver.*

⁶ This long omission in α may be due to homoioteleuton.

Λέγει ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ὅρα σὺ τὴν ἀλήθειαν πῶς κρίνεται
ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχόντων ἐξουσίαν ^a ἐπὶ γῆς.

^a Jno. 19.
10.

CAPUT IV.

· Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· εἶπεν ὅτι ἐγὼ ^b Καταλύω τὸν ^c ναὸν τοῦτον καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐγείρω ὃς ἐν τεσσαράκοντα ^d καὶ ἑξ ἑτεσιν ὠκοδομήθη ^e.

^b Jno. 2.
19, 20.
^c Mat. 26.
61; Mar.
14. 58.

Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· τίνα ναόν; λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι·
ὃν ὠκοδόμησεν ὁ Σολωμών.

[omnis qui est ex veritate] *audiat vocem meam*.
[Dicit ¹ Pilatus: Quid est veritas? Dicit ei Iesus:
Veritas de caelo est.] ² Dicit [ei] Pilatus: In terris
vero non est veritas? Dicit ei Iesus: Vide tu
veritatem. Veritatem dico, quomodo iudicatur (or in-
vestigatur) ab iis qui habent potestatem in terra.

CAPUT IV.

[Et ³ relinquens Iesum intus praetorium, exivit ad
Iudaeos et dicit eis: Ego nec unam culpam invenio
in eo ⁴.]

Dicunt [ei] Iudaei: dixit quoniam *possum* templum
istud *dissolvere*, et in triduo restituere [illud] quod in
XL et VI annis aedificatum est; [ille dicit dissolve
hoc, et in triduo restituo]. Dicit [eis] Pilatus:
Quale templum? Dicunt Iudaei: Quod Solomon
aedificavit.

[Iterum dicit illis Pilatus: Innocens sum ego
a sanguine hominis iusti istius. Vos noscite. Dicunt
ad eum Iudaei: Sanguis eius in nos et in filios
nostros.]

¹ γ adds ei.

² This omission in α is probably due to homoioteleuton.

³ γ = sed Pilatus rel.

⁴ These words omitted in α are retained in the Greek, Latin, and Coptic sources. Their omission in α cannot be due to homoioteleuton.

^a Lu. 23. 14-16. ^a Προσκαλεσάμενος ὁ Πιλάτος τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τοὺς Λεβίτας εἶπεν αὐτοῖς λαθραίως· μὴ οὕτως ποιήσατε· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἄξιος θανάτου. Ἄλλ' ἢ κατηγορία ¹ ὑμῶν ^a περὶ θεραπείας ἐστιν καὶ περὶ βεβηλώσεως σαββάτου. 5

^b Jno. 19. 12-15. Λέγουσιν οἱ ἱερεῖς τῷ Πιλάτῳ· Καίσαρα ^b ἐὰν βλασφημήσῃ τις, ἄξιός ἐστιν θανάτου ἢ μή ;

Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· ἄξιός ἐστιν.

(Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· οὗτος δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἐβλασφήμησεν ².) 10

Ἐκέλευσε δὲ (ὁ ἡγεμὼν) ἐξελθεῖν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἔξω, καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγει (αὐτῷ)· τί ποιήσω σοι ;

Λέγει ὁ Ἰησοῦς· οὕτως ἐδόθη.

Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος τῷ Ἰησοῦ· πῶς ἐδόθη ; 15

^c Ln. 16. 29. Λέγει ὁ Ἰησοῦς· (Μωσῆς καὶ) οἱ προφῆται ^c προεκήρυξαν περὶ θανάτου τούτου καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεώς μου.

Advocans Pilatus seniores et principes sacerdotum et Levitas, et dicit eis secrete: Ne isto modo agite: *accusatio enim vestra non facit hominem dignum mortis*, sed calumnia vestra de curatione est et de violatione sabbati. Dicunt *seniores et sacerdotum principes et Levitae* Pilato: Caesarem si quis blasphematur dignus est morte an? Dicit Pilatus: Dignus est [morte].

Tunc *iussit* Iudaeos foras exire [de praetorio], et advocans Iesum dixit: Quid faciam tibi? Dicit Iesus [Pilato]: Ita datum est. Dicit Pilatus ad Iesum: Quomodo datum est? Dicit Iesus: [Omnes] prophetae praeconizaverunt de hac morte et [de] resur-

¹ The Arm. words here used in both Acts of Pilate and Lu. 23. 14 rather = κατηγορία.

² The other sources retain these words omitted in β, and all except Greek B and most Latin MSS. add after Ἰουδαῖοι the words: εἰς Καίσαρα ἐὰν τις βλασφημήσῃ, ἄξιός ἐστιν θανάτου ;

Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· τί πλέον τούτου ἢ μέζονα βλασφημίαν (θέλεις) ἀκοῦσαι ^a; Λέγει (ὁ Πιλάτος)· εἰ οὗτος ὁ λόγος βλάσφημός ἐστιν, ^b λάβετε αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπαγάγετε εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ὑμῶν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν θρησκείαν ^c 5 ὑμῶν κρίνατε (αὐτόν) ^b.

Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Πιλάτῳ· ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἡμῶν γεγραμμένον ἐστιν, ἐὰν ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος ἁμαρτήσῃ, ἄξιός ἐστιν λαμβάνειν τεσσαράκοντα παρὰ μίαν ^c, ὃ δὲ εἰς θεὸν βλασφημῶν λιθοβολία λιθοβοληθήσεται ¹.

10 Περιβλεψάμενος δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν εἰς τοὺς περιεστῶτας ὄχλους τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεωρεῖ πολλοὺς δακρύνοντας ², καὶ λέγει· Οὐ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος βούλεται τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτοῦ.

rectione mea. Iudaei [autem] recusaverunt³ [audientes. Dicit ei Pilatus]: Quid [est] amplior blasphemia [quam istud] audire? Dicit [autem] [Iudaeis]: Hic sermo blasphemia est, tollite eum et perducite ad synagogam vestram et iudicate secundum legem vestram. Dicunt Iudaei Pilato: In lege nostra scriptum est: Si homo in hominem peccaverit, dignus est plagis quadragenis una minus; qui vero in deum blasphemat, lapidibus lapidetur.

[Dicit eis Pilatus: Prendite eum vos et qua lege volueritis facite. Dicunt Pilato: Dignus est crucifigi.]

Intuitus vero iudex in populum qui circumstabant Iudaeos vidit plurimos [eorum] lacrimantes et dixit: Non omnis multitudo vult eum mori. [Dicunt ei principes sacerdotum: Ideo venimus tota multitudo unanima ut moriatur. Dicit ad eos Pilatus: Quare

¹ Section 4 of ch. iv is wholly absent from a. The other sources conflict very much with each other as to its text.

² Armenian a literally = *sed aspiciens praeses in multitudinem qui circa illum stabant Iudaei, et vidit quod multi flebant.*

³ The Arm. = *παρήκουν* or *παρεσιώπησαν οἱ ἀκούοντες.*

* Mat. 26. Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· ὅτι εἶπεν ἑαυτὸν * υἱὸν θεοῦ καὶ βασιλέα.

CAPUT V.

Νικόδημος ἀνὴρ Ἰουδαῖος ἔστη ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Πιλάτου καὶ λέγει· Ἀξιῶ, εὖσεβή, κέλευσον ἀκούειν ὀλίγους λόγους· λέγει Πιλάτος· εἶπε. λέγει ὁ Νικόδημος· ἐγὼ 5 εἶπον τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ τοῖς λευítais καὶ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ¹ τῆς συναγωγῆς, ὅτι τί ζητεῖτε τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον; (ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος) πολλὰ σημεῖα ἐποίησεν ^b Acts 5. καὶ ἔνδοξα ², ἃ οὐδεὶς ποιεῖν δύναται. ^b ἄφετε αὐτὸν καὶ 38-9. μὴ τι . . . ³ ποιεῖτε (αὐτῷ)· εἰ γὰρ ἐκ θεοῦ ἐστὶ τὸ σημεῖον ¹⁰ τοῦτο ὃ ποιεῖ, σωθήσεται, εἰ δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων καταλυθήσεται ^b. Μωσῆς ἀποσταλὲς (παρὰ θεοῦ) εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἐποίησεν

moriatur?]⁴ Dicunt Iudaei: Quia dixit se filium dei esse et regem [Iudaeorum].

CAPUT V.

Nicodemus vir Iudaeus stetit ante Pilatum et dixit: Rogo *maiestatem tuam*, iube me dicere sermones paucos. Dicit Pilatus: Dic. Dicit Nicodemus: Ego dixi senioribus et *principibus sacerdotum* et Levitis et omni multitudini istius synagogae: Quid quaeritis hominem? Multa signa fecit et gloriosa quae nemo [alius fecit nec] facere potest. Permittite eum neque aliquid malum facite: quia si ex deo sunt signa quae facit, salvabitur; si autem ex hominibus, dissolvetur⁵. [Quia et] Moyses missus⁶ in Egyptum fecit signa

¹ So the Armenian reflecting the ungrammatical sentence of Greek B.

² The Armenian literally = 'glorified,' and seems to have had the sense of 'gloriosa' which is only found in Lat. D^{abc}.

³ In a there is a litura here of three letters.

⁴ This omission in a may be due to homoioteleuton.

⁵ γ om. si a. ex h. dis.

⁶ γ adds a deo.

σημεῖα πολλὰ ἃ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός, ποιήσον ἔμπροσθεν
 Φαραὼ βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου. καὶ ἦσαν ἐκεῖ θεράποντες
 Φαραὼ ὁ Ἰανῆς καὶ ὁ Ἰαμρῆς, καὶ ἐποίησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ
 σημεῖα ἃ ἐποίει Μωσῆς, οὐ πάντα· καὶ εἶχον αὐτοὺς οἱ
 5 Αἰγύπτιοι ὡς θεοὺς τὸν Ἰανῆν καὶ τὸν Ἰαμρῆν· ἐπειδὴ
 τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐποίησαν οὐκ ἦσαν ἐκ θεοῦ, ἀπώλοντο, καὶ
 αὐτοὶ οἱ ἐπίστευσαν αὐτοῖς. καὶ νῦν ἄφετε τὸν ἄνθρωπον
 τούτον· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἅγιος θάνατος.

Λέγουσιν τῷ Νικοδήμῳ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· σὺ μαθητὴς
 10 γέγονας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ ποιεῖς.

Λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς Νικόδημος· Μὴ καὶ ὁ ἡγεμὼν
 μαθητὴς γέγονεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ ποιεῖ; οὐ
 καὶ ματαίως κατέστησεν αὐτὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀξιώματος
 τούτου· ἦσαν δὲ ἐμβριμούμενοι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι κατὰ τοῦ
 15 Νικοδήμου καὶ ἔτριζον τοὺς ὁδοντας (κατ' αὐτοῦ).

Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος· τί τρίζετε κατ' αὐτοῦ; ἀλήθειαν γὰρ
 ἠκούσατε;

multa, quae dixit illi deus fac, [inquit,] ante Phara-
 onem regem Egypti. Et erant ibi servi Pharaonis
 Ianes et Iamres, et fecerunt illi signa quae fecit
 Moyses, non omnia, et habuerunt eos Egyptii sicut
 deos, Ianem et Iamrem: et quoniam signa quae
 fecerunt non erant ex deo, [perierunt] *ipsi et qui*¹
 crediderunt eis. Et nunc permittite hominem istum:
 non enim est dignus morte.

Dicunt *Iudaei Nicodemo*: Tu discipulus factus es
 [istius]. [Propter hoc] et verbis eius *adiuvas*. Dicit
 ad eos Nicodemus: Numquid et praeses discipulus
 factus est eius et verbum ipsius facit? numquid vane
 constituit istum Caesar² super necessitatem hanc?
 Fremebant vero Iudaei super Nicodemum et stridebant
 dentibus [suis]. Dicit [ad eos] Pilatus: Quid stri-
 detis [dentibus] adversus eum, quia veritatem audistis?

¹ γ for qui reads *ipsi non*.

² γ adds *Tiberius*.

Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῦ λάβης καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ.

Λέγει ὁ Νικόδημος· ἀμήν, λάβω καθὼς εἶπατε.

CAPUT VI.

Εἰς δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων παραπηδήσας ἡξίου τὸν ἡγεμόνα λόγον ἀκούειν. καὶ λέγει ὁ ἡγεμών· τί θέλεις εἰπεῖν; 5 εἶπε. καὶ λέγει· ἐγὼ τριάκοντα ἔτη (ἐν τῷ ναῷ) κατεκείμεν^a καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ πόνων ἦν· καὶ ἐλθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, πολλοὶ δαιμονιζόμενοι καὶ ποικίλαις νόσοις κατακειμένοι ἐθεραπεύθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Νεανίσκοι τινες κατηλέυσάν με καὶ ἐβάστασαν^b με μετὰ τῆς κλίνης καὶ 10 ἀπήγαγόν με πρὸς αὐτόν. καὶ ἰδὼν με ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐσπλαγχνίσθη καὶ εἶπεν λόγῳ·^c ἔγειρε, ἄρον τὸν κράββατόν^d 8. 11.

Dicunt Iudaei [Nicodemo]: Veritatem ipsius accipias et portionem eius. Dicit Nicodemus: Amen [fiat, fiat, secundum verbum vestrum] accipiam sicut dixistis.

CAPUT VI.

Alius quidam ex Iudaeis autem exsiliens rogabat praesidem *loqui* aliquid verbum¹. Dicit praeses: *Dic quodcumque vis*. Dixit [vir ille]: Ego, triginta [et octo] annos in *lectulo* iacebam in² infirmitate [pessimi] doloris. Et *veniente* Iesu multi daemoniaci et [aegroti] qui in diversis infirmitatibus *iacebant*, curati sunt ab eo. Iuvenes quidam miserti sunt mei et portantes me in lectulo duxerunt *ante eum*. Et videns me Iesus misertus est et dixit verbo: Surge. Tolle lectulum tuum et ambula. [Babai!]³ Et

¹ γ = *verba dicere*.

² γ = *et in*.

³ This exclamation is absent in all the other sources.

σου καὶ περιπάτει ^ο. καὶ παραχρῆμα ἰάθην. καὶ
λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Πιλάτῳ· ἐρώτησον αὐτὸν ποία
^α ἡμέρα ἐθεραπεύθη. καὶ λέγει ὁ θεραπευθεὶς· ἐν σαββάτῳ^α. ^α Jno. 5.
Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Πιλάτῳ· μὴ οὐχ οὕτως ἐδιδά- ^{9, 10.}
⁵ ξαμεν ὅτι ἐν σαββάτῳ θεραπεύει καὶ δαίμονας ἐκβάλλει.
Ἄλλος τις τῶν Ἰουδαίων παραπηδήσας ^β λέγει· ^ο τυφλὸς ^β Mar.
ἐγεννήθην, καὶ φωνὴν (μόνην) ἤκουον καὶ πρόσωπον οὐκ ^{10. 50.}
ἔβλεπον· καὶ παριόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἔκραξα εἰς φωνὴν ^ο Mar.
μεγάλην· Ἐλέησόν με ^δ κύριε, ^δ καὶ ἔθηκεν τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ^{10. 46-8}
¹⁰ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου ^δ καὶ παραχρῆμα εἶδον τὸ φῶς¹. ^{and Lu. 18. 35-9.} ^δ Mar. 8.
καὶ ἄλλος τις (τῶν Ἰουδαίων) παραπηδήσας λέγει· ^{25.}
Λεπρὸς ἦν καὶ ἐκαθάρευσέ με λόγῳ.

statim sanus factus sum, [et tuli lectulum meum et ambulavi]². Dicunt Iudaei Pilato: Interroga eum in qua die curatus est. Dicitque curatus: Sabbato. Dicunt Iudaei Pilato: Nonne sic docuimus quia in sabbato curat et daemones expellit?

Et alius quidam ex Iudaeis exsiliens dixit: Caecus natus sum, vocem³ audiebam, faciem autem non videbam. Et transeunte Iesu clamavi magna voce: Miserere mei, domine, [miserere mei]. Et posuit manum suam super oculos meos, et statim vidi lumen. Et alius quidam *exsiliens* dicit: [Gibberosus eram, et erexit me verbo. Alius quidam *exiens* dicit:]⁴ Leprosus eram, et sanavit me verbo.

¹ The Arm. = 'I saw the light.' In Lu. 8. 43 we have ἀνέβλεψα as in the Greek A. P.

² Latin, Coptic, and Greek AC retain *et statim sanus factus sum*, which other Greek MSS. omit. But no sources except α omit the words bracketed.

³ γ adds *solum*.

⁴ This omission may be due to homoioteleuton. However γ confirms α in omitting these words.

CAPUT VII.

Καὶ γυνή τις, ἥ ὄνομα ἦν Σηροινί¹, ἀπὸ μακρόθεν
^a Mat. 9. κράζουσα εἶπεν· αἱμορροῦσα ^a ἤμην καὶ ἡψάμην τοῦ
^{20.} κρασπέδου ^b τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεπαύσθη ἡ πηγὴ ^o
^b Mat. 9. τοῦ αἵματος (διὰ δώδεκα ἔτων). λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι·
^{20 and} Νόμον ἔχομεν γυναῖκα ἀνδρὶ μὴ ἔλθεῖν εἰς μαρτυρίαν. 5
^{Lu. 8. 44.}
^c Mar. 5. 29.

CAPUT VIII.

Ἄλλοι τινες ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν ἔκραζον (λέγοντες)
 Ὁ ἀνθρώπος οὗτος δίκαιός ἐστιν καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια ὑπο-
^d Lu. 10. τάσσονται ^d αὐτῷ.
^{17, 20} λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις· καὶ διατί οἱ διδάσκαλοι
^{and Paul} ὑμῶν οὐχ ὑπετάγησαν αὐτῷ; λέγουσιν (τῷ Πιλάτῳ)· οὐκ 10
^{Epp.} οἶδαμεν. ἄλλοι εἶπον (τῷ Πιλάτῳ)· τὸν Λάζαρον^o ἤγειρεν
^{passim.} ἐκ νεκρῶν. Ἐντρομος γενόμενος ὁ ἡγεμὼν λέγει πρὸς
^{• Jno. 12.} ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων· καὶ τί θέλετε ἐκχέειν
^{9.} αἷμα ἀθῶον^f;
^f Mat. 27. 4.

CAPUT VII.

Et mulier quaedam nomine *Veronis* a longe clama-
 vit dicens: Fluens sanguine eram [annis duodecim],
 tetigi fimbriam vestimenti eius, et quievit fluxus
 sanguinis [mei]. Dicunt Iudaei [Pilato]: [nos]
 Legem habemus mulierem homini non venire ad
 testimonium.

CAPUT VIII.

Alii quidam virorum ac mulierum clamabant:
 Homo iste iustus est, et daemonia subiiciuntur illi.
 Dicit *ad illos* Pilatus, Et quare magistri vestri non
 sunt subiecti ei? Dicunt: Nescimus. Alii dixerunt:
 Lazarum suscitavit [post quatrimum] de mortuis.
 Tremefactus praeses dicit ad omnem multitudinem
 Iudaeorum: Et quid vultis effundere sanguinem
 innocentem?

¹ The Greek has *Βερνίκη*, Latin *Veronica*.

CAPUT IX.

Προσκαλεσάμενος ὁ Πιλάτος τὸν Νικόδημον καὶ τοὺς
 δώδεκα οἱ εἶπον ὅτι οὐ γεγέννηται ἐκ πορνείας, λέγει
 αὐτοῖς· τί ποιοῦμεν, ὅτι στάσις γίνεται ἐν τῷ λαῷ;
 Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· οὐκ οἶδαμεν, αὐτοὶ ὄψονται^{1 a}. πάλιν ὁ
 5 Πιλάτος προσκαλεσάμενος ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος λέγει· οἶδα
 ὅτι συνήθειά^b ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν ἀζύμων ἕνα
 τινὰ ἀπολύειν. ἔχω τινὰ κατὰδικον ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ ᾧ
 ὀνομά ἐστι Βαραββᾶς, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν κατενώπιον ὑμῶν
 στήκοντα (τὸν Ἰησοῦν)^c ἐν ᾧ οὐδὲν ἁμάρτημα² εὗρίσκω
 10 ἐν αὐτῷ^{3 a}. τίνα^d ἀπολύσω; λέγουσιν·^e Βαραββᾶν.
 λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος· Τί οὖν ποιήσω Ἰησοῦν ὃς ὠνομάσθη
 Χριστός^o; λέγουσιν· Σταυρωθήτω^f. ἕτεροι δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων
^o Jno. 19.
^a Mat.
^b 27. 4 and
^c 24.
^d Jno. 18.
^e 39.
^f Mat.
^g 27. 17.
^h Mat.
ⁱ 27. 23.

CAPUT IX.

Convocans Pilatus Nicodemum et duodecim [viros]
 qui dicebant quoniam non est natus ex fornicatione,
 dicit ad eos: Quid facimus, quoniam *seditio* fit in
 populo? Dicunt ei: Non noscimus; ipsi noscunt.
 Iterum Pilatus convocavit omnem multitudinem
 [Iudaeorum] et dicit: Scio quia consuetudo vestra est
 in die festo azymorum dimittere unum [e vinetis].
 Habeo quemdam damnatum in carcere [homicidam]
 nomine Barabba, et eum qui ante vos stat, in quo et
 nulla culpa invenitur in eo. Quem [vultis ut] dimit-
 tam vobis? Dicunt: Barabbam. Dicit eis Pilatus:
 Quid ergo faciam Iesum qui nominatus est Christus?
 Dicunt: Crucifigatur. Aliique ex Iudaeis dicebant:

¹ Arm. = 'they know.' The Arm. vulgate translated ὄψονται in the same way.

² The Arm. α has the word *jwjung* (= of evil spirits) which must be a corruption of *jwngwng* = 'of delinquencies.'

³ The structure of this clause ἐν ᾧ . . . ἐν αὐτῷ has a Syriac ring. But such Syriacisms sometimes occur in Armenian versions certainly made from Greek originals.

^a Jno. 19. λέγουσιν· ^a οὐκ εἶ φίλος Καίσαρος ^a, ὅτι εἶπεν ἑαυτὸν
 12. υἱὸν θεοῦ καὶ βασιλέα καὶ οὐ Καίσαρα.

Ἐθυμώθη ὁ Πιλάτος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ λέγει· ἀει-
 (στασιαστὸν τὸ ἔθνος ὑμῶν, καὶ) τοῖς ἐνεργέταις ὑμῶν
 ἀντιλέγετε.

5

Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· Ποίοις ἐνεργέταις· λέγει ὁ
 Πιλάτος· Ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν ἀπὸ σκληρᾶς δουλείας ἔσωσεν ὑμᾶς
^b Jno. 6. καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τὸ μάννα ^b ἐψώμισε ὑμῖν καὶ ὀρτυγο-
 31. μήτραν ἔδωκεν ὑμῖν καὶ ἐκ πέτρας ὕδωρ ἔδωκεν ὑμῖν, καὶ
 νόμον ἔδωκεν ὑμῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσι παρωργίσατε (κύ- 10
 ριον) τὸν θεὸν ὑμῶν καὶ ἠθέλησεν ὁ θεὸς ἀπολέσαι ὑμᾶς·
 καὶ ἐλιτάνευσεν Μωσῆς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν,
 καὶ νῦν καταγελᾷτε μου ὥσπερ ἐκείνου ὅτι βασιλέα μισῶ.

Ἀναστὰς ὁ Πιλάτος ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἤθελεν ἐξελεθῆναι.

^c Jno. 19. ^c ἔκραξαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι λέγοντες τῷ Πιλάτῳ· Ἡμεῖς βασιλέα 15
 15. τὸν Καίσαρα οἶδαμεν καὶ οὐ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ^c. καὶ γὰρ οἱ

^d Mat. 2. Μάγοι ^d ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν δῶρα ἤνεγκαν αὐτῷ ὡς βασιλεῖ,
 1.

Non es amicus Caesaris, quia dixit se filium dei esse
 et regem: [an forte vis hunc esse regem] ¹ et non
 Caesarem.

Iratus est Pilatus in Iudaeos et dicit: *Semper
 contrarii estis benefactoribus vestris.* Dicunt Iudaei:
quibus benefactoribus? Dicit Pilatus: Deus vester
 de dura servitute eripuit vos, et in eremo *cibavit* vos
 manna et *dedit vobis cibum* coturnicem, et *de scopulosa
 petra potavit* vos, et dedit vobis legem: et *super* haec
 omnia irritastis deum vestrum, [et quaesivistis vitulum
 sculptum.] Et voluit deus occidere vos: et depre-
 catus est Moyses pro vobis et non *mortui estis.* Et
 nunc *dicitis mihi* quia regem odi [ego].

Exsurgit Pilatus de tribunali et voluit exire.
 Clamaverunt Iudaei et dicunt Pilato: Nos Regem
 Caesarem scimus et non *Christum.* Nam et magi ab

¹ This omission in α may be due to homoioteleuton.

λέγοντες ὅτι σὺ εἶ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων^a, σῶσον^a Mat. 2.
 ἡμᾶς¹. καὶ ἀκούσας δ' Ἡρώδης βασιλεὺς ὅτι ἐγεννήθη,³
 ἐζήτησεν ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν. γνοὺς ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ
 Ἰωσήφ^b παρέλαβεν αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔφυγεν^b Mat. 2.
 5 εἰς Αἴγυπτον· καὶ ἀκούσας Ἡρώδης ἀπώλεσεν τοὺς¹⁴
 παῖδας^c τῶν Ἑβραίων τοὺς γεννηθέντας ἐν Βηθλεέμ.^c Mat. 2.
 Ἀκούσας τοὺς λόγους τούτους παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων¹⁶
 ἐφοβήθη καὶ κατασιγήσας τοὺς ὄχλους οἱ ἔκραζον, λέγει
 αὐτοῖς· ὃν ἐζητεῖ Ἡρώδης; λέγουσιν, οὗτός ἐστιν. καὶ
 10^d λαβὼν ὁ Πιλάτος ὕδωρ ἀπενίψατο τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἀπέναντι^d Mat.
 πάντων² λέγων· ἀθῶός εἰμι ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ δικαίου^{27. 24,}
 τούτου· ὑμεῖς ὄψεσθε. πάλιν ἔκραζον λέγοντες· τὸ αἷμα^{25.}
 αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν^d.

oriente munera obtulerunt ei, sicut regi dicentes: tu es rex Iudaeorum, salva nos. Et cum audisset Herodes [a magis quia] rex natus est, voluit occidere eum. Cognovit pater eius Ioseph et tulit eum et matrem eius, et fugit in Egyptum. Tunc iratus Herodes iussit occidere infantes Iudaeorum qui nati sunt in Bethleem, et in omnibus finibus eius³.

Cum audisset haec [Pilatus] a Iudaeis extimens, imposuit silentium populo, qui clamabant, et dixit iis: [Quis] quem quaerebat Herodes? Dicunt [Iudaei]: [immo] iste est. Sumsit Pilatus aquam, lavit manus suas coram omnibus dicens: Innocens sum ego a sanguine iusti istius: vos noscitis. Iterum clamaverunt dicentes: Sanguis eius super nos et super filios nostros.

¹ This is an extra-canonical detail.

² The Coptic had πάντων 'coram omnibus': Greek A and Latt. have τοῦ ὄχλου: Greek B C τοῦ ἡλίου.

³ γ reads instead of Tunc iratus, &c., the following: Tunc sine otio erat Herodes, advocante Augusto Caesare. Sed postquam reversus est post unum annum, iussit interfici infantes Bethleem et finium eius secundum tempus veniendi mayorum.

Τότε ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Πιλάτος καταπέτασμα ἐλκυσθῆναι
ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος οὗ ἐκαθέζετο. ἀπεφώνητο ¹
οὕτως· τὸ ἔθνος σου λέγει ² σε ὡς βασιλέα· διὰ τοῦτο
^a Mat. 27. 26 and Mar. 15. 15. ἐκέλευσα πρῶτον φραγελλοῦσθαι ^a διὰ τῶν θεσμῶν τῶν
^b Jno. 19. 41 and P. E. 24. εὐσεβῶν βασιλέων ³, καὶ τότε ἀρτᾶσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ⁵
σταυροῦ ἐν τῷ κήπῳ ^b ὅπου ἐπιδόσθη ^c, καὶ Δημᾶς καὶ
Γεστᾶς δύο κακοῦργοι ^d σὺν αὐτῷ ⁴.

CAPUT X.

^c Jno. 11. 57 and
passim.

^d Lu. 23. 32.

^e Mat. 27. 38 and Mar. 15. 27.

^f Mat. 27. 28.

^g Lu. 23. 11.

^h Mat. 27. 29.

(Καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐκ τοῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ οἱ δύο ^o
ληισταὶ ^a σὺν αὐτῷ) ὅτε ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, ἐξέδυσαν ^f
τὰ ἱμάτια ^f αὐτοῦ (οἱ στρατιῶται) καὶ ^g ἐνέδυσαν αὐτῷ ¹⁰
σινδόνιον λευκόν ^g, καὶ ^h στέφανον ἀκανθινὸν ἔθηκαν ἐπὶ

Tunc Pilatus iussit velum protrahi ante tribunal
ubi *sedebant*; sententiam protulit hoc modo: Gens tua
dixerunt de te *propter regnum tui*: ideoque praecipio
primum flagellari secundum *legem pii imperatoris*, et
deinde in crucem *agant te*. [Tunc sumserunt eum et
portaverunt] in hortum, ubi [etiam] *deprehensi sunt*
Demas et Gestas duo malefactores una cum eo.

CAPUT X.

Quando venerunt ad locum, exspoliaverunt vesti-
menta eius et *praecinxerunt eum cinctura*, et coronam
de spinis posuerunt super caput eius [et egerunt eum

¹ The Arm. = 'he gave a verdict' (ἀπόφασις).

² The Arm. = 'speak about thee as about a king.'

³ The Coptic, Latin, and Greek all have the plural βασιλέων: β alone has the singular.

⁴ The reading of a is echoed in the Coptic version: *Primum iubeo te flagellis caedi propter leges celsorum regum; deinde in crucem agi eo in loco ubi fuisti comprehensus, una cum Dema et Cysta duobus latronibus, qui tecum comprehensi sunt*. Tischendorf remarks of the Coptic: *male igitur interpres reddidit συσταυρωθ. σοι*, but the agreement of a suggests that we have here preserved an extra-canonical detail which has disappeared from the other sources. I know of no tradition which represents Jesus as having been crucified in the same garden in which he was taken, viz. Gethsemane.

κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ^h. ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς δύο κακούργους^a ἐκρέ-^a Lu. 23.
 μασαν^a, τὸν Δημῶν ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ τὸν Γεστᾶν ἐξ³⁹
 εὐωνύμων¹. ^b ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἔλεγεν· πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς· οὐ^b Lu. 23.
 γὰρ οἶδασιν τί ποιοῦσιν· καὶ διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ^b
 5 οἱ στρατιῶται. ^c καὶ ἴστατο ὁ λαὸς καὶ ἐθεώρει· καὶ^c Lu. 23.
 ἐνέπαιζον αὐτὸν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες (σὺν αὐτοῖς
 ἅμα) λέγοντες· ἄλλους ἔσωσεν, σωσάτω ἑαυτὸν, εἰ υἱὸς τοῦ
 θεοῦ ἐστίν. ἐνέπαιζον καὶ στρατιῶται, προσφέροντες αὐτῷ
 ὄξος καὶ χολήν^d, λέγοντες· εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰουδαίων,^d Mat.
 10 σῶσον σεαυτὸν. Ἐκέλευσεν δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος μετὰ τὴν²⁷ 34
 ἀπόφασιν τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιγραφῆναι εἰς τίτλον^e Ἑλληνιστί
 καὶ Ῥωμαϊστί² καὶ Ἑβραϊστί, καθὼς εἶπαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ὅτι^e Jno. 19.
 βασιλεὺς ἐστὶν Ἰουδαίων.²⁰

in crucem]. Similiter et duos malefactores suspen-
 derunt, Demam a dextris et Gestam a sinistris. Iesus
 autem dicit: Pater, dimitte illis: non enim sciunt
 quid faciunt. Et diviserunt vestimenta eius milites.
 Et stabat populus et spectabat: et contemnebant eum,
 et principes sacerdotum et iudices³ dicebant: Alios
 salvavit, salvet se ipsum; si filius dei est [electus].
 Illudebant et iam milites offerentes ei acetum *mixtum*
*cum felle*⁴ dicentes: Si tu es rex Iudaeorum, libera
 temetipsum.

[Tunc] post *prolatam* sententiam Pilatus iussit
 scribi in titulo Graece et Dalmatice⁵ et Hebraice,
 secundum quod dixerunt Iudaei: Rex est Iudaeorum.

¹ The words τὸν Δημῶν . . . εὐωνύμων are excluded by Tischendorf from his Greek text, though the old Latin and Coptic versions have them. Also the Greek MS. A adds Δυσμῶν ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ Στέφαν (Latt. Copt. Gestam) ἐξ εὐωνύμων. Other Greek MSS. omit or, like B, do not say which thief was on which hand.

² The Arm. = *Dalmatice*.

³ Arm. = 'rulers.'

⁴ In Mat. 27. 34 some texts read ὄξος μετὰ χολῆς μεμυγμένον.

⁵ *Dalmatice* is the old Armenian rendering in the N. T. of *Latine*.

Εἰς τις τῶν κρεμασθέντων, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Γεστᾶς λέγει αὐτῷ· εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός, σῶσον ἡμᾶς καὶ σεαυτόν. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Δημᾶς ἐπετίμα λέγων τῷ ἐταίρῳ αὐτοῦ· οὐ φοβῆ σὺ τὸν θεόν, ὅτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κρίματι (καὶ ἡμεῖς) ἐσμέν· ἡμεῖς μὲν δικαίως ἂ ἐπράξαμεν ἀπολαμβάνομεν, καὶ ἐπι- 5 τιμήσας τῷ ἐταίρῳ αὐτοῦ λέγει τῷ Ἰησοῦ· μνησθητί μου ὅταν ἔλθῃς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου. εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἀμὴν λέγω σοι, σήμερον¹ μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ.

CAPUT XI.

᾽Ως ἕκτη ὥρα ἦν σκότος ἔσχε (πᾶσαν)² τὴν γῆν ἕως ἐνάτης ὥρας· σκοτισθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου, ἐσχίσθη τὸ κατα- 10 πέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ ἀνὰ μέσον. καὶ ἐφώνησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς φωνῇ

Unus de suspensis nomine Gestas dicit ei: Si tu es Christus, libera *te et nos*. Respondit [socius cui nomen nuncupabatur] Demas et dicit irate: Non times tu deum, quia in eodem iudicio sumus? nos iuste[, nam digna] ea quae egimus recipimus; et increpuit socio suo, et dicit ad Iesum: Memento mei, [domine,] quum venis in regno tuo. Dicit *Iesus*: Amen dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in paradiso.

CAPUT XI.

Erat autem quasi sexta hora et tenebrae tenuerunt terram usque ad nonam horam. Obscurato autem sole, scissum est velum templi in duas partes. Clamavit Iesus voce magna et dixit: halach phich drowi,

¹ In the later B form alone of the Greek Acts is *σήμερον* joined with *λέγω σοι*. To this form therefore must refer Professor A. Robinson's note on p. 375 of J. H. Hill's translation of the Arabic diatessaron.

² *πᾶσαν* is read in Greek A; *ὅλην* B; 'universam' in Lat. and Copt., but notice that all sources except the Armenian have *σκότος ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν*. The Arm. *α* and *β* imply *σκότος εἶχε* (or *κατέσχε*) *τὴν γῆν*. Cp. the Pseudo-Petrine Gospel c. 15. Notice that although the A. P. throughout this passage follow Luke's Gospel, yet in regard to the eclipse they forsake him.

μεγάλη, καὶ λέγει· ἀλάχ, φιγδ ροιν, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται·
(πάτερ)¹, εἰς χεῖρας σου παρατίθημι τὸ πνεῦμά μου. καὶ
τοῦτο εἰπὼν παρέδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ ἐκατόνταρχος τὰ
γενόμενα ἐδόξασεν τὸν θεὸν λέγων, ὅτι ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος
5 δίκαιος ἦν. καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ὁ παραγενόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν
θεωρίαν ταύτην, [ἐθεώρουν τὰ γενόμενα], ἔτυπτον τὰ στήθη
ἐαυτῶν καὶ ὑπέστρεφον ^a.

^a Lu. 23.
48.

Ὁ δὲ ἐκατόνταρχος ἀνῆνεγκεν τὰ γενόμενα τῷ ἡγεμόνι.
ἀκούσας ὁ ἡγεμὼν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἐλυπήθησαν σφόδρα,
10 καὶ οὐκ ἔφαγον οὐδὲ ἔπιον ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ. μετα-
πεινῶμενος ὁ Πιλάτος τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·
ἐθεωρήσατε τὰ γενόμενα· λέγουσιν αὐτοὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνι·
ἐκλειψις ἡλίου^b κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς γέγονε.

^b Lu. 23.
45.

Ἐίστήκεισαν πάντες οἱ γνωστοὶ Ἰησοῦ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν, καὶ
15 γυναῖκες αἱ ἐλθοῦσαι ἦσαν ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐωρῶν ταῦτα ^c.

^c Lu. 23.
49.

quod interpretatur in manus tuas commendo spiritum
meum. Et haec locutus emisit spiritum. Videns
quae facta sunt centurio glorificavit deum dicens:
[Vere] homo hic *filius dei est*. Et omnis populus qui
interfuerunt ad *videndum*, percutiebant pectora sua et
revertebantur.

Centurio autem retulit quae facta sunt praesidi.
Audivit praeses et mulier eius, et contristati sunt
valde, non manducaverunt neque biberunt in *diebus*
illis. Pilatus autem adducens Iudaeos ad sese dixit
eis: Vidistis quodcunque factum est? Dicunt illi
praesidi: Eclipsis solis secundum consuetudinem
[suam] facta est.

Stabant omnes noti Iesu a longe et mulieres quae
secutae fuerant a Galilea *videre* illud. Et vir quidam

¹ The Greek texts read *πατήρ* (or *πάτερ*) before and not after the Aramaic formula. In *a* it is placed more naturally after it.

- ^a Lu. 23. 50-53. ^a καὶ (ἰδοῦ) ¹ ἀνὴρ τις, ὄνομα Ἰωσήφ πολιτάρχης, ἀνὴρ δίκαιος καὶ ἀγαθοεργός, οὗτος οὐ συγκατέθετο τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ πράξει αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Ἀρίμαθεμ πόλεως καὶ ἔθνους Ἰουδαίων, καὶ προσεδέχετο τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, οὗτος προσελθὼν τῷ Πιλάτῳ ᾗτήσατο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ καθελὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐνετύλιξεν καθαρᾷ ^b σινδόνι καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐν λαξεύτῳ μνημείῳ ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἦν οὐδεὶς οὐδέτερος ^a.
- ^b Mat. 27. 59. ^b Mat. 27. 59.

CAPUT XII.

- Ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ὅτι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ᾗτήσατο ὁ Ἰωσήφ, ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς δώδεκα τοὺς εἰπόντας ὅτι οὐ γεγέννηται ἐκ πορνείας καὶ τὸν Νικόδημον ¹⁰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐταίρους οἵτινες ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Πιλάτου τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἐφάνερωσαν. πάντων δὲ ἀποκρυβέντων ^c μόνος ὁ Νικόδημος ὤφθη, ὅτι ἀρχων ἦν τῶν Ἰουδαίων.
- ^c P. E. 26. ^c P. E. 26.

cui nomen erat Ioseph, urbis princeps, vir iustus et benefactor, is non erat adsentiens consiliis et actibus illorum, eratque e civitate Iudaeorum cui nomen erat Iarimathem, qui quidem expectabat regnum dei, is accessit ad Pilatum et petiit corpus Iesu. Et deponens de cruce involvit [in] munda sindone, et posuit eum in exsculpto monumento, in quo nullus fuerat positus.

CAPUT XII.

Audierunt Iudaei quia corpus Iesu petierat Ioseph, quaerebant eum et illos duodecim [viros] qui dicebant quia non est natus de fornicatione, et Nicodemum, et alios *socios* eius qui coram Pilato bona opera eius referebant. Omnibus iis latentibus, solus Nicodemus apparuit, quia princeps erat Iudaeorum, dicit Iudaeis:

¹ Greek B C, also Latin and Coptic retain ἰδοῦ. Greek A omits.

Λέγει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις· πῶς εἰσῆλθατε εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· σὺ πῶς ἦλθες εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν; ὅτι συνίστωρ αὐτοῦ ἦς, σὺν αὐτῷ τὸ μέρος σου ἐν τῷ (μέλλουσι) αἰῶνι¹.

- 5 Λέγει ὁ Νικόδημος· ἀμήν, (ἀμήν, ἀμήν). ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰωσήφ ὠφθεις λέγει· τί ἐλυπήθητε διότι ἡτήσαμην τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ; ἰδοὺ ἐν κοινῷ^a μνημείῳ^a ἔθηκα^a αὐτόν, ἐντυλίξας ἐν καθαρᾷ σινδόνι^b, καὶ ὑμεῖς οὐ καλῶς ἐπράξατε κατὰ τοῦ δικαίου τούτου, ὅτι οὐ μετεμελήθητε^b 27. 60. 27. 59.
10 τοῦ σταυρώσαι αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγχῃ^c ἐκεντήσατε^c αὐτόν². Κρατήσαντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὸν Ἰωσήφ ἐκέλευσαν^c ἀσφαλισθῆναι^d αὐτόν. λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· τοῦτο γίνωσκε^d ὅτι ἡ ὥρα οὐκ ἀπαιτεῖ πρᾶξαί τι κατὰ σοῦ, ὅτι σάββατον^e 27. 64-6. 27. 54.

Quomodo ingressi estis synagogam? Dicunt ei Iudaei: Tu quomodo *ingressus es* synagogam, quia consentiens³ illi eras? Cum illo pars tua in seculo. Dixit Nicodemus: Amen. Similiter et Ioseph apparuit, dicit: Quid contristati estis [de me], quia petii corpus Iesu? Ecce in communi⁴ monumento posui eum involvens in munda sindone, [et lapidem advolvi ad ostium speluncae]. Et vos non bene egistis de iusto illo; neque poenituit vobis a crucifigendo eum, sed lancea perculistis *latus eius*. [Tunc] tenuerunt Iudaei Ioseph et iusserunt custodiri et dicunt: *gratias age*; quia hora non est exigere aliquid, quia sabbatum

¹ All Greek and most Latin sources, also Coptic, read τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ σου ἐν τ. μ. αἰ. Two Latin MSS. alone, A and B, exhibit the Armenian reading: *Portio tua sit cum illo*, &c. μέλλουσι is read in all sources except B.

² ἐκεντήσατε αὐτόν] B literally = *perculistis latera eius*.

³ Arm. = *eadem narrans*.

⁴ = κοινῷ, a misreading of καινῷ, which proves this translation to have been made from Greek.

διαφαύει. (ἔτι δὲ ἀκριβῶς) γίνωσκε¹ ὅτι καὶ ταφῆς
 ἄξιος οὐκ εἶ, ἀλλὰ δίδομεν τὸ σῶμά σου τοῖς πετεινοῖς
 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τοῖς θηρίοις τοῦ ἀγροῦ. λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ
 Ἰωσήφ· οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι τοῦ ὑπερηφάνου Γολιάδ εἰσὶν, ὃς
 ὤνελδισεν θεὸν ζῶντα καὶ τὸν ἅγιον Δαυίδ. εἶπεν ὁ θεός· 5

- ^a Ro. 12.
 19 and
 He. 10.
 30.
^b Ro. 2.
 29 and
 Deut. 10.
 16 and
 30. 6.
^c Mat.
 27. 24.
^d 1 Th. 2.
 16.
- ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, κἀγὼ ἀνταποδώσω^a. οὗτος δὲ ὁ ἀκρόβυστος²
 τῇ σαρκὶ καὶ περιτεμνόμενος^b τῇ καρδίᾳ^c λαβὼν ὕδωρ
 ἀπενίψατο κατέναντι τοῦ ἡλίου (λέγων)· ἀθῶός εἰμι ἐγὼ
 ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ δικαίου τούτου· ὑμεῖς ὄψεσθε· καὶ
 ὑμεῖς ἀπεκρίθητε (τῷ Πιλάτῳ), λέγοντες· τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἔφ'¹⁰
 ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν^c. καὶ νῦν φοβοῦμαι μήποτε
 φθάσει ἡ ὀργὴ^d (κυρίου)³ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἢ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν.
 Ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοὺς λόγους τούτους⁴ ἐπι-

*illucescebat. Cognosce quia nec sepultura olim eras
 dignus sed dabamus carnem tuam volatilibus coeli et
 bestiis terrae. Dicit eis Ioseph: Iste sermo Goliad
 superbi est, qui exprobravit deo vivo et sancto David.
 Dixit deus [per prophetam]: Mihi vindicta et ego
 retribuam, [dicit dominus]. Hic non circumcisis
 carne, sed circumcisis corde accipiens aquam lavit
 ante solem: Innocens sum ego, dicit, a sanguine iusti
 [istius]; vos cognoscitis. Et vos respondistis di-
 centes: Sanguis istius super nos et super filios
 nostros. Et nunc timeo ne quando adveniat vobis
 ira et in filios vestros [sicut vos dixistis]. Audientes
 autem Iudaei verba haec amariciti sunt animis suis;*

¹ τοῦτο γίγν. κ.τ.λ.] β = 'be thankful that 'tis not the hour to exact aught,'
 as if the Greek were εὐχαρίσται ὅτι ἡ ὥρα οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπαιτεῖν, and omits πρᾶξαι
 τι κατὰ σοῦ. Of that reading as of ἔτι δὲ ἀκριβῶς in a I find no echo in other
 sources.

² The phrase in the text must be derived from the apocryph of Jeremiah
 cited by Gregory of Nyssa (p. 313, ed. Zacagni): περιτέμνεσθε τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν
 καὶ μὴ τὴν σάρκα τῆς ἀκροβυστίας ὑμῶν. Vide Resch, *Aussercanonische
 Paralleltexte*, Leipsic, 1894, p. 375.

³ Κυρίου is in all Greek sources. Coptic and Latin have Dei.

⁴ After τούτους three or four letters are erased in a.

κράνθησαν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἑαυτῶν, καὶ κρατήσαντες τὸν Ἰωσήφ ἐνέκλεισαν εἰς οἶκον ὅπου οὐκ ἦν θυρίς. καὶ παραφύλακες παρέμειναν¹ τῇ θύρᾳ· καὶ ἐσφράγισαν² τὴν θύραν ὅπου ἐνέκλεισαν Ἰωσήφ. ^a Mat. 27. 66.

- 5 Τῷ δὲ σαββάτῳ ὅρον ὥρισαν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευῖται ὥστε πάντας εὐρεθῆναι ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ· ἐβουλεύοντο ποίῳ θανάτῳ ἀποκτείνωσιν αὐτόν. καθεσθέντος δὲ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐκέλευσαν ἀχθῆναι αὐτὸν μετὰ πολλῆς ἀτιμίας· καὶ ἀνοίξαντες τὴν θύραν οὐδένα εὗρον^b αὐτοῦ ^b Lu. 24. 3.
- 10 ('illic'). καὶ ἐξέστη πᾶς ὁ λαὸς καὶ ἔκθαμβοι^c ἐγένοντο ^c Mar. 16. 5. ὅτι τὰς σφραγίδας εὗρον σώας² καὶ τὴν κλεῖδα ἐῖχεν ὁ Καϊάφας· καὶ οὐκ ἔτι ἐτόλμησαν ἐπιβαλεῖν τὰς χεῖρας (αὐτῶν), οἳ ἐλάλησαν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Πιλάτου περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

[deinde] incluserunt eum in clauastro ubi non erat fenestra, et custodes posuerunt ad ianuas, et signaverunt ianuam ubi erat inclusus Ioseph.

Sabbato autem tempus definitum fecerunt *synagogae principes et Levitae* ut omnes congregarentur in *synagoga* [in prima sabbatorum. Et vigilantes diluculo omnis multitudo in *synagoga*] consiliati sunt quali morte interficerent eum. Sedente autem congregatione iusserunt duci eum cum *magna* iniuria: et aperientes ianuam neminem invenerunt. Inhiaverunt omnes populi, et extimuerunt quia signacula invenerunt signata, [et custodes stabant ad portam,] et *clavem habuit* Caiphas. Et amplius non ausi sunt mittere manum in eos qui locuti sunt ante Pilatum de Iesu.

¹ Lit. *appositi sunt*.

² A alone of the other sources shows this reading.

CAPUT XIII.

Ἐτι δὲ αὐτῶν συναχθέντων καὶ θαυμαζόντων διὰ τὸν
 Ἰωσήφ, ^a ἡλθόν τινες τῆς κουστωδίας, οἷς ἐπεστήσαντο
 οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι παρὰ τοῦ Πιλάτου τηρεῖν ^b τὸ σῶμα. καὶ
 ἀνήγγειλαν τοῖς ἀρχισυναγώγοις καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ
 πάντι τῷ ὄχλῳ τὰ γενόμενα· τὸ πῶς ἐγένετο ^a ^c σεισμὸς 5
 (μέγας) ¹, καὶ εἶδομεν ^d ὅτι ἄγγελος τοῦ κυρίου κατέβη ἐξ
 οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀπεκύλισεν τὸν λίθον ^c. ἀνέστη (γὰρ θαυμαστὸς
 (οἱ -τῇ) ἐν δόξῃ ^e καὶ ἐλάλει ταῖς γυναιξίν ὁ κύριος) ².
^a Mat. 28. 11.
^b Mat. 28. 4.
^c Mat. 28. 2.
^d Mar. 16. 5.
^e 1 Cor. 15. 43.

CAPUT XIII.

Et dum illi congregati erant atque mirabantur de Ioseph venerunt quidam de custodibus, quos statuerant Iudaei a Pilato custodire *sepulcrum Iesu*, [ne venientes discipuli eius furentur eum]. Annuntiaverunt *sacerdotum principibus et senioribus synagogae quaecunque facta sunt*, [responderunt principes sacerdotum et dicunt:] quomodo factus est terrae motus. [Aiunt dum custodiebamus nos] vidimus angelum domini descendentem de coelo et revolvit lapidem [ab ostio sepulcri]; [et erat adspectus eius sicut fulgur, et vestimentum eius album sicut nix. Et prae timore eius facti sumus velut mortui. Et audivimus vocem angeli loquentis mulieribus, quae stabant ad sepulcrum Iesu quia: Ne timete; Iesum crucifixum quaeritis: non est hic,] surrexit [autem sicut dixit; venite et videte locum ubi posuerunt eum. Et euntes dicite discipulis, quia iam praecedit vos in Galilaeam, ibique videte eum. Ecce dixi vobis].

¹ Some Latin editions read *terrae motus* only, omitting *magnus* which Latin MSS. add.

² Here β adds much that agrees generally with Matt. 28. 1-6. The text of α is found in no other source. In the canonical texts it is one or two angels who converse with the women about the risen Lord. Christ himself does not appear or speak. In the P. E. alone Christ appears, but does not speak. The

λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· ποίαις γυναῖξιν ἐλάλει·
 λέγουσιν· οἶδαμεν ποῖαι ἦσαν. λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι·
 ποία ὥρα ἦν; λέγουσιν οἱ τῆς κουστωδίας¹· μέσης
 νυκτός*. λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· διὰ τί οὐκ ἐκρατήσατε ^a P.E. 36.
 5 τὰς γυναῖκας; λέγουσιν οἱ τῆς κουστωδίας· ^b ὥς νεκροὶ ^b Mat.
 ἐγενόμεθα^b ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου, μὴ ἐλπίζοντες ἰδεῖν τὸ φῶς ^{28. 4.}
 τῆς ἡμέρας· (πῶς εἶχομεν² αὐτάς;) λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι·
 ζῇ κύριος, (ὅτι) οὐ πιστεύομεν ὑμῖν. λέγουσιν οἱ τῆς
 κουστωδίας· τοσαῦτα σημεῖα εἶδετε εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ
 10 οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε· ἡμῖν πῶς πιστεύετε; καὶ γὰρ καλῶς
 ὠμόσατε ὅτι ζῇ κύριος. πάλιν λέγουσιν οἱ τῆς κουστω-
 δίας· ἠκούσαμεν ὅτι τὸν αἰτησάμενον τὸ σῶμα τοῦ
 Ἰησοῦ, ἐνεκλείσατε αὐτὸν ἐν οἴκῳ τιῇ καὶ τὴν θύραν

Dicunt Iudaei [custodibus]: Quibus mulieribus loquebatur? Dicunt: *nescimus* quae erant. Dicunt Iudaei: et quae hora fuit? Dicunt custodes: *Media* nocte. Dicunt Iudaei: Quare non tenuistis *eas*? Dicunt custodes: Tanquam mortui facti sumus a timore, non sperabamus videre lumen diei: Dicunt Iudaei: Vivit dominus, non credimus vobis. Dicunt custodes: Tanta signa vidistis *in homine illo* et non credidistis [illi]: nobis quomodo crederetis? *Istud autem bene iurastis quia* vivit dominus. Iterum dicunt custodes [Iudaeis]: Audivimus [nos] quia qui petiit corpus Iesu, inclusistis eum in domum unam et

statement here in *a* that the Lord spoke with the women is consistent with the omission of Mat. 28. 5, 6, of which *β* gives the substance, and also with the obliteration in *a* of a word immediately below after *ποίαις γυναῖξιν ἐλάλει*. The word erased may have answered to *ὁ Κύριος* or *ὁ Ἰησοῦς*. Perhaps the original text of the A. P. has been here mutilated, as giving extra-canonical details. Yet this is doubtful, for below in xiii. 2 the guards say: *ὁ Ἰησοῦς καθὼς ἠκούσαμεν τοῦ ἀγγέλου ἀνέστη καὶ ἔστιν ἐν Γαλιλαίᾳ* (cp. Mat. 28. 5-7).

¹ Here and elsewhere the Arm. is equivalent simply to 'milites.'

² Perhaps we should render the Armenian *πῶς ἐκρατοῦμεν αὐτάς*, but since *πῶς εἶχομεν κρατῆσαι αὐτάς* is read in Coptic and other sources, it is more probable that *κρατῆσαι* has dropped out of the text of *a*.

ἡσφαλίσατε καὶ ἐσφραγίσατε καὶ ὥς ἡνοίξατε, οὐχ εὔρατε αὐτόν. δότε οὖν ὑμεῖς τὸν Ἰωσήφ, καὶ ἡμεῖς δίδομεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν. λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς ἐκ κουστωδίας· ἡμεῖς δίδομεν τὸν Ἰωσήφ, καὶ ὑμεῖς δότε τὸν Ἰησοῦν. λέγουσιν οἱ τῆς κουστωδίας· πρῶτον ὑμεῖς δότε τὸν Ἰωσήφ, 5 καὶ εἴθ' ἡμεῖς δίδομεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν. λέγουσιν (τοῖς τῆς κουστωδίας)¹. ὁ Ἰωσήφ εἰς πόλιν αὐτοῦ ἀπῆλθεν. λέγουσιν οἱ τῆς κουστωδίας (πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους)². καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καθὼς ἠκούσαμεν τοῦ ἀγγέλου, ἀνέστη³, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ. 10

^a P. E. 30
and 56.

^b Lu. 22.
2 and
P. E. 28.
^c Mat.
28. 11.
^d P. E. 48.

^e P. E. 30.
^f Mat.
28. 12.

Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐφοβήθησαν^b σφόδρα^c, λέγοντες· ἄμήποτε^d ἀκουσθῇ ὁ λόγος οὗτος καὶ πάντες ἐξομολογήσωνται εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν^d. καὶ συμβούλιον^e ποιήσαντες ἀλλήλοις, (οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι) ἀργύρια 10
portam clusistis et signastis [anulo], et quum aperu-
istis [portam] non invenistis eum. Date ergo vos
Ioseph, et nos damus Iesum. Dicunt Iudaei custo-
dibus: nos damus Ioseph, vos date Iesum. Dicunt
custodes [Iudaeis]: Primo vos date Ioseph, et nos
damus Iesum. Dicunt *Iudaei*: Ioseph civitatem
suam ivit [Arimathem]. Dicunt custodes: Et Iesus,
quemadmodum audivimus ab angelo [qui saxum
revolvit, quia] *praecedat vos* in Galilaea.

Quum audirent Iudaei sermones hos, timuerunt
valde, dicentes: Ne quando *audiatur* sermo iste et
omnes declinent in Iesum. Et consilium *facientes*
una cum senioribus argentum multum dederunt mili-
tibus, dicentes: [Dicite quia nobis dormientibus
venerunt discipuli eius et furati sunt eum. Et si
auditum fuerit a praeside, nos satisfaciemus ei et vos

¹ For τοῖς τ. κ. the Greek MS. A has τοῖς ἐπηρέταις. Other Greek sources omit. So also Coptic. The Lat. MSS. A C add 'custodibus.'

² Some Greek sources omit πρὸς τ. 'I., also the Latin B C and Coptic. Others retain.

ἱκανὰ ἔδωκαν τοῖς στρατιώταις λέγοντες ἵνα μὴ δηλώ-
σωσιν¹.

CAPUT XIV.

Φίλεός τις ἱερεὺς καὶ Ἀδδᾶς διδάσκαλος καὶ Ἐγίας
λευίτης κατελθόντες ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις
5 ἐξηγήσαντο τῇ συναγωγῇ (καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν) ὅτι εἶδον
τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ τοὺς ἑνδεκα μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ καθεζομένους
ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον Μαμβρήχ, καὶ ἔλεγεν τοῖς
μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ. * πορευθέντες εἰς τὸν κόσμον κηρύξατε * Mar.
πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει· καὶ ὁ πιστεύσας (καὶ βαπτισθεὶς)² σωθή- 16. 15-
19.
10 σεται, ὁ δὲ ὀλιγοπιστήσας κατακριθήσεται. (σημεῖα δὲ τοῖς
πιστεύσασιν παρακολουθήσουσιν, τουτέστι· ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί
μου δαιμόνια ἐκβαλοῦσιν, ἐν γλώσσαις λαλήσουσιν, κἄν περ
θανάσιμόν τι πῶσιν οὐ μὴ βλάβῃ αὐτούς, καὶ ἐπὶ ἀρρώστους

securos faciemus. Illi vero accipientes argentum,
fecerunt sic ut didicerunt: et exiit rumor iste
e Iudaeis usque hodie].

CAPUT XIV.

Philemón sacerdos et *Adas* doctor et *Egias* Levita,
descenderunt de Galilaea in Ierusalem et retulerunt
archisynagogis, quoniam viderunt Iesum et undecim
discipulos eius, quoniam *sedebat* in monte, cui nomen
erat *Sambrelech*, et dicebat discipulis suis: Ite in
mundum *confessionis*, et hoc quod vidistis annuntiate.

¹ α while here omitting much that is given in β and in all the other sources, is yet consistent with itself and shows no sign of having been mutilated. Indeed that such is not the case is proved by the kindred omission in α xiv. 3. Here then α seems to present a text which goes back beyond every other source, including the Coptic. Such matter is more likely to have been added by β than really omitted by α.

² On this passage see introduction. The passage σημεῖα . . . ἔξει αὐτοῖς is omitted in the Latin sources E Eins. Fabr. Cors. In the Latin editions D^{abc} and ed^{fr} they are absent. The Greek A omits in this passage Mar. 16. 16 and paraphrases Mar. 16. 17, 18 thus: ὅτι οἱ πιστοὶ πολλὰ σημεῖα ποιήσουσι καὶ πολλοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἰάσονται. The Coptic retains the entire passage.

χείρας ἐπιθήσουσιν καὶ καλῶς ἔξει αὐτοῖς). καὶ ἔτι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ λαλοῦντος πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ, εἶδομεν αὐτὸν ἀναληφθέντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν.

Λέγουσιν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ λεῦνται· δότε τὴν δόξαν τῷ θεῷ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, καὶ δότε αὐτῷ 5 ἐξομολόγησιν, ταῦτα (ἅπερ ἐξηγήσασθε) ἠκούσατε καὶ ἴδετε ; λέγουσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐξηγησάμενοι· ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, ὅτι τοῦτο ἠκούσαμεν αὐτὸν ἀναληφθέντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· εἰς τοῦτο ἦλθατε οἱ ἐξηγησάμενοι 10 ἡμῖν, ἣ ἦλθατε εὐχὴν ἀποδοῦναι τῷ θεῷ ; λέγουσιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ λεῦνται πρὸς αὐτούς· εἰ (εὐχὴν) ἠΰξασθε ἀποδοῦναι τῷ θεῷ, εἰς τί ἔστιν ἡ φλυαρία αὕτη ἣν ἐφλυαρήσατε ἀπέναντι πάντος τοῦ λαοῦ* ; λέγει Φίλεος ἱερεὺς καὶ Ἀδδᾶς διδάσκαλος καὶ 15 Ἐγλάς λευίτης πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχισυναγώγους· εἰ οἱ λόγοι

* Mat.
27. 64.

*Et qui credunt salvi erunt*¹; qui vero non credunt, condemnabuntur. Et dum Iesus [hoc] loquebatur ad discipulos, vidimus eum *elevatum* in coelum.

Dicunt autem sacerdotum principes et *scribae* : Date gloriam deo Israel, et date confessionem ei, [quia] ista [accurate] *vidistis et audistis*. Dicunt *viri* : Vivit [dominus] deus patrum nostrorum, deus Abraam et Isaac et Iacob, quia hoc audivimus *ab eodem* [et vidimus] quod ascendit in caelum. Dicunt *sacerdotum principes* : Ad hoc venistis *nuntiare* nobis, an venistis *proferre preces vestras*? [Dicunt ei viri : Venimus proferre vota nostra.] Dicunt seniores et principes sacerdotum et Levitae *cum* iis : si votum venistis² perficere deo, cur deliramentum istud quod *iterastis* ante omnem populum? Dicit *Ambelianus sacerdotum princeps* et Adas didascalus et Egias Levita

¹ Arm. = 'shall live,' the common equivalent of 'shall be saved.'

² The Arm. = *si rovistis*, but there must be a corruption in the text.

οὗτοι οὓς ἐλαλήσαμεν καὶ ἠκούσαμεν ἁμαρτία εἶσιν, ἰδοὺ ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν ἐσμέν. ὃ ἂν ἀγαθὸν ἢ ποιήσατε. οἱ δὲ λαβόντες τὸν νόμον ὥρκισαν αὐτοὺς μηδενὶ ἐξηγήσασθαι τοὺς λόγους τούτους. ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν, 5 (καὶ ἐξέβαλαν αὐτοὺς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως)¹, καὶ (ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς) ἀργύρια καὶ ἄνδρας τρεῖς μετ' αὐτῶν, (καὶ ἤγαγον² αὐτοὺς) ἕως τῆς Γαλιλαίας. καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

Συμβούλιον δὲ ἐποίησαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, (πορευθέντων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ)³. ἀπέκλεισαν 10 ἑαυτοὺς οἱ ἀρχισυνάγωγοι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν καὶ * ἐκόπτοντο κοπετὸν μέγαν λέγοντες· ὅτι τί σημεῖον * P.E. 28. γέγονεν τοῦτο * ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ; λέγει Ἄννας καὶ Καϊάφας· τί περίλυποι αἱ ψυχαὶ ἡμῶν; τοῖς στρατιώταις

ad archisynagogas: Si verba ista quae locuti sumus, et audivimus [et vidimus], peccata sunt, ecce ante vos stamus: quodcunque *placet vobis* facite [nobis]. At illi accipientes *librum legum* adiuraverunt eos nulli narrare verba ista. Et dederunt eis manducare et bibere et argentum et viros tres, *duces vadendi iis* in Galilaeam, et vadebant in pace.

Consilium fecerunt Iudaei inter se, et concluserunt sese archisynagogae et sacerdotes in synagoga, plangebant planctum magnum et dicebant: Quid signum contigit hoc in Israel? Dicunt Annas et Caiphas: Quid tristes sunt animae vestrae? militibus ha-

¹ All Greek sources retain these words, also nearly all Latin sources. The same is true of the next two omissions.

² The AR. answers to the word used here in the Latin version, *perduzerunt*, rather than to ἀποκατίστησαν of the Greek.

³ These words omitted in β precede συμβούλιον ἐποίησαν in all the Greek MSS. except C, whose order alone tallies with that of α. No Greek sources omit them. Most Latin sources have the same order as α, but the Latin D^{ab} and ed^{pr} omit from πορευθέντων to καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς. Perhaps β, as rejecting a clause of which the position varies in other sources should be reckoned to here represent the older text.

- ^a Mat. 28. 2. ἔχομεν πιστεῦσαι, ὅτι ^a ἄγγελος κυρίου ἦλθε καὶ ἀπεκύλισεν τὸν λίθον ^a. ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὅσιον πιστεῦσαι ἀκροβύστοις, ὅτι καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ἔλαβον χρυσίον ἱκανὸν καὶ καθὼς ἐδιδάξαμεν ^b, οὕτως εἶπαν.
- ^b Mat. 28. 15.

CAPUT XV.

- ^a Mar. 14. 60. Ἀνέστη ὁ Νικόδημος ^c ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ συνεδρίου ('fori') ⁵ λέγων· ἀγνοεῖτε ¹, λαὸς (κυρίου) ², τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐλθόντας ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ; ὅτι αὐτοὶ εἰσιν φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν, ἄνδρες εὐποροὶ, μισοῦντες τὴν ἀναιδείαν, ἄνδρες εἰρήνης. αὐτοὶ ἐξηγήσαντο μετὰ ὄρκου ὅτι εἶδαμεν ^d τὸν
- ^d Mat. 28. 16.

bemus ³ credere quia angelus domini *descendit de caelo* et lapidem revolvit [ab monumento]? [Unde vero cognoscimus quia discipuli eius dederunt aurum multum custodibus sepulcri et tulerunt corpus Iesu docueruntque eos ita dicere:] Num nescitis quia non licet ⁴ credere non circumcisis aliquod verbum, quia etiam a nobis acceperunt *argentum* multum, et sicut docuimus [eos] ita dixerunt?

CAPUT XV.

Exsurgens Nicodemus in medio concilio ait [illis]: [Recte dixistis quodcumque dixistis. Omnis] populus *cognoscunt viros* [istos] qui venerunt de Galilaea quia illi sunt timentes dominum, viri *pacifici qui* oderunt insolentiam [et avaritiam]? ipsi narraverunt cum

¹ The Arm. α = *non noscite*. The Greek text and Coptic have: ὁρθῶς λαλεῖτε, οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε. The Latin texts omit οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε. Text β = ὁρθῶς εἶπατε, ὅπερ εἶπατε, ἅπας ὁ λαὸς γινώσκουσι τοὺς ἄνδρας. Thus α keeps what the Latin texts reject; they reject what it retains; while β has a reading of its own.

² Latin and Coptic omit λαὸς κυρίου.

³ The literal translation in α and β of the Greek phrase ἔχομεν, given in Greek BC, proves that the Armenian version was made from Greek. The old Latin has *debemus*.

⁴ γ = *fas est*

Ἰησοῦν καθεζόμενον εἰς τὸ ὄρος Μαμβρῆχ μετὰ τῶν
 ἕνδεκα μαθητῶν⁴ αὐτοῦ, ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοῖς ὅσα ἠκούσατε
 παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ εἶδον αὐτὸν ἀναληφθέντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν.
 καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἠρώτησεν αὐτοὺς τὸ ποίῳ σχήματι ἀνε-
 5 λήφθη. καὶ καθὼς διδάσκει ἡμᾶς τὸ ἅγιον βιβλίον ὅτι
 ὁ κύριος Ἡλίας ἀνελήφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ Ἐλισσαῖος
 ἐφώνησεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, καὶ ἔρριψεν Ἡλίας τὴν μηλωτὴν
 αὐτοῦ ἐπάνω τοῦ Ἐλισσαίου, καὶ ἔρριψεν Ἐλισσαῖος τὴν
 10 μηλωτὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπάνω τοῦ Ἐλισσαίου. καὶ ἔρριψεν ὁ
 Ἐλισσαῖος τὴν μηλωτὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπάνω τοῦ Ἰορδάνου,
 καὶ ἐπέρασεν καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Ἱεριχώ. καὶ ὑπήντησαν αὐτῷ
 τὰ τέκνα τῶν προφητῶν καὶ εἶπαν (Ἐλισσαίῳ), ποῦ ὁ
 κύριός σου (Ἡλίας); καὶ εἶπεν (Ἐλισσαῖος), ἀνελήφθη
 εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν· καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς Ἐλισσαῖον· μὴ πνεῦμά
 15 τι ἤρπασεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔρριψεν (αὐτὸν) ἐν ὄρεσί που;
 ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον λάβωμεν μεθ' ἡμῶν τοὺς παῖδας ἡμῶν καὶ
 ἀπελθόντες ζητήσωμεν. καὶ ἀπέκλεισαν τὸν Ἐλισσαῖον,
 καὶ οὐκ ἀπῆλθεν μετ' αὐτῶν. καὶ ἐξήτησαν αὐτὸν

sacramento, vidimus [ait] Iesum sedentem in monte
 Sambrelech cum undecim discipulis suis, quia docebat
 eos quod audivimus ab iisdem et vidimus eum *elevatum*
 in caelum. Et quod nullus interrogavit eos, quomodo
 ascendit. Docet enim nos scriptura sacra *de Elia*
quod elevatus est in caelum: et clamabat Elisaeus voce
magna, et proiecit melotem super eum: et Elisaeus
 [accipiens] melotem Eliae, *perculit* Iordanem, et tran-
 siit [in sicca] et venit Iericho. Et occurrerunt ei filii
 prophetarum et dicunt: Ubi est dominus tuus? Et
 dicit, ascendit in caelum. Et dicunt ad Elisaeum:
 Numquid spiritus aliquis rapuit eum et proiecit in
 montibus alicubi? sed magis tollamus nobiscum
 pueros nostros et eamus requiramus [eum]. Et
 incluserunt illoco Elisaeum, et ille non ibat cum illis:
 et [illi] quaesierunt eum tribus diebus, et non invene-

* Lu. 24. *τρεις ἡμέρας καὶ οὐχ εὗρον* ^a, καὶ ἔγνωσαν ὅτι ἀληθῶς ἀνελήφθη. Ἄλλ' ἀκούσατέ μου, καὶ ἀποστείλωμεν ἐν παντὶ ὄρει Ἰσραήλ, (καὶ ἴδωμεν) μήπως ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων ἡρπάσται καὶ ῥέριπται ἐν ὄρεσί που. καὶ ἤρρεσεν πᾶσιν ὁ λόγος οὗτος. καὶ ἀπέστειλαν εἰς πάντα τὰ ὄρεα ⁵ Ἰσραὴλ ζητῆσαι (αὐτόν. ἐζήτησαν) ¹ τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ οὐχ εὗρον· τὸν δὲ Ἰωσήφ εὗρομεν ἐν Ἀριμαθέμ ².

Ἀκούσαντες περὶ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ἐχάρησαν καὶ ἔδωκαν δόξαν τῷ θεῷ (Ἰσραήλ) ³. καὶ συμβούλιον ἐποίησαν οἱ ἀρχισυνάγωγοι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς ποίῃ τρόπῃ συντύχωσιν τῷ ¹⁰ Ἰωσήφ. καὶ ἔλαβον τόμον χάρτου καὶ ἔγραψαν οὕτως.

runt et intellexerunt quod vere ascendit. *Et nunc, audite me, et mittemus in omnes fines Israelis, ne raptus a spiritibus sit Iesus et proiectus sit in montibus alicubi. Et placuit sermo coram omnibus. Et miserunt in omnibus montibus Israel quaerere Iesum, et non invenerunt; Ioseph autem invenerunt in Arimathem, [neque ausi sunt comprehendere eum.*

Et venientes annuntiaverunt senioribus et sacerdotum principibus et Levitis quia non invenimus Iesum: Ioseph autem invenimus in Arimathem.] Audientes autem de Ioseph gavisii sunt et dederunt gloriam deo. Deinde consilium fecerunt principes sacerdotum et scribae et Levitae, quomodo possent videre Ioseph. Et acceperunt tomo chartas et scripserunt [ad Ioseph] hoc modo.

¹ The reading τοῦ ζητῆσαι αὐτόν καὶ οὐχ εὗρον is found in Greek E, also in Vatt. Ven. and in Latin Version and Coptic (Ἰησοῦν for αὐτόν). The reading καὶ ἐζήτησαν τ. Ἰησ. κ. οὐχ εὗρον is in Greek B C E. Perhaps α is a conflation of both readings.

² The omission in α of the words given in β: *neque ausi to invenimus in Arimathem* is no doubt due to homoioteleuton.

³ Greek A and ed^{er} Lat. om. Ἰσραήλ.

Εἰρήνη σοι καὶ πάντα ὅσα σοῦ ἐστι. οἶδαμεν ὅτι
 ἡμάρτομεν εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ εἰς σέ. εὐξάμενος τῷ θεῷ
 Ἰσραὴλ καταξίωσον ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας (καὶ πρὸς
 τὰ τέκνα) σου, ὅτι ἐλυπήθημεν ἅπαντες, ὅτε ἠνοίξαμεν
 5 τὰς θύρας καὶ οὐχ εὖρομέν σε. οἶδαμεν ὅτι βουλήν
 κακὴν ἐβουλευσάμεθα περὶ σοῦ, ἀλλὰ σου ὁ θεὸς ἀντε-
 λάβετο καὶ (αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος) διεσκέδασεν τὴν βουλήν
 ἡμῶν, ἣν περὶ σου ἐβουλευσάμεθα, τίμιε πάτερ Ἰωσήφ,
 τίμιε παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ.

10 Καὶ ἐξελέξατο (ἀπὸ παντὸς Ἰσραὴλ) ἄνδρας ἑπτὰ οἱ
 ἐφίλουν τὸν Ἰωσήφ, οὗς (καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰωσήφ) ἐγίνωσκεν
 αὐτοῦ φίλους. Καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ ἀρχισυνάγωγοι (καὶ οἱ
 ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ λευῖται πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας)· βλέπετε, εἰ
 δεξάμενος τὴν ἐπιστολὴν παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἀναγνῶ,
 15 γινώσθε ὅτι ἐλεύσεται¹ πρὸς ἡμᾶς· εἰ δὲ δεξάμενος
 τὴν ἐπιστολὴν μὴ ἀναγνῶ, οἴδατε ὅτι κεκῶνται. ἀσ-
 πάξεσθε αὐτὸν ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐπιστράφητε πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

Pax tibi et omnibus quae tua sunt. Novimus quia
 peccavimus in deum et in te: et precamur deum
 Israel, ut *dignum faciat te* venire ad patres tuos, quia
 contristati sumus omnes, quum aperuimus *ianuam*
 neque invenimus te. Novimus quia *consiliati sumus*
de te consilium malum, sed dominus suscepit te et
 dissipavit consilium nostrum quod de te consiliati
 sumus, [O] pater Honorandus, Ioseph honoratus *ante*
oculos nostros et ab omni populo.

Et elegerunt viros septem qui amabant Ioseph,
 noverat illos *sicut* amicos, et dicunt [ad eos] *principes*
sacerdotum: Videte: si quum *susceperit* epistolam
 a vobis et *legerit*, *sciatis* quia *vult venire* ad nos; si
 autem quum accipiat litteras non legerit, *sciatis* quia
 malignatur [vir adversus nos], salutantes eum in pace
 revertimini ad nos. Benedicentes autem *viros* dimi-

¹ ἐλεύσεται] The Arm. = 'will mix with us,' perhaps *ομιλήσει*.

ἡλόγησαν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπέλυσαν. καὶ ἦλθον οἱ ἄνδρες εἰς Ἀριμαθὲμ πρὸς Ἰωσήφ, προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ καὶ λέγουσιν (αὐτῷ)· εἰρήνη σοι καὶ πάντα ὅσα σοῦ ἐστι. κακείνος λέγει (αὐτοῖς). εἰρήνη ὑμῖν καὶ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ Ἰσραὴλ. καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιστολήν, καὶ δεξάμενος 5 (ὁ Ἰωσήφ τὴν ἐπιστολήν) ἀνέγνω, καὶ κατεφίλησεν τὴν ἐπιστολήν καὶ εὐλόγησεν τὸν θεὸν καὶ λέγει οὕτως· εὐλογητὸς ὁ κύριος, ὃς ἐξαπέστειλεν τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσκέπασέν με ὑπὸ τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ. καὶ Ἰωσήφ κατεφίλησεν αὐτοὺς καὶ παρέθηκεν αὐτοῖς τράπεζαν, καὶ 10 ἔφαγον καὶ ἔπινον, καὶ ἐκοιμήθησαν ἐκεῖ.

* Hos. 6. Καὶ ὀρθρίσαντες * ἠύξαντο. καὶ ἔστρωσεν Ἰωσήφ τὴν 1.
 ὄνον (αὐτοῦ) καὶ ἐπορεύθη μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν Ἱερουσαλήμ. καὶ ὑπήνησεν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς (Ἰσραὴλ τῷ Ἰωσήφ), ἔκραξαν λέγοντες· εἰρήνη εἰσὸς 15 σου. καὶ λέγει Ἰωσήφ πρὸς πάντα τὸν λαόν· εἰρήνη ὑμῖν, καὶ κατεφίλησεν πάντα τὸν λαόν. καὶ ἐξίσταντο ὡς εἶδον αὐτόν. καὶ ὑπεδέξατο αὐτὸν Νικόδημος (εἰς τὸν

serunt. Venerunt autem viri in Arimathem ad Ioseph, adoraverunt eum et dicunt: Pax tibi et omni quod tui est. Et ille dicit: Pax vobis et omni populo *Domini*. Et dederunt ei epistolam. *Suscipiens* autem *legit*, et osculatus est epistolam, benedixitque deum et dixit hoc modo: Benedictus dominus, qui misit angelum suum et cooperuit me sub alis suis. *Osculatus est etiam eos Ioseph* et apposuit eis mensam, manducaverunt et biberunt, et *dormierunt ibi*.

Et mane surgentes precati sunt; et stravit Ioseph asinum et ambulavit cum illis, et introit in sanctam civitatem Ierusalem. Et occurrit *omni populo*; clamabant [omnes] dicentes: Pax in introitu tuo. Ait Ioseph ad omnem populum, Pax vobis. *Et salutaverunt omnes eum*, et mirabantur *qui videbant* eum. Et suscepit eum Nicodemus, et fecit convivium ei.

οἶκον αὐτοῦ), καὶ ἐποίησεν δοχὴν (μεγάλην). καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Ἄνναν καὶ Καϊάφαν καὶ τοὺς λευίτας εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, ἔφαγον καὶ ἔπιον καὶ εὐφράνθησαν σὺν τῷ Ἰωσήφ, καὶ ὑμνοῦντες τὸν θεὸν ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ Ἰωσήφ ἔμεινεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον Νικοδήμου.

(Καὶ ὑπήντησεν αὐτοῖς Νικόδημος) καὶ λέγει· εἰρήνη ὑμῖν καὶ τῷ Ἰωσήφ. καὶ εἰσήνεγκεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν κῆπον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἤκουσεν ἅπαν τὸ συνέδριον ¹, καὶ Ἰωσήφ 10 ἐκάθισε μέσον Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα. (ἀνοίξας δὲ) Νικόδημος (τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ) λέγει τῷ Ἰωσήφ· πάτερ Ἰωσήφ καὶ τίμιε (παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ, οἷδας στί)οι τίμιοι διδάσκαλοι (καὶ ἱερεῖς) ζητοῦσιν παρὰ σοῦ μαθεῖν ῥῆμά τι. καὶ λέγει Ἰωσήφ·

Vocavit Annam et Caipham [et seniores] et Levitas in domum suam. Manducabant et bibebant et gavisi sunt cum Ioseph et benedixerunt deum, [et] iverunt [unusquisque] in domum suam. Ioseph [vero] remansit [in domo Nicodemi].

Postera autem die, parascève ² erat; vigilaverunt sacerdotum principes et Levitae] ³ ad domum Nicodemi et dicunt. Pax tibi et Ioseph, [et salutaverunt inter sese.] Et [excipiens] eos [Nicodemus] *introduxit* in hortum suam. *Sederunt omnes* et Ioseph in medio eorum: [et nemo ausus est quaerere verbum. Deinde dicit ad eos Ioseph: Ut quid vocastis me? Illi vero innuerunt Nicodemo ut loqueretur cum Ioseph. Deinde] dicit [Nicodemus] ad Ioseph: Pater honorande Ioseph, *venerandi et didascalii synagogae volunt quaerere a te verbum.* Dixit Ioseph

¹ Arm. = 'the public.' Just before *ἤκουσεν* must be a corruption of *ἡκυήθη* = ἐκαθέσθη.

² This omission in a may be due to homoioteleuton.

³ γ omits.

ἐρωτήσατε. Καὶ ἔλαβον τὸν νόμον Ἄννας καὶ Καϊάφας καὶ ὤρκισαν τὸν Ἰωσήφ λέγοντες· δὸς δόξαν τῷ θεῷ Ἰσραὴλ, (καὶ δὸς αὐτῷ εὐχαριστίαν· ὅτι Ἄχαρ ὠρκίσθη παρὰ τοῦ προφήτου τοῦ υἱοῦ Ναυὴ καὶ οὐκ ἐπιώρησεν, ἀλλὰ ἀνήγγειλεν, καὶ οὐκ ἔκρυψεν ῥῆμά τι)¹ μὴ κρύψῃς 5 ἀφ' ἡμῶν (ἕως ἐνὸς καὶ ἐνὸς ῥήματος). καὶ λέγει Ἰωσήφ· ζῇ ὁ κύριος ἐὰν κρύψω ἀφ' ὑμῶν ῥῆμα ἓν. καὶ λέγουσι (πρὸς αὐτόν). λύπη ἐλυπήθημεν ὅτε ἡτήσω τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἐνετύλιξας αὐτὸ καθααῖς σινδόσι καὶ ἔθηκας αὐτὸν ἐν (καινῷ) μνήματι. διὰ τοῦτο ἀπεκλεί- 10 σαμέν σε ἐν οἴκῳ (ὅπου οὐκ ἦν θυρίς, καὶ ἐπεθήκαμεν κλειῖδας καὶ σφραγίδας ἐπὶ τῶν θυρῶν καὶ παραφύλακας ὅπου ἦς κεκλεισμένος)², καὶ τῇ μιᾷ τοῦ σαββάτου ἠνολίξαμεν τὰς θύρας καὶ οὐχ εὑραμέν σε, ἐλυπήθημεν σφόδρα, καὶ ἔκστασις ἐπέπεσεν ἐφ' (ἡμᾶς καὶ πάντα) τὸν λαόν. 15

Καὶ νῦν ἀνάγγειλον ἡμῖν τί γέγονας. Λέγει (αὐτοῖς) Ἰωσήφ· τῇ παρασκευῇ ἐνδεκάτῃ ὥρα ἀπεκλείσατέ με, καὶ

[Nicodemo]: *Dicant. Tollentes autem Annas et Caiphas librum legum adiuraverunt Ioseph dicentes: Da gloriam deo Israel, et quaecunque interrogamus ne abscondas a nobis. Dicit [ad eos] Ioseph: Vivit dominus si abscondam a vobis verbum unum. Et dicunt: Contristati magna tristitia sumus quoniam petisti corpus Iesu et involvisti illud munda sindone et sepelisti eum in monumento [tuo]. Ideo inclusimus te in carcere: et una sabbati aperientes ianuas non invenimus te. Contristatique sumus valde et stupor irruit super populum [usque hodie]. Annuntia ergo nobis quae sunt facta tibi.*

Inquit Ioseph: In [die] parasceve circa decimam

¹ The Latin texts omit the same words as β, at least from ὅτι Ἄχαρ and mostly reject one of the clauses beginning with δὸς. The Coptic and Greek texts retain these words, which are surely necessary as giving a reason why Joseph was to thank the God of Israel.

² All sources except the Latin B retain the words here omitted by β.

ἔμεινα τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ σαββάτου πλήρη¹. καὶ μεσοῦσης
 νυκτὸς εὐχομένου μου², ὁ οἶκος ὅπου ἐνεκλείσατέ με
 ἐκρεμάσθη ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων γωνιῶν, καὶ ὡς ἀστραπὴν
 (φωτὸς εἶδον) πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐμῶν. καὶ ἔμφοβος γενό-
 5 μενος ἔπεσα χαμαί. καὶ ἐπελάβετο (τῆς χειρὸς μου) καὶ
 ἐξέβαλέν με ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου ὅπου ἐγκεκλεισμένος ἦμην,
 καὶ ἱκμὰς ὑδάτων ἐπέπεσέν με (μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν μου).
 καὶ προσελθὼν³ ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπόν μου κατεφίλησέν με
 καὶ λέγει μοι· 'Ἰωσήφ, μὴ φοβοῦ. ἀνοιξον τοὺς ὀφθαλ-
 10 μούς σου καὶ ἴδε τίς λαλεῖ πρὸς σε. καὶ ἀναβλέψας
 εἶδον τὸν 'Ιησοῦν· καὶ ἔντρομος γενόμενος ἐδόκουν* ὅτι
 φάντασμά τι εἶη. (καὶ τὰ προστάγματα ἔλεγον)⁴ καὶ
 ἡρξάμην ἐκ τῶν ἐντολῶν λέγειν· καὶ αὐτὸς συνελάλει

* Mar. 6.
 49; Mat.
 14. 26.

horam inclusistis me [in carcerem], et mansi sabbatum diem totum. Quum media nox esset, stante me in oratione, suspensa⁵ est a quattuor angulis, veluti coruscus luminis ante oculos meos. Et *exterritus in terram cecidi*. *Apprehendit et elevavit* me a loco ubi *cecideram* et humiditas aquae incidit super me [et odor perculit nares meas sicut suavis aromatis;] et adveniens *ad me* osculatus est me et dixit mihi: Ioseph ne time, aperi oculos tuos et vide quis [est qui] loquitur tibi. Intendens autem vidi Iesum, extimui et *putabam fantasma* esse. Et coepi e mandatis recitare: ipse vero colloquebatur mecum. Et vos non

¹ Or perhaps ὅλην.

² The Arm. = 'while I stood in prayer.' This is the ordinary equivalent of εὐχομένου μου, but not inconsistent with στήκοντός (or ἱσταμένου) μου καὶ εὐχομένου which is read in the Greek texts.

³ The Greek texts have ἐκμάρas, a sense which the Arm. cannot yield. The Arm. = 'having come near' or 'having put near.'

⁴ The reading of α would seem to be a conflation of καὶ τὰ προστ. ἔλεγον given in Greek B C and καὶ ἡρξάμην λέγειν τὰ προστ. of Greek E, only ἐντόλη or some similar word is translated in the second clause. The old Latin also has different words: *oratione autem et praeceptis loquebar ei*.

⁵ The equivalent of *domus ubi inclusistis me* must have dropped out of the β text.

μοι. καὶ ὑμεῖς γε οἴδατε ὅτι, ἐὰν φάντασμα συναντήσῃ
 τινὶ καὶ ἀκούσῃ τὰ ῥήματα τῶν προσταγμάτων, φυγῇ
 φεύξει· καὶ ἰδὼν ὅτι συνελάλει μοι, εἶπον (αὐτῷ)· ῥαββὶ
^a Jno. 1. 21, 22. 'Ηλία^a. καὶ λέγει μοι· οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγὼ 'Ηλίας. εἶπον αὐτῷ·
 σὺ δὲ τίς εἶ, κύριε ; καὶ λέγει· εἰμὶ ἐγὼ 'Ιησοῦς, οὗ τὸ 5
 σῶμα ἡτήσω παρὰ Πιλάτου καὶ ἐνετύλιξας ἐν καθαραῖς
 σινδόσι καὶ σουδάριον ἔθηκας ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπόν μου καὶ
^b Mat. 27. 60 and Jno. 11. 41. ἔθηκας με ἐν καίνῳ ^b μνήματι, καὶ ἐκύλισας λίθον τινὰ
 μέγαν, θύραν τοῦ μνήματος. καὶ εἶπον (τῷ λαλοῦντί
^c Mar. 16. 6 and Jno. 20. 15. μοι)· δεῖξόν μοι τὸν τόπον^c (ὅπου ἔθηκά σε). ἀπήγαγέ 10
 με, καὶ ἔδειξέ μοι τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἐτέθη αὐτὸς καὶ
 σινδόνιον τι ^d περιεζωσμένος ἦν, καὶ τὸ σουδάριον τὸ
^d Jno. 20. 5-7. εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔκειτο ^d αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐπέγνων ὅτι 'Ιησοῦς
 ἦν, καὶ ἐπελάβετο τῆς χειρός μου καὶ ἔστησέν με τῶν
 θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ οἴκου μου, καὶ ἀνέπανσέν 15
 με εἰς τὴν κλίνην μου καὶ λέγει μοι· ἕως τεσσαράκοντα^e
^e Acts 1. 3, 4.

ignoratis, si phantasma cuivis occurrat et audierit
 verba mandatorum, fuga fugit. Quum loqueretur ad
 me, dixi : Rabbi, Elias ? Et dicit mihi : Non sum
 ego Elias. Et dixi ad eum : *Quis es tu domine ?* Et
 dicit *mihi Ego sum Iesus*, cuius corpus petisti a Pilato
 et involvisti in munda sindone, et sudario *operuisti*
caput meum, et in novo monumento posuisti me, et
 advolvisti lapidem magnum ostium monumenti. Dixi
 autem *ei* : [Veni] ostende mihi locum. Et duxit me
 [in locum ubi posui ego eum]. *Vidi sindonem, suda-*
riumque quo involveram caput eius : deinde cognovi quia
Iesus est. Et *apprehendens* manum meam *duxit* me
 [in Arimathem et] *clausis ostiis introduxit me in*
domum meam ; reposuitque in lectulo meo, dicitque mihi :
[Pax tecum. Deinde osculatus est me et dicit¹ :]

¹ This omission in *a* is probably due to homoioteleuton. No other source presents it.

ἡμερῶν μὴ ἐξέλθῃς ἐξ οἴκου σου· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἐγὼ πορεύσομαι
πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς μου εἰς Γαλιλαίαν.

CAPUT XVI.

Καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἀρχισυνάγωγοι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς τὰ
ρήματα ταῦτα παρὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ἐξεκευτῆθησαν ἐν ταῖς
5 ψυχαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐγένοντο ὥσει νεκροὶ* καὶ ἔπεναν * Mat.
χαμαὶ καὶ ἐμνήστευσαν ἕως ἐνάτης ὥρας. καὶ παρεκάλουν 28. 4.
τὸν Ἰωσήφ καὶ τὸν Νικόδημον, τὸν Ἄνναν καὶ τὸν
Καϊάφαν καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς λέγοντες· ἀνάστητε, στήτε ἐπὶ
τοὺς πόδας ὑμῶν, γέυσασθε ἄρτον καὶ ἐνισχύσατε τὰς
10 ψυχὰς ὑμῶν, ὅτι αὔριον σάββατον ἐστίν. καὶ ἐπορεύ-
θησαν (ἐκαστος) εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ.

Τῷ δὲ σαββάτῳ ἐκάθισαν οἱ διδάσκαλοι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς
καὶ οἱ λευῖται συνεζήτουν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἔλεγον.

Usque quadraginta dies non exire de domo tua: ecce
ego vado ad fratres meos in Galilaeam.

CAPUT XVI.

Quum audivissent verba ista a Ioseph sacerdotum
principes et scribae et omnis senatus synagogae facti
sunt tanquam mortui; et ceciderunt in terram, et
ieiunaverunt [diem illum] usque ad nonam horam.
Deinde Nicodemus et Ioseph rogaverunt eos dicentes:
Surgite state super pedes vestros, et gustate et
confirmate animas, quoniam crastina die sabbatum
[domini] est. [Et surrexerunt, in oratione stabant ad
deum, et manducaverunt et biberunt¹], et abierunt in
domum suam.

Sabbato autem sederunt *archisynagogae et seniores et
Pharisei*, disserebant ad invicem et dicebant: Quae

¹ An omission due to homoioteleuton.

- ^a 1 Th. 2. τίς ἡ ὀργή ἣ ἔφθασεν ^a ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ; ὅτι οἶδαμεν τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα. Λέγει Λευὶς ὁ διδάσκαλος· τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα οἶδαμεν φοβουμένους τὸν θεόν, καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς μὴ ἀποστεροῦντας καὶ τὰς δεκάτας ἀποδίδοντας τρεῖς ¹ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ. καὶ ὅτε ἐγεννήθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς 5 προσήνεγκαν (αὐτὸν ὁ πατήρ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ) εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, καὶ θυσίας καὶ ὀλοκαυτώματα ἔδωκαν τῷ θεῷ. καὶ ὅτε ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν ὁ μέγας διδάσκαλος Συμεὼν
- ^b Lu. 2. 28 ff. ^b εἰς τὰς ἀγκάλας αὐτοῦ, λέγει· νῦν ἀπολύεις, δέσποτα, τὸν δοῦλόν σου κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμά σου. ὅτι εἶδον ὀφθαλμοί μου τὸ 10 σωτήριόν σου. ἠὐλόγησεν αὐτὸν Συμεὼν καὶ λέγει πρὸς Μαρίας τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ· εὐαγγελιζόμεθά σοι περὶ τοῦ παιδίου τούτου. καὶ λέγει Μαρίας· ἀγαθόν, κύριέ μου. καὶ λέγει Συμεὼν· (ἀγαθόν ἐστιν,) ἰδοὺ οὗτος εἴη πῶσις καὶ ἀνά-

est *iracundia* quae supervenit nobis? quia novimus patrem et matrem eius. *Respondit* Levi didascalus et inquit: *Parentes* eius novimus, [quia] timentes [erant] deum, vota non morabantur et decimas *dabant* [ter] in anno. Et quando paruerunt Iesum, adduxerunt in locos hos, et holocausta et sacrificia dederunt deo. Et quum magnus didascalus Simeon *accepit* eum in brachia sua, dicit: Nunc dimitte domine servum tuum, secundum verbum tuum in pace: quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum, [quod parasti ante faciem omnium populorum. Et] benedixit *eos* Simeon et dixit ad Mariam matrem eius: Annuntio tibi de puero isto. Et dicit Maria: Bonum est, domine mi. *Iterum* dicit Simeon: Ecce fiet hic in ruinam et in restorationem [multorum in Israel], et in signum contradictionis ²: [et tuam

¹ There is a slight corruption of the text here in *a*. I have rendered it as it must have stood.

² Some Latin sources read *contradictionis*, implied both by the Armenian A. P. in Lat. D^{abc} and by the Armenian vulgate.

στασις καὶ σημεῖον ἀντιλογίας¹, ἵνα ἀποκαλυφθῶσιν ἐκ πολλῶν καρδιῶν διαλογισμοί^b.

Λέγουσιν τῷ διδασκάλῳ Λεβί· τοῦτο σὺ πόθεν οἶδας; λέγει Λεβί· οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἔμαθον τὸν νόμον; 5 λέγουσιν αὐτῷ τὸ Συνέδριον· τὸν πατέρα σου θέλομεν ἰδεῖν. προσήνεγκαν τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ (ἐμπροσθεν) καὶ ἠρώτησαν αὐτόν, καὶ λέγει· τί ἐστὶν ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε τοῖς υἱοῖς μου; ὁ μακάριος Συμεὼν ἐδίδαξεν αὐτῷ τὸν νόμον.

10 Λέγουσιν (τὸ συνέδριον τῷ διδασκάλῳ) Λεβί· ἀληθές ἐστιν τὸ ῥῆμα ὃ ἐλάλησας. λέγει αὐτοῖς· ἀληθές ἐστιν.

Λέγουσιν πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ ἀρχισυνάγωγοι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς· δεῦτε ἀποστείλωμεν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν πρὸς τοὺς τρεῖς ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐλθόντας καὶ ἐξηγησαμένους περὶ τοῦ 15 διδάσκειν αὐτόν, καὶ εἰπωσιν ἡμῖν πῶς εἶδον αὐτὸν ἀνα-

quidem animam pertransibit gladius,] ut revelentur multis in cordibus cogitationes.

Dicunt *sacerdotum principes* ad Levi: *Ista verba tua quomodo audisti?* Dicit [ad eos] Levi: Non scitis quia ab ipso didici legem? Dicunt ipsi senatus: Patrem tuum volumus videre. [Deinde] *vocaverunt* patrem eius et scrutati sunt eum, et dicit *eis*: *Quid non credidistis filio meo?* [Nescitis quia] beatus [et iustus] Simeon docuit eum legem. *Atque iterum* dicunt ad Levi: [deus scit] *ea quae vere dicta sunt.* Dicunt inter sese *principes sacerdotum et Levitae*: Venite mittamus in Galilaeam ad tres viros qui huc venerunt et narraverunt de docendo eius [discipulos], et dicent nobis quomodo viderunt eum assumptum in

¹ The joint presentation of ἀντιλογίας in some old Latin texts of the A. P., in α and β and in the Armenian vulgate, suggests that ἀντιλογίας stood also in some canonical texts. The omissions of α in this passage are not due to homoioteleuton. They probably represent the original text of A. P., to which β and other sources have added from the canonical books.

ληφθέντα. καὶ ἤρεσεν ὁ λόγος (οὗτος) πᾶσιν, καὶ ἀπέ-
στειλαν τοὺς τρεῖς ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐλθόντας μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς
τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτούς· εἵπατε ῥαββί¹
'Ἀδδᾶ καὶ ῥαββί Φίλεος, καὶ ῥαββί 'Εγίφ εἰρήνη ὑμῖν καὶ
πάντα ὅσα ὑμῶν ἐστίν. ζητήσεως πολλῆς γενομένης ἐν 5
τῷ συνεδρίῳ, ἀπεστάλημεν τοῦ καλέσαι ὑμᾶς εἰς τοὺς
ἀγίους τόπους 'Ισραήλ.

Καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ εὗρον αὐτοὺς καθεζο-
μένους καὶ μελετοῦντας τὸν νόμον. ἤσπασαντο αὐτοὺς ἐν
εἰρήνῃ, καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνδρες πρὸς τοὺς ἀπελθόντας 10
πρὸς αὐτούς· εἰρήνη (ἐστίν) παντὶ τῷ λαῷ 'Ισραήλ. καὶ
αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν· εἰρήνη ἐστίν. λέγουσιν αὐτοῖς· εἰς τί
ἤλθατε; λέγουσιν· καλεῖ ὑμᾶς τὸ συνέδριον εἰς τὴν
ἀγίαν πόλιν 'Ιερουσαλήμ.

'Ὡς ἤκουσαν οἱ ἄνδρες ὅτι ζητοῦνται ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ, 15
ῥῆξαντο τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἀνεκλίθησαν μετὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν,

caelum. Et complacuit sermo iste omnibus. Mise-
runt tres viros qui venerant cum ipsis in Galilaeam :
dicite rabbi² Addae et rabbi Fileas et rabbi Egiae :
Pax vobis et omnibus quae vestra sunt. *Disquisitio*
facta est [de multis rebus : ideo] misimus [viros istos
ad vos] *ut digni simus ire vobis*³ in sanctam civitatem,
Ierusalem.

Et profecti sunt viri [in Galilaeam], invenerunt
eos sedentes et *meditantes* legem. Salutaverunt eos
in pace. Et dicunt illi ad illos qui venerunt : Pax
omni populo Israel. Illique dicunt : Pax est, et
vocaverunt vos archisynagogae, in sanctam civitatem
Ierusalem. Audientes quia quaeruntur a concilio,
oraverunt deum, et recubuerunt cum viris, manduca-

¹ The Arm. translates by the word *մարդապետ*, which means *διδάσκαλος*.

² The one word 'vardapet' is used indifferently in the Armenian to render both *ῥαββί* and *διδάσκαλος*.

³ Perhaps the Greek original read *ἵνα ἀξιῶμεν ἐρχεσθαι ὑμᾶς*.

ἔφαγον καὶ ἔπιον, καὶ ἀνέστησαν καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ.

Καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον ἐκαθέσθη (τὸ συνέδριον) ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ, ἐπερώτησαν αὐτοὺς καὶ λέγουσιν· ὧτως εἶδατε τὸν 5 Ἰησοῦν καθεζόμενον εἰς τὸ ὄρος Μαμβρήχ καὶ διδάσκοντα τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἶδατε αὐτὸν ἀναληφθέντα εἰς οὐρανόν; ἀπεκρίθησαν καὶ λέγουσιν· ἀληθῶς ἴδομεν αὐτὸν ἀναληφθέντα.

Λέγουσιν Ἀννας (καὶ Καϊάφας)· ἄρατε¹ αὐτοὺς ἀπ' 10 ἀλλήλων (καὶ ἴδωμεν εἰ συμφωνοῦσιν². Καὶ ἦραν¹ αὐτούς.) παρήγαγον πρῶτον τὸν Ἀδδᾶ, καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ. εἶπε ἡμῖν, πῶς ἴδετε αὐτὸν καθεζόμενον. λέγει Ἀδδᾶς· ἔτι καθεζομένου αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Μαμβρήχ, διδάσκοντος τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ, εἶδομεν νεφέλην³ ἐπι- ^{Acts 1.} 15 σκιάζουσαν αὐτὸν (καὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ)³, καὶ ^{9 and} Mar. 9. 7.

verunt et biberunt cum eis, et surgentes sunt profecti Ierusalem.

Et in crastino sederunt in concilio; interrogaverunt eos dicentes: Verene vidistis Iesum sedentem in monte *Sambrelech* docentem *undecim* discipulos suos et vidistis eum assumptum in caelum? Responderunt et aiunt verum est; vidimus eum ascendentem in caelum.

Dicit Annas: separate istos invicem. Adduxerunt primum Addam. Ait [Annas]: dic nobis quomodo vidisti eum ascendentem in caelos. Ait Addas: Dum sedebat in monte *Sambrelech* et docebat discipulos suos vidimus nubem obumbrantem eum, et ascendit [nubes] in caelum; et discipuli eius orabant prostrati

¹ Arm. = 'separate.'

² Arm. = *si unum sermonem dicunt*. The words here omitted in β are essential to the sense and must have stood in the original text. The Greek C omits them through homoioteleuton; β probably omits from same cause.

³ Greek, Latin, and Coptic retain the words omitted in β .

* Mat.
26. 39.

ἀνελήφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἤξαντο
κείμενοι ἐπὶ πρόσωπον^a αὐτῶν ἐπὶ γῆν. Ἐκάλεσαν τὸν
Φιλέον ἱερέα, ἠρώτησαν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγουσιν· πῶς ἴδες τὸν
Ἰησοῦν ἀναληφθέντα; καὶ αὐτὸς λέγει ὡσαύτως. (ἠρώ-
τησαν τὸν Ἐγρίαν, καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ αὐτὸ εἶπεν.)¹ Λέγουσιν 5
τὸ συνέδριον πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Μωϋσέως
γέγραπται· ἐκ στομάτων δύο καὶ τριῶν σταθήσεται πᾶν
ῥῆμα. λέγει Ἀβουδὴν διδάσκαλος· γέγραπται ἐν τῷ
νόμῳ, περιεπάτει Ἐνῶχ σὺν τῷ θεῷ, (καὶ οὐδέποτε ἐφάνη,
ὅτι μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός)². Ἰαίριος διδάσκαλος λέγει· 10
τοῦ ἁγίου Μωϋσέως (τὸν θάνατον) ἠκούσαμεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ
εἶδαμεν τὴν ταφὴν αὐτοῦ ἕως τῆς σήμερον. Λευὶς ῥαββὶ
λέγει· τί ἐστὶν ὅτι εἶπεν ὁ ῥαββὶ Συμεών, ὅτι εἶδεν τὸν
Ἰησοῦν. Ἰδοῦ, οὗτος πῶσις καὶ ἀνάστασις πολλῶν καὶ
σημεῖον ἀντιλογίας. Ἰσαὰκ ῥαββὶ λέγει· ἰδοῦ ἐγὼ 15

super faciem in terra. Vocaverunt etiam Fileos
sacerdotem, interrogaverunt ipsum dicentes: Quo-
modo vidisti *eum* ascendentem? Et ipse *eadem* dixit.
Dicunt qui erant in concilio inter sese: In lege
Moysis scriptum est: in ore duorum vel trium testium
constabit omne verbum. Dicit Abuthen didascalus:
Ambulavit Enoch³ cum deo. Iairus didascalus dicit:
Et sancti Moysis mortem audivimus, sed non vidimus
eum: [scriptum est enim in lege domini: Mortuus
est Moyses, et nemo cognoscit] *locum* eius usque
hodie. Levi rabbi dixit: Quid est quod dixit rabbi
Simeon quum videret Iesum? Ecce iste [fiet in]
ruinam et in restitutionem multorum, et in signum
contradictionis? Isaac *sacerdos* dicit: [Scriptum est

¹ The omission of these words in β may easily be due to homoioteleuton.

² This omission in β may be due to homoioteleuton. They come in all other sources.

³ The Arm. text is slightly corrupt here and the words answering to *scriptum est in lege* seem to have dropped out through homoioteleuton.

ἀποστελῶ τὸν ἄγγελόν μου τοῦ διαφυλάξαι σε, καὶ τὸ
ὀνομά μου δοθήσεται αὐτῷ.

Ἄννας καὶ Καϊάφας λέγουσιν· ὁρθῶς εἶπατε τὰ γεγραμ-
μένα ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Μωϋσέως, ὅτι τοῦ Ἐνὼχ θάνατον οὐδεὶς
5 εἶδεν (καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἠλία θάνατον οὐδεὶς ὠνόμασεν)· ὁ
δὲ Ἰησοῦς.

Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς λόγον ἔδωκεν τῷ Πιλάτῳ, ὅτι εἶδαμεν
αὐτὸν ^a ῥαπιζόμενον καὶ ἐμπτύσματα λαβόντα εἰς τὸ πρόσω- ^a Mat.
πον ^a αὐτοῦ, καὶ στέφανον ^b ἐξ ἀκανθῶν ^b ἔθηκαν ^c αὐτῷ οἱ ^{26. 67.}
10 στρατιῶται· ἐφραγελλώθη καὶ ἀπόφασιν ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ ^b Mat.
Πιλάτου, καὶ ἐπὶ πέτρας ¹ ἐσταυρώθη καὶ Δημᾶς καὶ ^{27. 29.}
Γεστᾶς (δύο) λησταὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι ^d λόγχῃ τὴν ^c Mar.
πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ ἐξεκέντησεν Λογγῖνος στρατιώτης, καὶ ὅτι ^{15. 17.}
τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ῥήτησато ὁ τίμιος πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἰωσήφ, καὶ ^d Jno. 19.
15 ὅτι ἀνέστη (καθὼς λέγει καὶ) καθὼς λέγουσιν οἱ τρεῖς ^{34.}
διδάσκαλοι· εἶδομεν αὐτὸν ἀναληφθέντα ^e εἰς τὸν ^e Mar.
οὐρανόν ^e, καὶ ὅτι Λεὺι (ὁ διδάσκαλος) μαρτυρεῖ τὰ ^{16. 19.}
λεχθέντα τῷ Συμεῶνι.

in libro legum:] Ecce ego mitto angelum meum
[ante faciem tuam et praeparabit viam tuam].

Annas et Caiphas dicunt: Recte dixistis; [nonne]
scriptum est in lege Moysis, quia Enochi mortem nemo
vidit. Iesus autem stetit ante Pilatum et iudicatus est,
quia vidimus eum alapis perculsum et sputa accipien-
tem in faciem suam, et coronam de spinis in caput
eius; a militibus flagellatus est, et sententiam
[mortis] accepit a Pilato; et crucifixus est in loco
golgothae, et Gestas et Demas latrones cum eo; et quia
lancea latus eius perforavit Lingianus miles; et quia
corpus eius postulavit honorabilis pater noster Ioseph,
et resurrexit sicut dicunt tres didascali, vidimus ipsum
ascendentem in caelum. Et quia Levi est testificatus

¹ = 'on a rock': β = 'in loco Golgothae,' agreeing with the Greek Γ ἐν
τόπῳ κρανίου. The Latin omits.

Λέγουσιν οἱ διδάσκαλοι πρὸς πάντα τὸν λαόν· παρὰ κυρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη καὶ ἔστι θαυμαστὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν. γινώσκοντες γνώσεσθε, οἶκος Ἰακώβ, ὅτι^a γέγραπται· ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ ἐπὶ ξύλου κρεμάνμενος^a. παρήγγειλαν οἱ ἀρχισυνάγωγοι καὶ ἱερεῖς παντὶ τῷ λαῷ⁵ Ἰσραὴλ λέγοντες· ἐπικατάρατος εἴη πᾶς ὁ ἀνὴρ ὃς προσκυνεῖ κτίσματα παρὰ¹ τὸν κτίσαντα. καὶ εἶπον πᾶς ὁ λαός· ἀμήν, ἀμήν, ἀμήν.

^a Gal. 3.
13 and
Deut. 21.
23.

Καὶ ὑμνησεν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς τὸν κύριον καὶ ἀπῆλθον ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ. καὶ Χριστῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς 10 αἰῶνας.

quod Simeon dixit: [Hic fiet in ruinam et in restitutionem multorum in medio Israel, et in signum contradictionis. Iterumque] *dixerunt* doctores et omnes populi, si a domino factum est hoc, et est mirabile ante oculos nostros, sciendo scite, domus ista Iacobi, quoniam scriptum est quia maledictus est omnis quicumque pendens remaneat in ligno. Sed Scriptura monet, dei qui caelum et terras non fecerunt pereant. Et] *praeceptum* dederunt omni multitudini Israel, [sacerdotum principes et Levitae,] *dicentes*: maledictus sit omnis vir qui adoret creaturas et non creatorem. Et *ait* omnis multitudo *fiat, fiat*.

Et benedixit omnis plebs *deo*, [et dicunt: Benedictus domine deus, qui dedit requiem omni populo Israel, secundum omne quod locutus est. Et sit dominus deus noster cum nobis, sicut cum patribus nostris.] Et [laudantes dominum] ambulaverunt unusquisque in domum suam. [Et novi populi qui e gentibus emittamus hymnos et gloriam Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, nunc et semper et in aeternitates aeternitatum. Amen.]

¹ Arm. = 'and not the creator.'

IV.

THE PURPOSE OF THE WORLD-PROCESS AND THE PROBLEM OF EVIL AS EXPLAINED IN THE CLEMENTINE AND LACTANTIAN WRITINGS IN A SYSTEM OF SUBORDINATE DUALISM.

[F. W. BUSSELL.]

PART I.

GOD AS CREATOR AND JUDGE.

§ 1. IT may be boldly asserted that the main point at issue in the Ante-Nicene controversies and the Cardinal doctrine of the Fathers in the first three centuries, is the Personality of God, and His interest in the world. Even the subject of Incarnation and Redemption may be said for a time to be subordinate. 'Of what sort was the God whom Christ came to reveal?' By degrees the question assumed a different form, 'Is not the manifestation of the Divine Nature in Christ our only guide? "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father also"'. The world in its ceaseless interrogation of the historic Christ, passes through the same stages as Philip, believing that the Saviour came to preach an unknown Father, until convinced that not in some esoteric knowledge of the inscrutable, but in the life and character of Jesus lay the secret of the new revelation. In fact, in this announcement was a reaction against a then prevalent and mistaken reverence, in which lay a great peril to practical piety. In the religious world of both Greeks and Jews, and especially in that amalgam which united both, the divine conception had been gradually divested of character, affections, or titles

in any way akin to mankind. In the end the Athenians had been right, on the assumption that they followed Plato and Aristotle. The unknown God was the only one which was left to them; an infinite sea of goodness, or an attenuated Final Cause. The Septuagint takes pains to respectfully correct those passages in the Old Testament which represent the Almighty as having bodily parts; as actuated by motives or swayed by affections which have their counterpart in man. PHILO JUDÆUS is always tending towards a neuter and impersonal notion of God (τὸ θεῖον, τὸ ὄν), as if attempting to separate and (perhaps) hypostatize all those qualities, characteristics, or actions in the Divine Being, on which the idea of *Providence* depends. 'God is after all unknowable; the divine word (θεῖος λόγος) is God in relation to us, so far as we can know Him and appreciate His manifestation;—His existence rather than His essence. It is this second God who has made the world¹, and presides over its destinies in the two spheres of Nature and History, even he perhaps not directly or by immediate contact, but through his principal powers, the Creative and the Kingly (ποιητική and βασιλική). Of these

¹ NUMENIUS, in EUSEBIUS, Pr. Ev. xi. 18 καὶ γὰρ οὕτε δημιουργεῖν ἐστὶ χρεὼν τὸν πρῶτον, καὶ τοῦ δημιουργοῦντος θεοῦ χρὴ εἶναι νομίζεσθαι πατέρα τὸν πρῶτον Θεόν . . . ὁ θεὸς μέντοι ὁ δεύτερος καὶ τρίτος ἐστὶν εἰς: συμφερόμενος δὲ τῇ ὕλῃ δυνάδι οὕση ἐνοὶ μὲν αὐτήν, σχίζεται δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῆς . . . καὶ ἀπερίοτος ἑαυτοῦ γίνεται καὶ ἄπτεται τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ . . . ὁ μὲν πρῶτος Θεὸς ἐστὶ ἐστῶς ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἐμπάλιν ἐστὶ κινούμενος . . . διομολογησώμεθα ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς δμολογίαν οὐκ ἀμφισβητήσιμον ἀκοῦσαι, τὸν μὲν πρῶτον Θεὸν ἀργὸν εἶναι ἔργων ἐμπάντων καὶ βασιλεία, τὸν δημιουργικὸν δὲ θεὸν ἡγεμονεῖν δι' οὐρανοῦ λόντα.

APOLLONIUS, in EUS. iv. 13. The First God δέχεται . . . οὐδενὸς οὐδὲ παρὰ τῶν κρείττονων ἥπερ ἡμεῖς, οὐδ' ἐστὶν ὁ . . . γῇ ἀνίησι φυτὸν ἢ τρέφει ζῶον ἢ ἀήρ, ᾧ μὴ πρόσσεστί γε τι μίasma. The present creation, nay, man himself all but his innermost spiritual centre, was essentially contemptible in the eyes of these speculators of the Imperial age.—PLUTARCH, Is. et Os. § 78 ὁ δ' ἐστὶ μὲν αὐτὸς ἀπωτάτω τῆς γῆς ἀχραντος καὶ ἀμίαντος καὶ καθαρὸς οὐσίας ἀπάσης φθορὰν δεχομένης καὶ θάνατον. Ἀνθρώπων δὲ ψυχαῖς ἐνταυθοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ σωμάτων καὶ παθῶν περιεχομέναις οὐκ ἐστὶ μετουσία τοῦ Θεοῦ, πλὴν ὅσον δνέρατος ἀμαυροῦ διγχεῖν νοήσει διὰ φιλοσοφίας. The only way to this God was on the Path of Knowledge; He could not be approached by the practical life.—The gnostical idea of the Second God, the Creator, has been adopted from this system in Tennyson.

the former is wholly good and merciful (Nature), while the apparent asperity of the latter (History) is due to human sin, and represents not so much an essential attribute of the λόγος, as *our* altered relation to his uniform benevolence.'

The Epicurean deity, whose existence rested on the credit of dreams and survived only in deference to popular fanaticism (Epicurus had no intention of emulating the fate of Socrates or the confessorship of Anaxagoras),—this god, I say, had been long since conducted to the extreme limits of the known Universe, and forbidden to meddle with the course of the world, either in *natural* law (of which he was himself a manifestation) or in *human* history (to which he was entirely indifferent). The Stoics, with their habitual and unpardonable offence of retaining language which they laboured to deprive of all significance, are loud in their praises of the divine goodness, and subtle in their arguments on behalf of Providence; but it is a goodness which is purposeless, and a Providence which is unconscious. And it is only this poetic language of religious sentiment, which preserves the Stoics from the charge of atheism, or a blank admiration of physical force; of a certain steady equipoise or proportion in the Universe. It is also worthy of careful notice that those of the School who approach cosmogony from the *human* and the practical side, as SENECA and AURELIUS, ever tend to a half-Platonic Mysticism; which, so far from identifying the 'god within' and the course of the world without, leaves them in reality in irreconcilable opposition. Lastly, the Platonist, if I may be allowed to speak at this point of the later development of the third century, insists with singular earnestness upon the doctrine of necessary Sequence, natural concomitance, as against creation: not by the will of God (προαιρέσει) but (τῷ εἶναι) by Emanation does this universe, whether of thoughts or things, arise¹. The Gnostic meantime

¹ The idea of deliberate creation in Greek philosophy is only found in the half-myth of the *Tinaeus*. ARISTOTLE shifts the centre of gravity from

(against whose bitter discontent the genial optimism of Alexandria was to array its forces) involves the God and

a Personal God to the strivings of Nature after an unapproachable Ideal, who or which may be unconscious of it. Through PROCLUS, this notion that all orders gaze upwards, and not down on their suffering inferiors, enters Western thought with DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITA and ERIGENA. PLOTINUS clearly expresses a widely current opinion, Enn. v. 2, 1: *ὃν γὰρ τέλειον τῷ μηδὲν ζητεῖν μηδὲ ἔχειν μηδὲ δεῖσθαι, ὅλον ὑπερέρρῃ καὶ τὸ ὑπερπλήρες αὐτοῦ πεποιήκειν ἄλλοι· τὸ δὲ γενόμενον εἰς αὐτὸ ἐπιστράφη καὶ ἐπληρώθη καὶ ἐγένετο πρὸς αὐτὸ βλέπων καὶ νοῦς οὕτως.* The Higher Powers do not indeed perceive that virtue is gone out of them: they are unaware of what is after all a degeneration or an abortion (*ὕστέρημα, ἑκτρώμα*). Plato, I believe, stands alone in anticipating the Christian view (though, no doubt, imperfectly), that the world took its rise, not in a fluent passivity from an Original Source, but from the desire of the Creator to communicate His own goodness and happiness to other beings. 'How came it to be so?' asks Lotze (*Philos. of Rel.* xlv). 'Is this transition to Reality an Emanation by natural necessity from God's Being? or is it the act of a Will which gave reality to that which understanding and imagination could only represent as possible? . . . ' (xlviii): 'If the Divine Thought of the World is to have a realization other than that which it already has in the Divine Mind, this can only be by God's creating *individual finite Spirits*, by His causing to arise in them the cosmic thoughts in question as external perceptions . . . and at this rate Creation may be defined as follows; God permitted the thought, which at first was only His, to become the thought of other Spirits.' . . . (li): 'We cannot wish to define the exact way in which Creation issued forth from the Creator, but only the import of the creative act, which is this: that with a view to the existence of the Spirit-World, *which of itself is no natural consequence flowing from the being of God, a Divine Will* was necessary . . . And this is how the notion of *Creation* differs from that of an *Emanation* or development of this world.' . . . (lii): 'Religious feeling has ever regarded as God's motive (in creating the world) the expansive love, which urges Him to communicate His holiness to other beings, and this thought quite satisfies the yearning in us, which led us to suppose that God *laboured* in creating the world; for according to it, the Creation arose not without this sympathy and enduring interest. It was not a matter-of-fact result flowing from the Divine Will, nor was that Will indifferent; rather is it true that God is bound up with Creation by a perpetual sympathy.' ('*Ἀγαθὸς ἦν, ἀγαθῷ δὲ οὐδεὶς περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδέποτε ἐγγίγνεται φθόνος· τούτου δ' ἐκτὸς ὧν πάντα εἰ μάλιστ' ἀγενεσθαι ἐβουλήθη παραπλήσια ἑαυτῷ.*') A recent commentator on this passage warns us: 'Of course Plato's words are not to be interpreted with a crude literalness.' (1) What is the *Symbolic* or allegoric meaning of goodness? is a question which may arise in some minds. *φθόνος* is the characteristic feature of mythologic deities; indifference (the mean) of later philosophic substitutes; benevolence (conscious and determinate) at the root of things is a conception found but rarely; modern speculation has laboriously revived the antique belief in Jealousy or Indifference.

Creator of this world in his condemnation of its faults or inequalities, and professes to rise above this sphere to a Deity of unknown inexpressible transcendence, by the simple process of laying aside all the properties and attributes of man (and often all the virtues and decencies as well). It need hardly be pointed out that all these various views extend in the same direction; and are aimed against the humanity of the Divine. Whether the school starts from an admiration or from an abhorrence of the process of life, each will end in a final doctrine not dissimilar to Brāhmanism. In a word, the common object of all speculators in this epoch is to deny Creation, and to deny Providence; and if some seem to welcome the Christian dogma of Redemption and Reconciliation, this is only another term for the announcement of this denial. They worship not that which is, but that which is not¹.

§ 2. But the Christian religion restates the affinity of God with man, and is not ashamed to dwell almost exclusively on the anthropomorphic conception. The history of Christ brings home to us in a startling manner, a truth which was peculiarly unacceptable to the world just then; the supreme interest of God in His handiwork, and His sympathy with His creatures. To an age, which revered God just because of His distance and unapproachable majesty, it proclaims that He is very near, and that His providence is very minute. St. Paul may be said to correct the hyper-refinement of Athenian agnosticism by a return to the instinctive sense of affinity with God, in Aratus τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἔσμεν. Yet the Christian idea of sonship differs entirely from the Stoic conception, though not from the *language* of that school. When men, disquieted at the failure of political and social life, believed that the human race is of no more account than birds or insects, a new assurance of dignity, a new guarantee

¹ In the account of the Basilidian system depicted by HIPPOLYTUS, it is boldly said that all things yearn after the God who is not. *Ref. Haer.* VII. 22 : 'Εκείνου γάρ, δι' ὑπερβολὴν κάλλους . . . πᾶσα φύσις ὀρέγεται.

of worth was given, which enabled each man to look upon his own personality, however to all seeming valueless, as, in a sense, the supreme end of all creation, nay, the cause of the historic sufferings of Godhead (ὕπὲρ οὗ Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν).

The preaching of the Gospel revives in a very striking way, the sense of personal dignity in man, and builds on this its ethical system (not as some superficially suppose, upon an appeal to altruism in the first place). God really created the world, and did so for a moral purpose. The visible universe is not the mere shadow, the inseparable correlate of His spiritual and unseen nature; but has been built, a temporary edifice to serve an eternal design.

Man (man the individual, not the race) becomes again the centre of the Universe, and is not a bubble blown about for a season by the winds of Chance or Fate, but possesses an intrinsic verity and the germ of an immortal existence. So far from being an accident in the great total of the Universe, a ripple on a troubled ocean soon to return thither indistinguishable whence it came forth, the Individual is the only reality; so far from being the puppet of an irresistible and unconscious power, his free will is the single ultimate fact of experience, his good will the one thing of final value. His welfare so far from being subordinate to any vague design of arbitrary power or desire for life, is sacrificed to nothing, but is the final end at which Creation aims. The pagan lost sight of the single life in admiration of the Macrocosm; and the sole remaining ethical duty or road to happiness was the loss of the fatal and perhaps impious dower of personality. The unit for the Jew was the Hebrew nation; and he appropriated to himself its failures and successes with the same earnest yet immature self-devotion that we find in Codrus or Decius. But the Christian saw in the world's course, a school for the discipline of character, the apprenticeship of the infant 'that was learning to become a citizen of

heaven'¹. It would not be hard in theory to attack the Christian system as an inculcation of debasing selfishness, were not this accusation immediately contradicted by actual experience. For in this way only (such is the verdict gained by an unbiassed scrutiny of the several schools of *pagan* Individualism) does the value and use of this life appear, if it be not considered as an *accidental* or a *final* good, but as a means to an eternal end. The duties of social life, and genuine interest in others are only possible to those who see in the State (or even in the Church), not an organism whose corporate welfare or exterior prosperity is the final norm of good and bad, but a home of souls; and who discern, through the inequalities of faculty, talent, station, the brotherhood of man. The mists of Platonism which raises qualities and ideas to divine honours, and depreciates the singular, pass away in this more practical view of life. Such a religion is not only readily intelligible to the humblest capacity; but by it alone is the gifted speculator saved from despair at the meaningless futility of his own life, from contempt of the pettiness of others. For it cannot be deemed a satisfactory answer to the riddle of existence to discover that there is none.

§ 3. The Gospel of Christ is a vindication of the personal to the personal. It professes, as no other system does, to justify the world-process, the design of a creator, the dealings of Providence, to the individual consciousness. All other schemes, all other religions are at the mercy of a revolt of Egoism, and this is both natural and inevitable. (This is clear from the practical result of a perversion of Christianity itself, which emphasizing the divine attributes of omnipotence

¹ DIO CHRYSOSTOMUS, *Borysthenitica*, Oration 36:—The world we must call *μίαν . . . εὐδαίμονα πολιτείαν*, . . . *τὴν θεῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινωνίαν*, and if one shall include *σύμπαν τὸ λογικόν*, men being numbered with gods, *ὡς παῖδες σὺν ἀνδράσι λέγονται μετέχειν πόλεως*, φύσει πολῖται ὄντες, οὐ τῷ φρονεῖν τε καὶ πράττειν τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδὲ τῷ κοινωνεῖν τοῦ νόμου, ἀσύνετοί ἐτι ὄντες αὐτοῦ.

and will to the exclusion of Love, refuses to justify its doctrine either to the individual reason or the moral sense. The only answer to every natural question put by instinct of justice or self-love, is with TERTULLIAN, '*quia Deus voluit.*' But the matter ends there: not only for children to whom a parent's command should be sufficient, but for grown men, who need an explanation, i. e. demand that a given edict should be justified to themselves. For the only explanation which satisfies is a reference to a personal will, making for a good and beneficent end. We cannot wonder then at J. S. Mill's remarks upon such a conception of deity, nor at the bitter attack at the French Revolution on the tyrannical and arbitrary rather than the paternal view, which not only does not console or encourage the individual, but irritates his natural and indeed commendable selfishness, by ignoring his welfare. This rebellion of Egoism whatever its final conclusion, is a sign of maturity. The youth is of age, and fancies he must claim admittance to his father's councils and secrets. It takes form first as a Sophistic disbelief in social convention and antique institutions, which appear to press heavily on the liberty of the more spirited and ingenious, or it may be represented as in the first book of the Bible, as the passing of adult reason out of the Paradise of children; where an apparently arbitrary command or restriction is first questioned and then transgressed¹. The certainty of our own

¹ SCHELLING's earliest work in Latin, an attempt to explain 'the very ancient philosopheme in Genesis iii, *de primâ Malorum hum. origine,*' is worth consulting. § 5. 'It is wrong to suppose as hitherto, *mali moralis initia hoc capite describi.* It is rather the decay of the Golden Age, a passing forth from primitive simplicity, the dawn of reason and intelligence, from which at once arise the conquests and the pains of civilized life. The cause of this "evil" is supposed by all to have been curiosity; this well agrees with Pandora's legend among the Greeks. The gates of a childish Paradise are closed for ever on the human race; they wander forth in search of the Ideal (*rerum altiorum cupiditas*), and their pioneer is the Snake, an inner spirit of discontent, which is cause of all unhappiness and of all advance.' § 6. 'It is Reason, driving us by main force out of the narrow realm of sense, promising us a home which we never reach, glories that we are never to behold !

existence is our most vivid experience in practical life; and those who after the advice of Seneca to Lucilius, 'alternate solitude with Society' and thus are neither immersed in the State nor completely anchoritic,—are brought to a conclusion that may seem vain and indemonstrable, but is inevitable: that the world is formed to produce self-consciousness; that it cannot be the design (if at this stage such a term is admissible)—the design of the world-process to extinguish a result so painfully attained; that in spite of all appearance the education and discipline of the personal spirit is the aim of creation; and that the author of this system, while He transcends all human excellence, yet bears resemblance to men in two essential points; He must be supreme *goodness* and Love; and He must be supreme *justice*. He must be known as *Creator* of the world, and *Judge* of mankind; indifferent neither to their *happiness* nor their *virtue*: and these in the end are identical.

The Platonist or Gnostic of this period considers all such direct interference with phenomena derogatory to the highest God¹. Behind the duality of the Powers in their *natural* and

In future, there is no hope of a return to the unreasoning state of happy innocence in Eden or Arcadia.' 'Who would prefer' (he asks, in a burst of enthusiasm, significant enough in 1792) 'the sty to such a glorious and infinite destiny?' Compare also the Lactantian interpolator, D. I. vii. 5.

¹ PSEUDO-PLUTARCH, *Plac. Philos.* I. 6. PLATO'S creationism is rebuked (ὁφεῖ λήρου Βεκκεσελήνου); κοινῶς οὖν ἀμαρτάνουσιν ἀμφότεροι (Plato and Anaxagoras) ὅτι τὸν Θεὸν ἐποίησαν ἐπιστρεφόμενον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἢ καὶ τούτου χάριν τὸν κόσμον κατασκευάζοντα. Τὸ γὰρ μακάριον καὶ ἀφθαρτον ζῶον, συμπεπληρωμένον τε πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ κακοῦ πάντος ἄδεκτον, ὅλον δὲ περὶ τὴν συνοχὴν τῆς ἰδίας εὐδαιμονίας καὶ ἀφθαρσίας ἀνεπιστρεφές ἐστι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων. Κακοδαίμων δ' ἂν εἴη, ἐργάτου δικτὴν καὶ τέκνονος, ἀχθοφορῶν καὶ μεριμνῶν εἰς τὴν τοῦ κόσμου κατασκευήν.

So much for the *physical* development of the world, where the influence of the Highest Deity appeared unimaginable: it was the same in the *historical*; —πῶς δὲ εἴπερ ὁ Θεὸς ἐστι, καὶ τῇ τούτου φροντίδι τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπου οἰκονομεῖται, τὸ μὲν κίβδηλον εὐτυχεῖ, τὸ δ' ἀστείον τάναντία πάσχει; CELSUS does indeed believe in Providence, but it is administered through inferior agents: Condescension of the Supreme Being to man he could not understand. It was an axiom of philosophic religion that all direct communication, *except dimly in*

historical activity, there stands the Philonian λόγος; and even this power is too much qualified and bears too many attributes to be regarded as the ultimate principle; and a *neuter* word, which expresses not so much the conscious *Source* as the indefinite *Ground* of existence, has to be introduced. The later Platonic theology is a continual straining after something still more abstract and completely negative and one, as if determined to put an end to the anthropomorphic superstition of the divine image in Man; and to separate finally the Author from his work, not perhaps by the primitive dualism of the master of the School, but by an ever-increasing series of intermediate beings or stages, which perplexed and discouraged the aspirant to reunion with the only true life. But the

thought (ORIGEN, c. *Celsus*, vii. 40, 42) was impossible. 'Man is not formed in God's image (vi. 63-4), nor is he any dearer to God than animals; indeed, many tribes have a far closer affinity (ἐγγυτέρω τῆς θείας ὁμιλίας ἐκεῖνα πεφυκέναι, καὶ εἶναι σοφώτερα καὶ θεοφιλέστερα, iv. 88). It is an absurd superstition to believe that the world was made for us men (iv. 69, 23), or that the highest truth is entrusted to a single nation, or the simplicity of ignorant faith; or, indeed, that there is any absolute and universal religious truth at all.'

The distance between God and the world (which can only be called *His* by a stretch of imagination) he expresses as follows:—Λέγω δὲ οὐδὲν καινόν, ἀλλὰ παλαιοῖς δεδογμένα. Ὁ Θεὸς ἀγαθὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ καλὸς καὶ εὐδαίμων, καὶ ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ καὶ ἀρίστῳ. Εἰ δὲ ἐς ἀνθρώπους κάτεισι, μεταβολῆς αὐτῷ δεῖ· μεταβολῆς δὲ ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ εἰς κακὸν . . . καὶ ἐξ εὐδαιμονίας εἰς κακοδαιμονίαν. Τίς ἂν οὖν ἔλοιτο τοιαύτην μεταβολήν; . . . οὐκ ἂν οὖν οὐδὲ ταύτην τὴν μεταβολὴν Θεὸς δέχοιτο (iv. 14). By which easy syllogistic method the speculators of the late Hellenic and Imperial age unanswerably refuted the beliefs in Direct Creation, Providence, Revelation; and sent the religious minds to find what solace could be afforded for this neglect, to the mysteries of Isis and Mithra, and the worship of particular and local Daemons. Such a theory tended to support the Roman system, for the Emperor, like the Supreme Deity, was unquestionable and inscrutable, and the pettiness of civic worship (to which CELSUS, no less than LUCIAN and SEXTUS EMPIRICUS, recalled men) prevented any serious coalition in a universal Faith.—Οὐκ οὖν ἀνθρώπων πεποιήται τὰ πάντα, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ λέοντι, οὐδ' ἀέτῳ, οὐδὲ δελφίνι· ἀλλ' ὅπως ὅδε ὁ Κόσμος ὡς ἂν θεοῦ ἔργον . . . τέλειον ἐξ ἀπάντων γένηται. Τούτου χάριν μεμέτρηται τὰ πάντα, οὐκ ἀλλήλων, εἰ μὴ πάρεργον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Ὁλοῦ· καὶ μέλει τῷ Θεῷ τοῦ ὅλου, καὶ τοῦτο οὐποτε ἀπολείπει Πρόνοια . . . οὐδὲ διὰ χρόνου πρὸς αὐτὸν (!) ὁ Θεὸς ἐπιστρέφει, οὐδ' ἀνθρώπων ἕνεκα ὀργίζεται (iv. 99). If the Stoics, with EPICTETUS and AURELIUS, have become Platonic in this age, the Platonists have borrowed the Stoic doctrine of a *universal*, not a *particular* Providence.

Christian insists upon this double office of good *Creator* and moral *Judge*, not as the deputed province of some inferior power, but as the essential and inseparable function of the Highest God Himself. 'The Shadow of the Sage's self, projected on vacancy,' was called God; and the Sage had long abandoned interest in the practical life, and expected his Divinity to do the same. But the Christian sees in God a father, and a redeemer, believes in a minute providence never wearied by trifles so called, but overruling all for the best; not some distant being, who takes delight in the Universe as an eternal spectacle, but a consoler ever near to the worshipper, piercing through the outer surroundings to the good-will and honouring and rewarding it alone. Everything else has been stripped off; there is no longer any vain groping amid unrealities, no fruitless pursuit of the object outside all reference to ourselves; but the true life of the world is seen to consist of one relation only, a personal God in immediate contact with personal man.

§ 4. Some such preface on the novelty of the Christian message is required, to throw light on the problem of Evil and its interpretation just at that time. It will be seen that owing to this shifting of the centre of gravity from the Universe to man, an entirely new conception of sin, pain, and evil generally must arise. There is no *end* in creation acknowledged now outside and beyond the perfection of human character; everything must take its place in some subordinate relation to this final aim. This by no means simplifies matters; and the main doctrine of the *personal interest of God in the world*, increases the difficulties which surround the origin and purpose of evil. In that view of the world, (which in future I shall describe for the sake of brevity as the *Impersonal* conception)—the question *πόθεν τὰ κακά*; is not unanswerable and can be easily eluded by a subtle dialectician. The curiosity of an inquirer who is not yet fully self-conscious, or who has discovered the secret treasure

of his personality only to lose it, may be without difficulty disarmed.

Such pantheistic systems, which make the present and the actual (as a meaningless and infinite series of phenomena), both eternal and divine, must needs eliminate all notion of *purpose* or of *progress*. There can be no history in such a universe. 'Here and now, Deity is perfectly revealed in its two aspects, as thought or as extension.' The inventors of such systems have abandoned all hopes of explanation: they will merely codify existing things, and invent a formula that may satisfy the intellect; and afterwards with more or less poetic sentiment pronounce the result beautiful or detestable, and style the whole, *best* or *worst* of all possible worlds. 'Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away'; the doctrine of the eternity of the universe was seen to be incompatible with Christianity¹. Nor can the optimist quarrel with the pessimist for imposing his own final construction on

¹ Compare the anti-Platonic writings of AENEAS of GAZA, and ZACHARIAS of MITYLENE. NEMESIUS had for an instant endeavoured to reconcile with Christian faith the two cardinal doctrines of Neo-Platonism, the pre-existence of souls, the eternity of the world; both fatal to the supreme dignity of the Personal.—AENEAS and ZACHARIAS set themselves to disprove them (p. 52, ed. Boissonade) *Theophrastus*: Οἱ τοῦ Πλάτωνος μυσταγωγοὶ τὸ γέγονεν οὐ γέγονε λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ κατ' αἰτίαν ἐγένετο, οἷον τῆς ἐμῆς σκιᾶς αἰτίον τοῦ μὲν σώμα· ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτὸ πεποίηκεν αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη τοῦτ' ἀσυνήκωστον ἐποίησεν. To which *Euzitheus* replies: Οὐκ ἄρα δημιουργὸς ὁ Δημιουργὸς εἰ μὴ βουλόμενος ὁ πεποίηκε δημιουργεῖ, ἀλλ' αὐτόματον τὸδε τὸ Πᾶν, εἰ μὴ γέγονεν. . . . Οὐκοῦν καὶ τὴν Πρόνοιαν ὁ τῶν ἀνοήτων λόγος συνανείλεν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο σκιᾶς ἐπιμέλεια.—ZACHARIAS, 105, Boiss.: Φασὶ γὰρ ὅτι, καθάπερ αἰτίον τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἐκάστου σκιᾶς γίνεται, ὁμοχρονος δὲ τῷ σώματι ἡ σκιά καὶ οὐχ ὁμίτιμος οὕτω δὴ καὶ δὲ ὁ Κόσμος παρακολούθημά ἐστι τοῦ Θεοῦ, αἰτίον ὄντος αὐτῷ τοῦ εἶναι, καὶ συναϊδὸς ἐστι τῷ Θεῷ οὐκέτι δὲ καὶ ὁμίτιμος.—115, Boiss.: Εἰ δ' ἀγαθὸς ὁ θεὸς ἐβουλήθη εἶναι τὰ ὄντα, οὐ δεόμενος αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ εἶναι (ἦν γὰρ πρὸ τούτων ὡς τελειώτατος καὶ οὐδενὸς δεόμενος, αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡ πᾶσα αὐτάρκεια), οὐκ ἄρα ἀνάγκη συναϊδῶν εἶναι τῷ πεποιηκότῳ τὸ ποιεῖν· δεῖ γὰρ πρὸς βούλησιν εἶναι τοῦ ποιήματος τὸν ποιητὴν εἴπερ τὸ ποιοῦμενον δευτερόν ἐστι τοῦ ποιοῦντος αἰτία καὶ χρόνος, εἰ μέλλει μὴ ἀβούλητος αἰτία τυγχάνειν καὶ οὐ λελογισμένη (ὥσπερ τῆς σκιᾶς τὸ σῶμα) Πῶς γὰρ ἂν εἴη δημιουργὸς ὁ Δημιουργὸς εἰ μὴ βουλόμενος ὁ πεποίηκεν εἴη δημιουργός; ἢ εἰ ὥσπερ τῷ σώματι ἡ σκιά οὕτως ἀπλῶς καὶ τῷ Δημιουργῷ παρακολούθησεν ἐκ ταῦτομάτου παρυστοῦν τὸδε τὸ Πᾶν;

the ambiguous results of the scrutiny of things. Both are indeed fully justified ; and like all interpretations of this kind each betrays the inmost character of the philosopher ; though nominally aiming at *impersonal* truth, each involves an act of moral choice, and proves that the *personal* cannot be silenced¹ : for what is pessimism but the natural reaction of the neglected individual against the eulogies of a Universe, which may be *absolutely* good (whatever possible sense this can have), but is certainly not good in relation to him ? In such system then the terms good and bad gradually tend to lose their meaning. They are different manifestations of the same thing ; the law of polarity is welcomed by such speculators². In old days, Plato had suggested an explanation by a sort of allegorical hypothesis ; God works on a pre-existent matter, and His beneficence is thwarted by the intractable material ; or again, original creation is entrusted to inferior deities, and the subsequent care of the world to Daemons. There is no actual and final antithesis of good and evil ; no promise of a final triumph of the right, such as might perhaps encourage the Parsee of ancient days ; a question perhaps of *stages*, of higher and lower, but not of absolute contraries. The two terms shade off insensibly into each other. There is no clear boundary line of demarcation.

In any case Evil (regarded only in relation to abstractions, to the unconscious, not to the individual who painfully experiences it), tends to disappear, to be considered as non-existent. And this is true, whatever be the precise form of Pantheism in favour.

§ 5. Christianity supplants this *physical* conception of evil by a *moral* explanation. It does not reside as a property in matter, for in its very nature it is inapplicable to anything that is not conscious and free. It can only be understood in

¹ See the very remarkable words of ROMANES, *Thoughts on Religion*, 101-2, 112, 135.

² Compare SAMUEL LAING, *A Modern Zoroastrian*.

a *personal* sense. The world no longer flows out from the overfull and brimming cup of God's nature (τὸ ὑπερπλήρες in PLOTINUS); it is created by Him for a certain and very definite purpose. Evil and matter (so often involved or identified) are no longer the shadow cast by the divine perfection; but the one is His handiwork (and as such *good*, but not *god*); the other is a criminal and deliberate rebellion of a perverse will against His decrees, which are not arbitrary but loving. And on the other side, the ideal set before us is neither the superficial welfare of a nation, nor the progress of civilized humanity, nor even the outward glory of a church, but the education of single souls. As there is nothing that can be called good unreservedly but a 'good will,' so it is impossible to connect the notion of intrinsic Evil with anything but an Evil Will, a person¹.

¹ The methodical Pantheist, who upholds the omnipotence of God at the expense of all other Divine qualities, in vain repeats the unmeaning paradox 'that vice is not less hateful or less deserving of punishment because it is involuntary.' MANILIUS, who as a poet marks the transition of pure Stoic Positivism into a mystic region, and is in a sense the counterpart of Cicero, labours to show the hatefulness of fated evil, and the responsibility of automata: iv. 112:—

'Nam neque mortiferas quisquam magis ederit herbas
Quod non *arbitrio* veniunt, sed *semine certo*;
Gratia nec levior tribuetur dulcibus escis,
Quod *Natura* dedit fruges, non ulla *voluntas*:—
Sic hominum meritis tanto sit gloria maior
Quod caelo gaudente venit; rursusque nocentes
Oderimus magis, in culpam poenasque creatos
(= σκεύη κατηγορησμένα εἰς ἀπώλειαν)

Nec refert scelus unde cadat, scelus esse fatendum.

Jonathan Edwards (*Doctrine of Original Sin*, 1758, Boston) is reduced to unintelligible refinement to avoid a logical conclusion:—'The Divine Being is not the author of Sin, but only disposes things in such a manner that Sin will certainly ensue.' No doubt we are right in applying the title Almighty to the Creator, but an exclusive study of this quality of Omnipotence leads us back insensibly to the old discarded *physical* conception of the Divine nature. The highest wonder in the Universe is not the *Power* of God, but His free gift of personality and independence to reasonable creatures. Edwards, too, echoes the Doctrine of MANILIUS in the following opinion:—'The essence of Virtue and Vice, as they exist in the disposition of the Heart, and are manifested in the acts of the Will, lies not in their *cause* but in their *Nature*' (*Freedom of*

Other so-called evils are only *apparent* or *relative* Evils, or blessings in disguise¹; other imperfections or errors may be due to ignorance or incomplete knowledge—all such belong to time, and are curable; but a fully-conscious and deliberately perverse will must be regarded as eternal in the sense of rejecting its own remedy; for God (this is a valuable lesson which Plato taught) acts on the soul as on the world, not by *compulsion*, but by *persuasion*.

This may perhaps explain how it is that to the Personalist, the idea of an Evil Spirit, who in a sense *thwarts* and in another *fulfils* the designs of Providence is by no means an obsolete superstition, but a doctrine of the highest truth and importance.

§ 6. A second point remains to be considered; in what does personality consist? It is discovered to be the final and unalterable fact of experience² (for even Natural Science does not discover things in themselves, but only expresses

the Will, Boston, 1754). 'The possession of the sinful disposition by which men are unable to obey the commands of God is itself their worst and most inexcusable sin' (Letter to Mr. Erskine).

Yet it must not be supposed that Edwards maintained throughout the same implacable resentment against the just claims of the personal. In a posthumous work (*God's Last End in Creation*, Boston, 1788), he contends rightly enough 'that there is no incompatibility between the *happiness* of created beings and the declarative glory of God, inasmuch as these two ends coincide in one. The Creation as happy and holy, as it is the object of the benevolent love of the Creator, cannot but declare His glory.' In a similar manner, the seeming austerity of Kant's *Law of Duty* is softened by a firm conviction or, rather, fervent hope and trust, that Virtue and Happiness are in their nature inseparable, or at least will in the end coincide. 'We are bound to seek to further that harmony between Virtue which is the Highest Good (*Supremum Bonum*) and Happiness, which is the indispensable condition of the realization of Perfect Good (S. Bonum in the sense of *Bonum Consummatum*).' Nay, on this he founds the chief reason for the existence of God; 'we must postulate the existence of a cause, which shall be able to effect the exact degree of agreement of Happiness with Morality; = we must postulate the existence of God.'

¹ We may here fully endorse the language of CELSUS, who tersely sums up the conclusions of Stoic and Platonic thought (in this age hardly distinguishable currents): iv. 70: *Κάν σοί τι δοκῇ κακόν, οὐπω δήλον εἰ κακόν ἐστίν· οὐ γάρ οἶσθ' ὅ τι ἢ σοι ἢ ἄλλῳ ἢ τῷ Ὀλφ συμφέρει.*

² Compare ROMANES, l. c. 130, § 10.

their relations to us, in terms of ourselves). But what is its nature? The essence of Personality rightly conceived is self-limitation. *Creation is the voluntary limitation which God has imposed on Himself.* And creation in this new view (which refuses to work up to self-consciousness, but insists on beginning from it) can only be regarded as a creation of free spirits¹. Any other conception of the act is more or less inconceivable. We cannot escape from ourselves; and from a sense of responsible worth. The notion of free-will may be 'an inevitable illusion,' but the emphasis is on the first word of the definition, and an illusion is often truer for us than truth itself². Regarding then man, one by one rather than in the aggregate, as the final end of creation (and in a sense perhaps the beginning also), we must hold to our belief in spite of the taunts levelled at our mistaken notion of our value³. Now since the Personalist must regard creation as a deliberate and moral act (not as a necessary outflowing of unconscious perfection), *it is clear that omnipotence, in the usual sense of the word, can no longer form one of the primary attributes of the Divine Nature.* It is a truer form of almighty power to submit to limitation; and this the Christian believes to be the main doctrine of his faith. God limits Himself in time, He sacrifices Himself in submitting to the bonds of matter; not as if this self-emptying were an eternal process, but as a means to some great and benevolent end; the communication of His own nature to free beings. God, if I may reverently use the expression, submits, not indeed to a development, but to a circumscription, in history. He pleads with man, and while He seems to educate the race, is acting for the sake of the single life. The Son of God to complete our redemption, does not

¹ Compare LOTZE'S *Outlines of the Philosophy of Religion*.

² Lord Kames opined that 'God had deceived mankind by an invincible instinct or feeling, which leads them to suppose that they are free.'

³ Compare LEOPARDI'S *Dialogue 'of the Goblin and the Gnome.'*

shrink from suffering and death, that henceforward a man may say, not only 'Our Father,' but 'My Saviour.'

In sum, the visible world in Christianity is not the expression of God, but His self-limitation (in a sense also, His disguise); and the course of history represents the rejection of the Almighty, and the sufferings of the Lord of Glory.

PART II.

GOD (CREATOR AND JUDGE) AND THE ORIGIN OF EVIL.

§ 1. Nothing need now detain us from the promised consideration of two remarkable writers in the Ante-Nicene period, the author of the Pseudo-CLEMENTINE literature¹, and LACTANTIUS². We have seen the tendency of orthodox

¹ The CLEMENTINE literature: works written probably in Syria towards the middle or close of the second century, and claiming CLEMENT of Rome for their author: earliest form no doubt the most violent, polemical, and doctrinal (Ebionitic); owing to the interest of the narrative (in which CLEMENT starts from Rome to hear Christ, falls in with Peter, and at last discovers his parent, after witnessing all Peter's conflicts with Simon Magus), these writings secured the sympathy of the orthodox, and the *Homilies* were corrected and altered, so as to remove points of difference, and concentrate attention on the romance and its incidents. *The Recognitions* is the name given to RUFFINUS's translation of the original work, in which he boldly exercises his well-known power of excision and modification. The stages of this process of adaptation to orthodox readers very possibly were: (1) the early and now lost *Archetype*, where doctrinal hostility had the chief place; (2) *Homilies*, which we have in Greek, in which story and polemic have an equal share; (3) RUFFINUS's translation, or the *Recognitions*, where dogma is becoming subordinate; (4) the *Epitome*, where the story as such monopolizes all attention, and the sermons and debates have fallen out. The general teaching of the Clementines will be seen from the quotations which follow.

² L. CAELIUS FIRMIANUS (circ. 260-340 A.D.), a contemporary of the Neo-Platonist Iamblichus; a pupil of ARNOBIUS the Numidian, but not an imitator of his style; professed rhetoric at Nicomedia between the years 305-312 A.D. (*Div. Inst.* v. 2); 'in extreme old age,' as Jerome tells us, was the tutor of Crispus, the son of Constantine I, in Gaul, 319 A.D. He wrote (1) seven books of *Divine Instructions*, on the model of his master's work, in which he contrasts the true religion with vain superstition on the one hand, and proud philosophy on the other; (2) *De Opificio Dei*, to Demetrianus;

Christianity to emphasize the personal element in God (that is, His self-limitation), and the personal element in man, his accountability, and therefore his freedom. The one hypothesis seems to explain the title *Creator*, the second the function of *Judge*, both of which meet us at every turn in the Anti-Gnostical writings. There is thus both *purpose* and *progress* in the world : and the definite goal to which creation moves is the judgement of man, rational and responsible. It is never pretended that this conception of the world explains the existence of evil adequately ; the believer can only say, ' Free-will, with which we start as a postulate, is inconceivable without the possibility of lapse ; and the results of perseverance in a particular course may become a permanent and ineffaceable habit. God might have created blameless puppets, but while we are constituted as we are, it is impossible to sincerely attach to such creatures a notion of merit ; just as it is impossible with justice to punish ignorance save with a view to its correction. God might indeed have foreseen and prevented the fall of angels and men ; but as He has, though foreseeing, not prevented, we can only suppose that in a mysterious manner evil, which apparently baffles the purpose of God in the world, is made (in a still more comprehensive monistic doctrine) to serve His eternal end ; the probation, redemption, and eternal happiness of Free Spirits.'

It is at this point precisely that we are met by the greatest obstacle. Is the evil spirit *independent* then of God, or is he still His *servant* ? a *rival*, or a *minister* ? There can be no doubt that these two notions coincide in the Christian

(3) the *Epitome* of the *Div. Instit.* to Pentadius ; (4) *On the Anger of God*, against the Epicureans, to Donatus ; (5) the work *On the Death of Persecutors* may or may not be his (it is headed ' Lucius Caecilius,' and dedicated to Donatus) : an interesting historical account in accurate style of the fate of persecuting emperors, especially at the beginning of the fourth century. His Latinity has been all the more admired since his orthodoxy has been impeached. JEROME, *Ep.* 58 : ' Utinam tam nostra affirmare potuisset, quam facile aliena destruxit !'

doctrine of the Devil, which, as contrasted with Gnostic or Manichaean speculation, never attributes to him original coexistence with God, but a *created* life in time; yet sometimes seems to convey the idea of successful opposition to divine counsels. One object of the Pseudo-CLEMENTINES is without doubt to investigate the nature of Evil, and its place in a universe which was created by a moral Being, just and merciful, and which cannot be regarded as the abortion of an inferior divinity. We find in them a crude yet working hypothesis to account for this; and there is a distinct point of contact with LACTANTIUS in the dogma of Syzygies (ὁ κατὰ τῆς Συζυγίας). The first impulse of the writer of the *Homilies*, which I take to be the earlier unmodified form, is to refute a certain form of Gnôsis, and to point to the true remedy for such heresies, in a resolute excision of scriptural interpolations, which arise from a perverted Judaism. This religion (whose historical fortress the various forces of Gnosticism beleaguered) must be restated as a *spiritual*, not a *ceremonious* faith. In fact, one form of Gnôsis is employed to combat another: a modified Marcionitism is to correct, without breaking from, the Old Testament; and the writer aims at discovering the original primitive religion, identical in the true Jew and the true Christian, and now for the first time thrown open to the whole Gentile world. There is a certain honesty in this method of dealing with inconvenient Scripture; allegory is not tolerated in this severe school: 'ense recidendum est, ne pars sincera trahatur.' What is unworthy of God is interpolated; and the power of discriminating genuine from false has come with the advent of the True Prophet. 'But how is it that God's word has been allowed to suffer this violation?' The answer is significant of the whole mental attitude of the writer; 'to test the perspicacity of the reader, and prove if a *natural instinct* of what is right and wrong, suitable and in-ap't for the Divine Being, could escape slavery to a written letter'; in a word,

to encourage personal inquiry, led indeed by a sense of right (*τὸ εὐλογον*), and to dignify beyond an inspired book the free and innate knowledge of God, which every man possesses.

§ 2. The God revealed by this eternal religion is before all things personal, Creator, Governor, Judge. There is no original antithesis of co-ordinate principles; nor any scheme of higher and lower spheres which ends in pagan Gnosticism by dissociating the idea of Creation and Providence from the Supreme God. The world is built for man's sake; and, for his further discipline, for his education into self-knowledge and self-reliance, a duality of influences, evil and good, are called into play, from Cain and Abel down to Simon Magus and Peter, culminating in the final appearance of Antichrist and Christ. The evil in the world is explained partly as the will of the Supreme, partly as the necessary probation of man. Sometimes, with a certain inconsistency it is stated that ἡ Κακία (personified evil) sends out her apostles, and again Greek παιδεία all comes from ὁ Κακὸς Δαίμων, while references to evil angels are not uncommon. The True Prophet, who in each emission of pairs appears in the *second* place, is God's spirit, again and again in successive incarnations entering a rebellious world, clothing itself in human flesh, or united to some good man, and on each occasion teaching the same truth: namely, the doctrine of God, *Creator and Judge*, the sum, as it were, of Natural Religion, or Exoteric Christianity, in IRENAEUS and ORIGEN;—a stern yet necessary doctrine in an age when the idea of God evaporated in a vague conception of an impassive Benevolence at the root of things, and the freedom and responsibility of man in a determinist 'physical advantage' (*φύσεως προτέρημα*) of a small minority selected by a non-moral choice. These several Theophanies calling man to true knowledge, and to the hope of a future life, are invariably thwarted, and indeed anticipated, by a corresponding emanation of evil. Such is the main outline of this curious attempt at speculative com-

promise, the union of true Hebraism and Christianity as the proclamation of one God, Creator and Judge ; the refutation of non-ethical Gnôsis and ceremonial Judaism by cutting away all inconvenient scriptural testimony ; and the explanation of the obvious struggle of good and evil influences in this world by a (somewhat ambiguous) subordination of Evil to the final purpose of God. *Ethical* as the writer tries to be, a dangerous *physical* interpretation is in the last resort placed upon evil ; for both good and evil seem to be the manifestations of an indifferent being in polarity, a sort of counterpart to the strange notions of bifurcation in the original unisexual ADAM KADMON. But, though strict logic may at times seem to drive him to this position, it is nevertheless alien to the general tenor of these writings ; for, however fantastic this cosmogony may be, the basis of all such theorizing is an honest conviction of a *moral purpose* in the world as far as its Creator's intention is concerned ; and of the moral dignity of man, which by free choice can realize, can co-operate in this purpose. We have before us an ingenious attempt to preserve the unity, goodness, transcendence of God, and His impassibility (*ἀπροσπάθεια*), without at the same time giving the world over entirely to the rule of the Devil, or on the other hand explaining away the significance and existence of evil. The author acknowledges evil as the wilful rebellion of a free-will ; but believes that it subserves God's intention. He is thus working on the side of orthodoxy as champion of *personality*. What is his object in Books v, vi, vii ? To repudiate current paganism, whether *popular* or *esoteric* ; to expose the crimes of mythology, or their seductive allegorization. At the mouth of Appion, a hypocritical priest of a religion of Reserve, we have a strange cosmogony from Chaos, in which *Ἔρως*, a blind struggle of an unconscious life-principle, takes the place of a purposeful Creator. It is just this [modern] principle of the 'strivings of the Will to live' which excites the hostility of the writer. He feels the inconsistency of

a material and unconscious substrate of infinite potentiality¹. He seems to object to the sudden and uncalled-for intrusion of a 'deus ex machina,' ὁ αἰθέριος τεχνιτής, into a universe, which appears (according to this hypothesis) to have grown up very well by itself. At the beginning of things, he is determined to have a *personal* Mind, and thus in these books strikes a blow at Hylozoism (or the belief that the egg is first), that mysterious and inconceivable doctrine, which we can reconcile neither with our experience nor our reason, but which nevertheless is, and always has been, the fundamental creed of the larger part of mankind, though it be sometimes disguised by personal names and *personified* impulse as in mythology, or as in the Aristotelian metaphor of the yearning (ὄρεξις) of matter after form.

§ 3. On this point we can at least be clear: God is a personal will, absolute, and almighty, whose purpose nothing can oppose: He is by no means formless, but ἔχων μορφὴν: else ἐν τίνι ἐπέσθη²; He is not infinite space, but rather the heart of the universe. Next, the world is created for man, by the grace and gift of God, himself a free person; and to set before his choice two kingdoms of *transient* and *eternal* good, two spirits (or influences) are produced. Here then is Man placed for probation between two rival chieftains, tried by interpolated Scriptures, wiles of Daemons, and inherited passions and diseases, and, above all, held in fetters of Πλάνη and Συνήθεια, the hateful antagonist of Ἀλήθεια. The True Prophet comes to restore the primitive Monotheism of the patriarchs, handed down from the saintly and unfallen Adam (who is his earliest incarnation); and to revive pure spiritual Hebraism free from fiery sacrifices, and purified by the new watery birth (for on Baptism and its efficacy the writer especially insists). It is a religion of gratitude to the *Creator*,

¹ Compare Dr. H. STIRLING, who shows that this is actually Idealism, in his *Secret of Hegel*.

² Compare the complaint of the Egyptian monk in SOCRATES.

fear of the *Judge*. This visible world is indeed the *creation* of God, with its present pleasures and allurements; but there is a greater stress on His moral government (PHILO's βασιλικὴ δύναμις), which places us in these enticing surroundings, not that we may enjoy them, but of deliberate choice (a self-limitation) 'may pass through things temporal' to God himself, and our better home. Very significant of 'CLEMENT'S' emphasis on the *personal* is his distinct rejection of a *Magical* theory of *revelation* or *redemption*, in which divine truth or divine life is appropriated by the entire abandonment or annihilation of the human (which yet must be postulated as the centre and agent of the appropriation). Revelation for man thus placed must come from within, the echo in the heart of God's voice without. External means of information may be fraudulent (scriptures and visions). As opposed to the mechanical and arbitrary theory of inspiration in Philo and in the Apologists (in which the Sun of human reason sets before the dark radiance of the divine night can reign¹), all heavenly secrets or messages are judged by τὸ εὐλογον, the instinctive and moral sense which each man of birthright possesses, that God is *good* and *just*. It is the canon of *rational probability*², III. 31, 32. The opposite view may in a measure be regarded as a corollary of that docetic theophany in which Christ passes through the Virgin, ὥσπερ διὰ σωλῆνος. The divine and the human are incompatible, and, save for an instantaneous moment of miracle, mutually exclude each other. There is no real union of God and man; for the conception of both is still *physical*, infinite and finite, and not *moral*; the supposed reconciliation is of two antithetic *natures*, not the harmony of two free and personal *Wills*.

But to 'CLEMENT' the *appropriation* of one personal will by another must be real and not fictitious. Christ speaks clearly;

¹ Compare PHILO'S Commentary on Gen. xv. 12: *Rer. Div. Her.* 53.

² Which to-day would seem to be ousting the old *à priori* arguments against the possibility of a Divine Revelation.

all, even the most ignorant, can understand ; for the True Prophet offers Himself to each man, just as each can receive Him. The human side is not merged in the divine ; but remains entire, though transformed to co-operate of free choice, and to enjoy the consciousness of working with God. [But whatever merits the writer of the CLEMENTINE *Homilies* may be justly allowed¹, all are rendered valueless by his imperfect Christology. There is no true reconciliation ; and in the end, the justice of God becomes unethical, and the appearance of Christ a transient theophany. Yet, as it is not with the doctrine of Christ's Person that I am now concerned, but with the Prince of the Left, the above commendation may be allowed to hold good in this latter relation.]

§ 4. In the doctrine of Evil (founded upon this *moral* view of the person of God and man) an attempt is made to infuse an *ethical* significance into a *physical* and necessitarian conception of the Divine Nature and the world-process. The Supreme Being, possibly in perverted Rabbinism, and certainly in many Gnostic sects, is regarded as bisexual, hermaphroditic ; as containing, that is, within Himself, a lower element, destined to issue in a more or less fictitious conflict ; ' that in God, which is not yet God,' to borrow an idea which is found in BEHMEN, and lies at the root of much transcendental cosmogony, in the earlier years of this century. Without forsaking this hypothesis (an immediate expression in polarity, by contraries), our writer,—determined opponent of impersonalism, and starting from an assumption of fully-conscious and purposeful reason,—transforms the idea of evil from a necessary development of a certain side in the Divine Nature (inconceivable when so much importance was attached to the *simplicity* of τὸ ὅν) into a deliberate creation, designed for the *moral* discipline of man. With much honesty of purpose, and boldness of enterprise, the writer cannot come to a satisfactory or con-

¹ Compare the remarks of Mr. Simon, note YYY. Div. I, vol. i. of DORNER'S work, Clark's Translation.

sistent conclusion. For with the best wishes he has not brought out the real *ethical* conception of sin, and there remains in the picture of the world-spirit a *physical* notion which in the end either throws back the entire guilt upon the Creator (so-called *Augustinian*), or, regarding evil as necessary to development and moral choice, denies its essential evilness altogether (*Platonist*).

In the citations it will be seen how the old problem occurs (at last to be dismissed as insoluble),—the problem which we have thus stated: Is the Devil a *rival* or a *servant* of God? The former is the conception most in favour with Personalists, inasmuch as wilful defiance of a good law by a free being is the only intelligible kind of evil. But in the difficulty of this mode of thought, the author takes refuge in a physical notion; the devil was 'created to rejoice at the punishment of the bad,' and to find pleasure in a certain habitation, where such punishment was to be exercised; and in this latter case he is blameless, for his constitution, as agent of a lower province, the divine displeasure and justice, is *naturally* or of *necessity* such as God made him; while on occasion, by an omission which cannot be otherwise described than as shifty and inexcusable, he is spoken of as 'created to rejoice in evil,' and not in its punishment. 'The evil principle' (says DORNER's commentator) 'serves (the Good) without either knowing or willing to do so; for though Satan *himself* is not righteous as God is, his *work* is righteous. When he does mischief, he is executing a divine punishment, which God as the Good cannot *Himself* directly administer.' Accordingly, he is compelled, without being aware of it, 'to help on the victory of the righteous God.' But whatever the strict definition of the Devil's freedom or responsibility for the part he plays, to him as to a supreme world-spirit is entrusted visible creation; he is the lord of the kingdom of transient good things. It is not an usurpation so much as a lawful commission or delegation of authority. He rules over pagan ideas of present enjoyment

and brief pleasures; in a word, over a life of secular and finite hopes, in which the true value of the *personal* spirit is sacrificed. Christ is the king of the world to come, of the eternal hopes of the true self-realization, only accomplished by self-restriction in this lower sphere. The future glory cannot be gained save by abandonment of present attractions: even the beauty of the world is a snare, and the dominant idea of morality is asceticism. Enjoyment of the one is incompatible with attainment of the other ('and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented'). There are then two classes in this Subordinate Dualism: the secularists, who seek impatiently to gratify what they falsely believe to be their true personality, untrusting in a divine purpose in things, extending beyond the visible; and the citizens of the City of Truth, an inheritance won by patient waiting and a resolute sacrifice, not indeed of self, but of the lower instincts, which we must learn to discard, selling all for the one pearl of great price¹. And these two classes arise by no summary fiat of a divine separation, but by free choice, exercised with full chances in a world of opposites.

PART III.

CITATIONS FROM THE CLEMENTINE HOMILIES.

II. 15. GOD in His own Nature is one, but His manifestation is twofold, and by means of opposites: *Εἰς ὃν αὐτὸς διχῶς καὶ ἐναντίως διείλε πάντα τὰ τῶν ἄκρων*. The same notion differently expressed, *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτὸς εἰς ὃν καὶ μόνος θεὸς ποιήσας οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν, ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα . . . ζῶν καὶ θάνατον*. In the midst of this world of contraries man is placed to exercise free choice on things *already* good and bad (but only

¹ MANILIUS IV. 404:—

Quid caelo dabimus? quantum est, quo veneat omne?
Impendendus homo est, Deus esse ut possit in ipso.

relatively to him): ϕ καὶ τὰς τῶν συζυγιῶν ἐνῆλλαξεν εἰκόνας. The *present* world is, as it were, the lesser mystery (τὰ μικρά); it is πρόσκαιρος and is full of ἄγνοια; it is θῆλυς and bears children, not for itself but for eternity. The future world is τὰ μείζω, αἰδώς, γνῶσις, and ὡς πατήρ ἀποδεχόμενος its offspring now grown to maturity, from the hands of this age, a mother or a nurse, to whom the early care, but not the complete education, is entrusted. 16. Ἐν ἀρχῇ ὁ Θεὸς εἰς ὧν, ὥσπερ δεξιὰ καὶ ἀριστερά, πρῶτον ἐποίησε τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶτα τὴν γῆν καὶ οὕτως ἐξῆς πάσας τὰς συζυγίας. But in the case of man he *alters* the *order* of this manifestation in pairs. In this way the author marks the difference of man from other creatures (μόνος αὐτεξούσιος) and of the development in History from that of Nature. ἐπὶ μέντοι ἀνθρώπων οὐκέτι οὕτως ἀλλὰ πάσας ἐναλλάττει τὰς συζυγίας. ὥς γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὰ πρῶτα κρείττονα, τὰ δεύτερα ἥττονα (here is a doctrine at the root of all Gnostic Emanationism), ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων τὸ ἐνάντιον εὐρίσκομεν, τὰ πρῶτα χείρονα, τὰ δεύτερα κρείττονα. It is probable that *physical* excellence gives its best first; but the idea of gradual progress seems inseparable from the idea of *moral* perfection. The rejection of evil implies the possibility of yielding to its enticements; and in a measure even this yielding is a necessary moment in an upward course. But it is in vain that we look for steady consistency; 33. *two* new discrepancies arise: ἡ Κακία appears as a personal power, rival of God; and the antecedence of good in physical creation seems abandoned: ἐπεὶ γάρ, ὡς ἔφαμεν, δυϊκῶς καὶ ἐναντίως πάντα ἔχοντα ὁρῶμεν, first Night then Day (but see above), first ignorance then knowledge, first disease then healing,—so πρῶτα τὰ τῆς Πλάνης τῷ βίῳ ἔρχεται, and then Truth, first the diseases by Aaron's rod, then the cure by Moses; (and at this juncture in the struggle of the world), as the pagans are turning from their idols, so ἡ Κακία πάλω ὡς αὐτὴ βασιλεύουσα anticipates their conversion, and sends forth her guileful favourite, Simon. So III. 59. Προλαβοῦσα ἡ Κακία τῷ τῆς συζυγίας νόμῳ προ-

ἀπέστειλε Σίμωνα, to make man believe in many gods, instead of one Creator of the world. So VII. 11 of Simon: αὐτὸς ἐστὶ Μαγός, αὐτὸς διάβολος, αὐτὸς Κακίας ὑπηρέτης. (As to this mysterious prosopopoeia, is it not possible that the writer, struggling with a *moral* conception of sin expressed in language which often reduces it to an original and therefore *physical* distinction, intended by ἡ Κακία, the feminine principle of weakness in created things, aspiring blindly to a fuller participation in its Creator, or, to put it from the Platonic and impersonal point of view, the visible and transient world, striving by ceaseless reproduction of types to appropriate the perfection of the intellectual region—τὰ νοητά? But the theologian must make up his mind whether he will consider this weakness which thwarts, a *defiance* of the Creator's designs, or a *conscious infirmity* which seeks to heal itself. On the answer will depend the entire conception of sin as *physical* or *moral*; and also the notion of God, as interested Creator or impersonal reservoir of goodness. Is Matter to blame for its defects? PLATO inclines to the belief that it is; ARISTOTLE defends it by the new doctrine of the 'yearnings' of inanimate nature (a notion which, though an indefensible personification, lies behind much Pantheistic speculation, notably that of M. VACHEROT). But all this inconsistency merely proves the futility of the Manichean *physical* hypothesis, and its extreme superficiality.)

III. 33. The duplicity of the universe is represented here in a purely *physical* light. God, who creates the world and disposes the elements, makes the pleasure of existence (and perhaps also its duration) to depend upon the law of interaction and alternation. It was perhaps impossible to conceive of the continuance of creation, save under the idea of a perpetual overcoming of an opposite in a new unity: Οὗτος μόνος τὴν μίαν καὶ πρώτην μονοειδῆ οὐσίαν τετραχῶς καὶ ἐναντίως ἔτρεψεν· εἶτα μίξας, κράσεις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐποίησεν, ἵνα εἰς ἐναντίας φύσεις

τετραμμέναι καὶ μεμιγμέναι τοῦ ζῆν ἡδονὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀντισυζυγίας ἐργάσωνται. There is a trace here of a fatal tendency to transform bad and good in man into a mere *physical* distinction of sex in common with earlier speculators; and in this semi-Platonic passage, which recalls both the Symposium and the Timaeus, there is a postulate of Matter coexisting with God which is not explained satisfactorily either here or elsewhere in the *Homilies*.

But from such *metaphysical* or *physical* ideas the writer hastens back to his *personal* relations, the notion of the Two Kingdoms of Darkness and Light, between which man is placed: XV. 7. ὁ τῆς Ἀληθείας παρὼν προφήτης ἐδίδαξεν ἡμᾶς, ὅτι ὁ τῶν ὅλων Δημιουργὸς καὶ Θεός, δυσί τισιν ἀπένευμε βασιλείας δύο, Ἀγαθῷ τε καὶ Πονηρῷ, δούς τῷ μὲν Κακῷ τοῦ παρόντος κόσμου μετὰ νόμον τὴν βασιλείαν, ὥστ' ἂν ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν κολάζειν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας. Τῷ δὲ Ἀγαθῷ τὸν ἐσόμενον αἰδιον αἰῶνα. In § 6 we have a kind of apologue of these two kingdoms, as of δύο ἐχθρῶν βασιλείων ὄντων καὶ διηρημένας τὰς χώρας ἐχόντων. Men are defrauders of their true sovereign, so as to live in a foe's land (καθὸ ἐν ἐτέρου εἰσι βασιλείᾳ), but God is kind and pardons them. XX. 2. ὁ Θεὸς δύο βασιλείας ὀρίσας καὶ δύο αἰῶνας συνεστήσατο, κρίνας τῷ Πονηρῷ δέδοσθαι τὸν παρόντα κόσμον διὰ τὸ μικρὸν τε αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ παρέρχεσθαι ὄψεως, τῷ δὲ Ἀγαθῷ σώσειν ὑπέσχετο τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα, ἅτε δὴ μέγαν ὄντα καὶ αἰδιον. Between these man is absolutely free to choose: Τὸν οὖν ἄνθρωπον αὐτεξούσιον ἐποίησεν, ἐπιτηδειότητα ἔχοντα νεύειν πρὸς ἃς βούλεται πράξεις . . . ὥς εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ φυραμάτων δύο, θηλείας τε καὶ ἄρρενος; and thus, XIX. 23. ὁ κόσμος ὄργανόν ἐστι τεχνικῶς γεγονός, ἵνα τῷ ἐσομένῳ ἄρρει αἰωνίως ἢ θήλεια τέκῃ δικαίους αἰωνίους υἱούς. XX. 2. cont.: Διὸ δὴ καὶ δύο ὁδοὶ προετέθησαν, νόμου τε καὶ ἀνομίας· δύο τε βασιλείαι ὀρίσθησαν, ἡ μὲν οὐρανῶν λεγομένων, ἡ δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς νῦν βασιλευόντων. Ἀλλὰ καὶ δύο βασιλεῖς ἐτάχθησαν, ὧν ὁ μὲν τοῦ παρόντος καὶ προσκαίρου κόσμου νόμῳ βασιλεύειν ἐχειροτονήθη . . . ὁ δὲ ἕτερος καὶ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ὑπάρχων τοῦ

ἐσομένου αἰῶνος, στέργει πᾶσαν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν ἐν τοῖς παρούσι τὴν παρησίαν ἔχειν οὐ δυνάμενος ἀλλ' ὥς τίς πότε ἔστι λαυθάνειν πειρώμενος τὰ συμφέροντα συμβουλεύει. (Now it is evident that this writing is an attempt to escape from Gnosticism by the employment of Gnostic resource. With a strong insistence on God as the good Creator of the visible world, a defence indeed of the Creator from the attacks of the prevailing Discontent, the practical ethics amount to a completely Manichean and ascetic repudiation of this life: and, in this passage of Peter's esoteric teaching, this strange Gnostic position is adopted, so strenuously attacked by the orthodox writers, that Christ comes secretly to win men away by stealth from their allegiance. Our legitimate ruler and sovereign is the Devil, or rather this world belongs to him. Does it not appear an infringement of the original partition of Time and Eternity (the temporal and the immortal life), if the Saviour robs the Devil of his subjects before their period of servitude is over?) III. 19. Christ suffered and died here: μέλλοντος αἰῶνος βασιλεὺς εἶναι κατηξιωμένος πρὸς τὸν νῦν ἐμπροθέσμως παρελήφота νόμφ τὴν βασιλείαν [τὴν μαχὴν ἐποιεῖτο?]

Each man is free to choose his leader: *ἐαυτὸν* (XV. 7) *ἀπονέμειν* ᾧ βούλεται ἢ τῷ παρόντι *Κακῷ* ἢ τῷ μέλλοντι *Ἀγαθῷ*. Those who choose the *present* good are richly dowered here (*πλουτεῖν τρυφᾶν ἥδεσθαι*: τῶν γὰρ ἐσομένων ἀγαθῶν οὐδὲν ἔξουσι). But those who choose the delights of the future kingdom (τὰ τῆς μελλούσης βασιλείας) . . . τὰ ἐνταῦθα ὡς ἀλλοτρίου βασιλείως ἴδια ὄντα, αὐτοῖς νομιζεσθαι οὐκ ἔξεστιν, ἢ ὕδατος μόνου καὶ ἄρτου καὶ τούτων μεθ' ἰδρωτός ποριζομένων πρὸς τὸ ζῆν, καὶ περιβολαίου ἐνός. As in the system of LACTANTIUS, there is no place in the kingdom of God for the wealthy and successful in this life; good fortune here (supposed to be in each case a deliberate choice) disqualifies for eternal bliss: the two spheres are incompatible; and no one can 'make the best of both worlds.'

Daemons have power only over those who yield to their

allurements and eat at their table, VII. 3: Οὕτω γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ πάντα κτισάντος Θεοῦ, δυσὶν ἐκάστοτε ἄρχουσι δεξιῷ τε καὶ εὐωνύμῳ ὥρισθη νόμος μὴ ἔχειν ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν ἐὰν μὴ πρότερόν τιμι ὁμοτράπεζος γένηται, ὃν εὖ ποιῆσαι ἢ κακῶσαι βούλεται. And as the fires of Judaic sacrifice are extinguished by the water of Baptism, so the table of Devils (εἰδωλόθυτα) is superseded by the Eucharist. VIII. 21. Christ the king of the future world was exposed to the same temptation, the display of the glories or pleasures, which this life and its prince have to offer: τῷ γὰρ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἡμῶν βασιλεῖ προσήλθέ ποτε ὁ πρόσκαιρος βασιλεὺς, καὶ οὐ βίαν ποιῶν (οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν) ἀλλὰ προτρέπων καὶ ἀναπειθων (ὅτι τὸ πεισθῆναι ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκάστου κείται ἐξουσίᾳ). Christ refuses, knowing this voluntary choice of the temporal means eternal servitude to the Devil. XX. 3. These two beings ever fight together for the possession of Man's allegiance: τῶν δὲ δύο τούτων ὁ ἕτερος τὸν ἕτερον ἐκβιάζεται Θεοῦ κελευσάντος, and each of us has perfect freedom to obey which he prefers. If the Good, he becomes κτῆμα of the future sovereign, whose kingdom is not from hence; if the Evil, τοῦ παρόντος γίνεται Πονηροῦ ὑπηρέτημα. Notice the *neuters*: it is suggested that the first effort of deliberate will is alone *free*; afterwards we must abide by the consequence; 'we are not our own.' And remembering the practical problem of that age, the question of the Realm of Freedom, we may see here that κτῆμα implies no real sacrifice of self, but only a voluntary mancipation to a service which is 'perfect freedom,' in which the *personality* is invigorated, not extinguished.

The so-called gifts of Fortune then come from the Devil, who, as in the old German legends, makes a compact with the soul, and barter a fixed period of earthly success for an eternal slavery. But occasionally (and as a result of an inconsistency to which I must again refer) the Devil is represented as punishing his subjects even in this life, δς (XX. 3) δι' ἁμαρτίας κρίσει δικαίᾳ τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ λαβὼν ἐξουσίαν, καὶ πρὸ

τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος θελήσας αὐτῇ χρῆσθαι, ἐν τῷ νῦν βίῳ κολάζων ᾗδεται : in which simple sentence lies the whole problem of the alternative, *rebel* or *minister* ? and the entire confusion in this writer's mind between indignation at evil and rejoicing in it.

This strife of the two kings, present and to come, constitutes the world-process, or at least the historic development of mankind. Adam is the first manifestation of the good principle, and it is an error to suppose that he fell : III. 22. πλὴν τούτῳ σύζυγος συνεκτίσθη θήλεια φύσις, as inferior to him as μετουσία to οὐσία, as moon to sun, as fire to light. This wife of Adam, who almost approaches the traditionary conception of Lilith, is believed to be πρώτη προφῆτις, τοῦ νῦν κόσμου ὡς θήλεια ὁμολοῦ ἀρχουσα. II. 16. From Adam there arose, first ἀδικος Καὶν, second δίκαιος Ἀβέλ, according to the law of Emanation (ὁ λόγος, or ὁ κανὼν τῆς συζυγίας, or (III. 23) κατὰ τὸν τῆς προόδου λόγον, and ἐν τῇ τῶν συζυγιῶν προελεύσει). Symbolical of this great secret, now at last revealed, is the emission of the birds from Noah's ark. II. 16. cont. : πνευμάτων εἰκόνες δύο ἀπεστάλησαν ἀκαθαρτοῦ λέγω καὶ καθαροῦ, first the black raven, then the white dove. We have the pairs : Ishmael, Isaac ; Esau, Jacob ; Aaron (τῇ τάξει πρῶτος . . . ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς· εἶτα ὁ νομοθέτης), Moses. The last pair that preceded Simon Magus and Peter were Jesus and John the Baptist (II. 17, III. 22), last representative of the female principle : ὁ ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν πρῶτος ἦλθεν, εἶτα ὁ ἐν υἱοῖς ἀνθρώπων. So II. 23, of John : ὁς καὶ τοῦ κυρίου . . . κατὰ τὸν τῆς συζυγίας λόγον ἐγένετο πρόοδος. In like manner the Magus precedes Peter : II. 17. ὁ πρὸ ἐμοῦ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη πρῶτος ἐλθὼν (repeated III. 59). 'It is easy to detect whose he is, and whose am I,' ὁ μετ' ἐκείνων ἐληλυθὼς . . . ὡς σκότῳ φῶς, ὡς ἀγνοίᾳ γνῶσις, ὡς νόσφ' ἰασίς. So, as Christ said, first must come the false gospel ὑπὸ πλάνου τινος, then, to cleanse the holy place, must the true gospel be secretly dispensed (κρυφὰ διαπεμφθῆναι εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν τῶν ἐσομένων αἰρέσεων). At the end of the world comes Antichrist and Christ, at whose advent all the works

of darkness shall become invisible (ἀφανῆ). The source of error in man is ignorance of this Canon of Dualism. II. 18. ἐπεὶ οὖν, ὡς ἔφην, τὸν Κανόνα τῆς Συζυγίας ἀγνοοῦσί τινες, so the character and origin of Simon Magus is not rightly known. Νῦν δὲ ἀγνοούμενος, οὐκ ὀρθῶς πιστεύεται.

In such a system, then, everything is adapted and arranged for the trial and probation of man the individual. Punishment is corrective and admonitory, and aims at the restoration of the sinner (XII. 32): it is not God's will that he should be unhappy, but the inevitable result of his own free choice. God forces none to obey and love him. All trials and diseases in life have this single object, the testing of the Saints, who give up, with prudent foresight and sincere faith in God's promises, the pleasures of the present world. In opposition to the enemies of Providence (that much impugned doctrine in this period; compare LACTANTIUS), it is maintained that not the smallest thing happens without God; and thus it must be confessed that the writer has caught hold of the main teaching of Christianity from its human side; the extension of the idea of Πρόνοια from *national* or *cosmic* to *individual* life. Much the same principle underlies this sentence (XII. 32): Δίκαιος δὲ ἐστὶν ἐκείνος ὁ τοῦ εὐλόγου ἕνεκα τῇ φύσει μαχόμενος, for merit resides not in letter of scripture or in verbal obedience, but in the innate sense of right and wrong, and the cultivation of moral spontaneity.

PART IV.

More particular account of the origin of Evil in the

CLEMENTINE HOMILIES.

§ I. From the standpoint of human nature, based on the value of the *personal* will and free choice, the evil in the world is capable of explanation. The *Moral* difficulties vanish, to a great extent, if we may assume a rival principle to the will of God, who seeks to divert us from thoughts on our true

home, Eternity, and who already anticipates our appearance in the world by his opposition to God (merely transient and fictitious though it may perhaps be). Our *moral* nature implies choice; but choice implies opposites and contraries; thus nothing, not our pain, or success, or disease or health, or poverty or riches, falls outside the counsels of God, who tries, by means of His two servants, of what temper we are. Thus, from an *ethical* point of view, we may silence our doubts; for it would be difficult to imagine a *moral* world except in this way; but the *speculative* problems as to the origin and nature of the Evil One remain unsolved. In the Homilies Books XIX and XX are given up to this discussion, which is significantly omitted in the *later* Recognitions.

There are two arguments, one with Simon in XIX, the other with the believing disciples in XX. Simon is an adversary whose main object is to perplex, and it is difficult to form an accurate idea of his doctrine. At first he wishes to shift the responsibility of evil from the Devil to his Creator. 'Who is the Evil One?' I do not know, but believe that he exists, as Christ told us: διὸ καὶ γὰρ σύμφημι αὐτὸν ὑπάρχειν. 'Is he create or uncreate? (γενητός, ἀγέννητος), for if we discover his author, we shall transfer the blame.' Not so, for perhaps God cannot prevent it, εἰ δὲ οὐδ' αὐτὸς δυνατός, κρείττων ὁ πρὸς τῷ ἀδυνατεῖν κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ἐνεργετεῖν ἡμᾶς οὐκ ὀκνῶν. [Here Peter approaches the position of J. S. MILL.] Even if created by God, God is not blameworthy, for good men have bad sons. He is created, but does not receive his evil from God; and yet we must allow that nothing happens contrary to God's will, Who (§ 12) can be προβολεὺς . . . τῶν τεσσάρων οὐσιῶν, θερμοῦ λέγω καὶ ψυχροῦ, ὑγροῦ τε καὶ ξηροῦ. At first they were simple: ὡς πρῶτα ἀπλῆ καὶ ἀμιγῆ ὄντα πρὸς οὐδέτερον ἔχειν τὴν ὄρεξιν, προβληθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἕξω κραθέντα γενεσθαι ζῶον, προαίρεσιν ἔχον ὀλοθρεῖσθαι κακοῦς (a). Inasmuch as all these are born from God, ὁ Ποιητὴς οὗτ' ἄλλοθεν ἐστίν, οὗτ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ . . . Θεοῦ τὴν κακίαν εἰληφε, because these οὐσίαι

in themselves at first neither bad nor good, οὐθέτεραι οὐσαι πεφυλοκρινημένοι ἐξ αὐτοῦ προβέβληνται, καὶ ἔξω αὐταῖς κραθείσαις ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης, βουλήσει (= *voluntario motu*?) συμβέβηκεν ἢ πρὸς τὸν τῶν κακῶν ὄλεθρον ἐπιθυμία (b). Here appears the inconsistency of a proposed explanation, half *physical*, half *moral*; and again, this conception of the Devil as the willing minister of God's righteous judgements, is quite incomplete, and takes no notice of the element of *moral* perversion, being little more than PHILO's notion of the βασιλικὴ δύναμις. This view is rejected by Simon: Δυνατὸς οὖν ὑπάρχων ὁ Θεὸς κινᾶν τὰ στοιχεῖα, καὶ ποιεῖν κράσεις, πρὸς ὧς βούλεται γένεσθαι προαιρέσεις, διὰ τί μὴ ἐποίει ἀγαθῶν προαιρετικὴν τὴν ἐκάστου κρᾶσιν; (a question which is always being asked in some form). Peter at last grants that this peculiar temper of the Devil arose in accordance with God's will: οὕτως βουλῇ τοῦ συγκρινάντος συμβέβηκεν ὡς ἠθέλησεν ἢ τῶν Κακῶν προαίρεσις (c). Here is clearly an inconsistency: the Devil passes from antagonism to God into the position of an agent.

In § 14 Simon suggests an honest Dualism of God and Matter: τί δὲ εἰ ἢ ὅτι αὐτῷ σύγχρονος οὐσα καὶ ἰσοδύναμος ὡς ἐχθρὰ προβάλλει αὐτῷ ἡγέμονας ἐμποδίζοντας αὐτοῦ τοῖς βουλήμασι; so again, § 17: Μήτι ἀεὶ ὦν καὶ οὕτως ἀναιρεῖται τὰ τῆς Μοναρχίας, συναρχούσης καὶ ἐτέρας τῆς κατὰ τὴν ὅτι αὐτῷ δυνάμεως¹; There are two ways of regarding the material substrate, as *limiting* or *aspiring after* the good, or the intellectual world. PLUTARCH, in his 'Isis and Osiris,' adopts the former view (both are possible in Platonic thought), and is almost tempted to personify the *weakness* of the receptive element into obstinate rebellion.

This Peter denies; Matter recognizes and obeys God, and Jesus in the miracles shows His power over it. Simon wishes to press Peter to one of two conclusions; either we start from

¹ Dressel's translation here quite misses the point, and is ungrammatical: for use of *μητί γε* = *nonne* (hypothetical and suggestive), see XX. 9 (ad fin.).

God's omnipotence, and believe him to be the Author of Evil ; or preferring to connect the Divine Nature rather with *goodness* than *power*, we suppose Matter to be almost independent of this authority. 'If GOD ensouled Matter, ἐνεψύχωσεν αὐτὴν οὐκ αὐτὸς αἰτιὸς ἐστὶν ὧν αὐτὴ τίκει κακῶν ;' Peter replies with a compendium of orthodox doctrine : 'all earthly evils arise because of man's fall' (ἐρπετα λόβολα, βοτανὰ θανάσιμοι, and Daemons) ; 'and if you ask why man was thus made capable of death, I respond because he is free (αὐτεξούσιος).'

§ 16. Nor is GOD unjust, if he makes use of the Devil's malice for his own righteous ends : εἰ ἀποστάντα αὐτὸν ὁ Θεὸς ἄρχειν τῶν ὁμοίων κατέστησε νόμῳ, τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐπάγειν τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσι κελεύσας αὐτῷ, οὐκ ἀδικὸς ἐστὶν. § 17. Simon, thinking more of his *opposition* to GOD than his *ministry*, asks : why εἰδὼς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ κακῷ ἐσόμενον, γινόμενον αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνείλε ; § 18. Simon starts a third possible theory, taking its origin from pantheism : Evil only relative : Μῆτι οὖν τῶν πρὸς τί ἐστὶν ; depends on its *object* for its qualification : in this way all distinctions vanish ; evil is not evil, nor is good, good ; all is in Heraclitean flux : ἐκάτερον γὰρ θᾶτερον ἐργάζεται. So, § 19 : Μῆτι οὖν οὐκ ἔστι τῇ φύσει πονηρὸν ἢ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ διαφέρει καὶ ἔθει ; that is, the Source of Life, physical or mental, is indifferent ; and all morality grows up by convention, and depends on institutions which are only locally valid.

In § 20 Peter introduces a new idea—Sin neither truly existent nor eternal : οὐκ ἄρα ὑπάρχει τὸ Πονηρὸν αἰεί, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μὴν ὑπάρξαι δύναται.

The rest of this book XIX is occupied with Simon's gnostic attacks on the evils, cruelty, inequality of this world ; and shows clearly how entirely the early heresies depended upon this widespread Discontent, whether it were *practical* or *speculative* Peter replies : 'Much physical evil in the world arises from our carelessness, from neglect of the rules of health or the fitting periods of generation. And besides, pains here

are to correct sin, and to lead away from ignorance: if you are good, you will not suffer: *ὁὗς τὸν μὴ ἁμαρτάνοντα καὶ λαβὲ τὸν μὴ πάσχοντα*. This is very inconsistent; here pain, instead of being a *probation*, is a *retribution*. But the position of the former books is that pain in this life is the inseparable lot of those who choose eternal happiness. 'As to the terrible injustice and inequality of life, it is necessary for the perfection of saints; some by suffering, others by seizing an occasion of charity, are made pious (*εὐσεβεῖς ἀποτελεσθῆναι*).' Simon departs, after an angry reply and an indignant and somewhat modern protest, that in this theory the poor are a mere instrument for the perfection of the wealthy.

In the next book Peter undertakes privately to explain the truth *τῆς περὶ τοῦ Πονηροῦ ἁρμονίας*. The Devil is the duly appointed king of the present world, *ὁὗς καὶ ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ πονηρῶν χαίρειν ἐκράθη* (d). Now this feeling, though in itself not commendable, is used by GOD, who cannot punish sinners directly: *καὶ ὡς ἰδίᾳ χαρίζομενος ἐπιθυμία τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ βούλησιν ἐκτελεῖ*. Christ on the other hand is *created* (*δημιουργηθείς*) to rejoice in authority over the good, and saves them to eternal life, *ἐαυτῷ χαρίζομενος τὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων εἰς Θεὸν ἀναφέρει χάριν*. Both please themselves, but in doing so serve God; and both are ministers and agents of God's good pleasure: *οἱ δύο ἡγέμονες οὗτοι ταχεῖαι χεῖρες εἰσὶ Θεοῦ προλαμβάνειν ἐπιθυμοῦσαι καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ θέλημα ἐπιτελεῖν* even now desirous of anticipating the *pains* of the wicked, the *delights* of the just. It is GOD who really acts throughout; He kills and makes alive: *ἀποκτείνει μὲν διὰ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς . . . διὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ κακώσει τῶν ἀσεβῶν χαίρειν κραθέντος Πονηροῦ. σώζει δὲ καὶ εὐεργετῇ διὰ τῆς δεξιᾶς . . . διὰ τοῦ ἐπ' εὐεργεσίᾳ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ δικαίων χαίρειν δημιουργηθέντος Ἀγαθοῦ*.

XX. 3. *Εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντες οὐκ ἔξωθεν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔστιν ἑτέρα τις ἀρχή . . . οὐ μὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὡς ζῶα προεβλήθησαν· ὁμόδοξοι γὰρ αὐτῷ ἦσαν . . . οὔτε συμβεβήκασιν αὐτομάτως, παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βουλὴν γεγονότες, ἐπεὶ τὸ τῆς δυνάμεως*

αὐτοῦ μέγιστον ἀνήρητο ἄν, . . . ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ μὲν προβέβληται τὰ πρῶτιστα στοιχεῖα τέσσαρα (warm, cold, wet, dry, or fire, air, water, earth). Whence GOD is the Father of all existence (ὅθεν δὴ καὶ Πατὴρ τυγχάνει πάσης οὐσίας,—οὔσης γνώμης τῆς κατὰ τὴν κρᾶσιν (His plan as to the mixture of elements taking effect?) The materials or elements of creation then come from GOD himself by *projection*: His design as to their commingling and permeation then takes effect. Yet out of this purely *physical* conception arises, by a sudden turn, the idea of *moral* difference: ξῶ γὰρ κραθεῖσιν αὐτοῖς ὡς τέκνον ἢ Προαίρεσις ἐγεννήθη. And so the Devil is really only a *minister* of GOD, and is blameless: ὁ οὖν Πονηρὸς πρὸς τῷ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος κόσμου τέλει ὑπουργήσας ἀμέμπως τῷ Θεῷ (ἅτε δὴ οὐ μιᾶς οὐσίας ὦν τῆς πρὸς κακίαν μόνης), μετασυσκριθεὶς ἀγαθὸς γενέσθαι δύναται. οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν κακὸν τι ποιεῖ, καίτοι Κακὸς ὢν, νομίμως κακουχεῖν εἰληφὼς τὴν ἐξουσίαν. This universalist and Origenian doctrine on the return of Satan to his allegiance, seems to depend upon a dim adumbration of modern science: thought is molecular displacement, and character depends upon a particular arrangement of atoms. And it is quite obvious that this writer who insists most strongly on *human* freedom and responsibility, shrinks from attributing the same liberty to the Evil angels, i. e. is reduced to a *physical* instead of an *ethical* explanation.)

XX. 5. Sophonias states an article of his belief which strikes at the entire Gnostic doctrine of Emanation and successive Deterioration: τὸ μὲν γεννῆσαι (Θεὸν) δίδωμι, τὸ δὲ ἀνόμοιον αὐτῷ γεννῆσαι οὐκ ἀποδίδωμι. Peter becomes pensive at this (ἐπὶ συννοίας γενόμενος), and repents of having begun this inextricable discussion, and sets forth a vague theory of God's power to 'change' things, even Himself.

Ὁ μὲν προβάλλων καὶ εἰς ἑτέραν οὐσίαν τραπέντα πάλιν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν τρέπειν δύναται, ὁ δὲ προβληθεὶς τῆς ἐξ ἐκείνου τροπῆς . . . τέκνον ὑπάρχων, ἄνευ τοῦ προβάλλοντος βουλῆς ἄλλο τι γειέσθαι οὐ δύναται, εἰ μὴ ἐκεῖνος θέλει. Thus the Devil is *exactly what*

God wishes him to be, and cannot overpower the law of his own nature and conformation. XX. 8. Michaiiah asks if the Good spirit *γενένηται* like the Evil? If so, they seem to be brothers. Peter replies: οὐχ ὁμοίως γεγόνασιν . . . τοῦ Πονηροῦ ἢ τετραγένης τοῦ σώματος οὐσία πεφυλοκρινημένη ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ προεβλήθη, ἔξω δὲ αὐτῆς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ προβάλλοντος βουλήν ἐκράθη πρὸς τὴν κράσιν ἢ κακοῖς χαίρουσα προαίρεσις (e). (It appears then that GOD is the author of so-called Evil, by deliberate creation or projection of elements so mingled, that a certain *ἔξις* necessarily came upon them, and will continue until the component parts are redistributed.) But this hypothesis is not readily accepted: διὰ τί δὲ ἔξω ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κραθείσης οὐσίας ἢ συμβεβηκυῖα κακοῖς χαίρουσα προαίρεσις ἐπεγίνετο (f); For as to the 'Evil' Will (whatever the exact sense of 'Evil'):

οὔτε ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ γεγένηται,
οὔτε ὑφ' ἐτέρου τινος,
οὔτε ὑφ' αὐτοῦ προβέβληται,
οὔτε αὐτομάτως προελήλυθεν,
οὔτε ἀεὶ ἦν (ὡς ἡ πρὸ τῆς συγκράσεως οὐσία),

ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ βούλησιν ἔξω τῇ κράσει συμβέβηκεν. 'Ο δὲ Ἀγαθὸς ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ καλλίστης τροπῆς γεννηθεὶς καὶ οὐκ ἔξω κράσει συμβεβηκὼς τῷ ὄντι Υἱὸς ἐστίν. It cannot be denied that we have here the worst features of the Necessitarian and Impersonal view of GOD, which lies at the root of Gnosticisms. In this difficulty the writer flies to a refuge which he had once abandoned with contempt—the letter of Scripture: ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἄγραφα τυγχάνει καὶ στοχασμοῖς πεπιστωμένα, μὴ πάντως ἡμῖν οὕτως ἔχειν βεβαιούσθω (compare ORIGEN, who imposes a similar condition on his speculation in his 'Principia'; and it may here be remarked that the Doctrine of Reserve, so generally supposed to be the edifice of aristocratic pride and intellectualism, may with equal likelihood be founded on humility: the ἀπορρήτων εὐρεσις is not certain and there-

fore cannot be communicated to all men as authoritative Dogma).

But a still more complete exculpation of the Devil awaits us; in XX. 9, Lazarus now boldly puts a question, which has been on our tongues for some time past: Πῶς δυνατόν εὐλογον εἶναι τὸν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ δικαίου καταστάντα Πονηρὸν ὥστε ἀσεβησάντων εἶναι τιμωρόν, τοῦτον αὐτὸν ὕστερον μετὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀγγέλων σὺν τοῖς ἀμαρτωλοῖς εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ κατώτερον πέμπεσθαι; there remains, then, to sever the notion of pain from the Devil's sojourn in Hell; for the Devil is an Angel who *fears* God, *performs* His will, and *punishes* His traitors. Peter: Κἀγὼ ὁμολογῶ ὅτι ὁ Πονηρὸς πονηρὸν οὐδὲν ποιεῖ, καθὼς τὸν δοθέντα αὐτῷ νόμον ἐκτελεῖ. Καίτοι προαίρεσιν ἔχων κακὴν ὅμως φόβῳ τῷ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν οὐδὲν ἀδίκως πράσσει (notice that *προαίρεσις* has now lost its true *personal* and *ethical* significance, and is confused with the necessary result of a certain mixture of elements). Διαβάλλων δὲ διδασκάλους ἀληθείας εἰς ἐνέδραν τῶν ἀκριτῶν καὶ διάβολος ὁ αὐτὸς ὀνομάζεται.—To this conclusion there is but one corollary, a modified belief in 'happiness in Hell.' 'Ὁ Πονηρὸς σκότῳ χαίρειν κατὰ τὴν κῶσιν γεγονώς, μετὰ τῶν ὁμοδούλων ἀγγέλων εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ταρτάρου σκότος κατελθὼν ἦδεται· φιλὸν γὰρ πυρὶ τὸ σκότος. Whereas men's souls, φωτὸς καθαροῦ σταγόνες οὔσαι, are punished in such environment. Thus it is clear that man's spiritual nature differs from the devil's, and in reality only the former is free, the latter being *physically* so compounded that his character is foredetermined and is not the result of free-will. If he were not thus sent into darkness, τότε οὐ δύναται ἡ κακοῖς αὐτοῦ χαίρουσα κῶσις μετασυγκριθῆναι εἰς ἀγαθοῦ προαίρεσιν (?) (f). (This sentence is very ambiguous, but seems to imply a future change in his temper when his work of *thwarting*, *chastising*, *deceiving*, in accordance with God's will shall be over.) Καὶ οὕτως ἀγαθὸς (? ἀγαθοῖς) συνείναι κριθήσεται ταύτῃ μᾶλλον, ὅτι κακοῖς χαίρουσαν λελογχῶς κῶσιν (g), αἰτία τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν φόβου οὐδὲν παρὰ τὸ δοκοῦν τῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ νόμῳ διεπράξατο. May not, he asks, the

story of the change of Aaron's rod into a snake and back again into a rod be a foreshadowing in mystic language of the Devil's altered character? (τὴν τοῦ Πονηροῦ ὕστερον γενησομένην τῆς τροπῆς μετασύγκρασιν.)

PART V.

THE RECOGNITIONS.

IN this somewhat more orthodox recension, we have the same doctrine of the two kingdoms, to be chosen by the free-will of each.

Duo regna constituit Deus et principes emisit: unum saeculare et praesenti voluptatis praemio coronatum; alterum, fide prehensum sed aeternam mercedem pollicens. Hic boni male habentur; et pessimus quisque insultat melioribus:—ita dubitari non potest, reservari utrumque in meritorum suorum compensationem. This is the moral distinction of the two realms of time and eternity; (so I. 24 *Duo regna posuit praesentis dico temporis et futuri*): but we have besides the physical distinction: I. 27 *Ita totius Mundi machinam, cum una domus esset, in duas dividit regiones. Divisionis autem haec fuit causa, ut superna regio angelis habitaculum, inferior vero praeberet hominibus:—et sic cuncta praeparata sunt ut hominibus qui habitarent in ea, essent facultas his omnibus pro arbitrio uti, . . . sive ad bona velint, sive ad mala.*—III. 52 *Potestatem dedit unicuique arbitrii sui, ut hoc esse possit quod vult, et rursum praevidens quia ista potestas arbitrii alios quidem faceret eligere bona, alios vero mala, et per hoc in duos ordines necessario propagandum esset hominum genus,—unicuique ordini concessit et locum et regem, quem vellet eligere; bonus enim rex bonis gaudet, et malignus malis.*—IV. 19 *Est ergo in potestate uniuscuiusque (quia liberi arbitrii factus est homo), utrum nobis (Apostles) velit audire ad vitam, an daemonibus ad interitum.*—IV. 25. God foresees perversion of His good

gift, and arranges accordingly; but this foresight in no way interferes with free choice:—*Praevидit diversos ordines atque officia differentia, ut esset diversitas in ordinibus et officiis, secundum proprios animorum motus, ex arbitrii libertate proferendos.* He thus foresees sin, but does not force thereto: and He prepares a system of corrective punishment for our good:—*Oportuit ergo esse et poenarum ministros, quos tamen arbitrii libertas in hunc ordinem traheret: besides debuerunt habere quos vincerent hi qui agones susceperant caelestium praemiorum.*

V. 9 *Qui permanet in malo et servus est Mali, non potest effici portio Boni; quia ab initio, ut ante diximus, duo regna statuit Deus, et potestatem dedit unicuique hominum, ut illius regni fiat portio, cui se ad obedientiam ipse subiecerit.* GOD has clearly defined this: *non posse unum hominem utriusque regni esse servum.*

VIII. 52. How justly GOD succours the corrupt state of the world! *ut quoniam bonis Dei mala (quae ex peccato originem sumpserant) sociata sunt, duabus his partibus duos principes poneret, et ei qui bonis gaudet bonorum ordinem statuit, ei vero qui malis gaudet, ea quae contra ordinem et inutiliter geruntur (ex quibus sine dubio etiam Providentiae fides in dubium veniat); et habita est per hoc a iusto Deo iusta divisio.*—II. 18. The origin and wiles of the Devil (about which subject the Recognitions observe a certain reticence) are made to depend on Man's need of probation:—*ut ergo infideles a fidelibus, pii discernantur ab impiis, permissum est Maligno uti his artibus, quibus singulorum erga verum parentem probentur affectus.* So § 17 *Studet Inimicus inimicos eos efficere conditori suo.* III. 55 *Propter hos ergo qui salutis suae neglectu placent Malo, et eos qui studio utilitatis suae placere cupiunt Bono,—paria quaedam ad temptationem praesenti huic saeculo statuta sunt.* § 59 *Paria quaedam huic mundo destinasse Deum; ille qui primus ex paribus venit, a Malo est, qui secundus a Bono; and every one has a chance of making up his mind (occasio iudicii), whether he is foolish*

and believes the first who comes, or whether, being wise, he is able to discern the Spirits.—§ 61 *Paria . . . huic mundo destinata sunt ab initio saeculi* :—

Cain.	Abel.
The Giants.	Noah.
Pharaoh.	Abraham.
The Philistines.	Isaac.
Esau.	Jacob.
The Magicians.	Moses.
The Tempter.	The Son of Man.
Simon Magus.	Peter.
(All nations.)	Verbi Seminador (?).
Anti-Christ.	Christ.

There is no intelligible account given of the Fall of Man ; *mundani spiritus* are casually mentioned. I. 42. Daemons clearly exercise a kind of divine commission to try nations and individuals. IV. 33. We overcome them not by our own strength ; *sed propter Dei, qui eos subiecit, potestatem*.—VIII. 50 (*Deus*) *magis indulsit per singulas gentes angelos quosdam agere principatum, qui malis gaudent*.—We cannot throw the responsibility of our faults on the Devils : II. 18 *Quomodo ergo dicemus Malignum esse causam peccati nostri, quum hoc permissu Dei fiat, ut per ipsum probentur ?* and IX. 16, Clement's father sums up the 'sermon' of his son rightly : *cum eo quod inest libertas arbitrii, est extrinsecus et aliqua Causa mali, ex qua per diversas concupiscentias incitantur quidem homines, non tamen coguntur ad peccatum*.

We may ask then, what is Sin ? VIII. 51 *Ex arbitrii libertate unusquisque hominum, dum incredulus est de futuris* (that is, about the righteous personality and Providence of God, about the purposeful origin and final justice of the world), *per malos actus incurrit in mala* ; and into a superficial, suspicious, and short-sighted philosophy of present enjoyment.—Belief in the Christian message, i.e. in future

judgement and eternal life, cannot come by intellectual process: it is rather an irresistible corollary (compare FICHTE'S *Vocation of Man*, Book III). V. 35 *Non aliter scire poteritis* (the truth of our preaching), *nisi ut obedientes his quae mandantur ipso rerum exitu et beatitudinis certissimo fine doceamini*¹.

—The Christian is therefore contrasted with the children of this world: VI. 13 *Debemus praecellere eos, qui praesens tantum saeculum nōrunt*: V. 5 *Pergentibus ad civitatem salutis*. What is meritorious is a belief that the Creator will at last restore the balance of justice: VII. 33 *immortalis et beata vita credentibus danda promittitur*: VIII. 48 *Divina Providentia iudicium erga omnes statuit, quia praesens saeculum non erat tale, in quo unusquisque possit pro meritis dispensari*.

The first impulse of the individual (CLEMENT'S ἡ πρώτη νεῦσις πρὸς σωτηρίαν) is curiously defined: III. 53 *Malus . . . apud Deum qui requirere non vult quod sibi expedit* (probably ὅστις οὐ βούλεται ζητῆσαι τὸ ἑαυτῷ συμφέρον). So VIII. 59 *qui desiderium gerunt cognoscendi quod sibi expedit*. The writer here insists on the primary motive of self-interest; and this is true in a great majority of cases, if we consult history and experience. 'What shall we do to be saved?' It rises from a sense of personal unease and alienation, not, in the first instance, from a vague altruistic sentiment. The soul is for the time alone with GOD, and forgets all else in this solitude. The first gaze of the awakening spirit, now fully self-conscious, is turned within, not without. 'Is thy heart right with My heart?' is the question GOD puts to it. It inquires of itself: 'Do I realize my own dignity and worth in the eyes of GOD?' GOD distinguishes those who seek their own good and their own hurt: *Deus quod utile est* (III. 53) *occultavit hominibus* (i.e. the possession of the kingdom of heaven, or immortal life, which is the only good).

The bad, then, are the lazy; *qui neglexissent quod sibi utile et salutare esset inquirere, tamquam seipsos odio habentes*.

¹ Compare also RECOGN. II. 22: III. 37, 41, 59.

Those who recognize what is best for them extinguish the flames of the old carnal birth at the font, the second birth by water: IX. 7 *Prima enim nostra nativitas, per ignem concupiscentiae descendit, et ideo dispensatione divina, secunda haec per aquam introducitur, quae restinguat ignis naturam* (the soul must so live) *ut nullas omnino Mundi huius voluptates requirat, sed sit tamquam peregrinus et advena, atque alterius civitatis civis.*

Nothing can be clearer than this speculative doctrine of man's origin, duty, and destiny. The problem of the author of evil recedes into the background. The 'malign one' and his angels are indeed mentioned as they might be in orthodox Christian writings, but we miss the detailed *metaphysical* inquiry, degenerating into a mere *physical* hypothesis, which occupies the later books of the Homilies. The centre of the system in the 'Recognitions' is the free-will of man the individual, and his instinct of self-preservation, which, by means of corrective discipline (IV. 11, 23) and the probation of daemonic wiles, is educated and developed into a sincere desire for immortal life, an ascetic repudiation of all fictitious worldly delights in this, a determination to regard suffering as chastisement coming from a Father's hand, and a firm trust in God's justice and mercy (which does not wait for proof) that all present wrongs will be righted at the Judgement Day.

PART VI.

THE WRITINGS OF FIRMIANUS LACTANTIUS.

THIS last of the Latin writers of the Ante-Nicene Church recalls the author of the *Clementines* in two points; the formal doctrine of the origin and use of evil, and the presence of interpolations which it is difficult to separate from the text. His conception of the world-process may be gathered from

the following axioms, which resume the leading features of his doctrine :—

(a) He writes to effect a new alliance between *Religio* and *Sapientia*, so long divorced ; the one superstitious, the other merely negative and destructive.

(b) He is intensely indignant against the Epicureans especially, who deny design ; with these pretended philosophers the Christian has nothing in common. All others agree in believing that conscious reason rules the world with deliberate design.

(c) There is for the believer a moral and personal Creator ; and the purpose of God in building the world for us was to put before rational beings the high prize of immortality, to be won at the price of hard toil and frequent probation.

(d) To this end He establishes us with free-will in a world of contraries ; in the centre between bad and good, higher and lower ; creating (?) a leader of the right and a leader of the left, like a constitutional monarch who establishes the useful interaction of rival parties. This God does with full fore-knowledge of the corruption and degradation of men.

(e) Both come from Him, Who is Almighty, yet chooses to create something that seemingly thwarts His designs. Evil He does not create, so much as '*set before*' man's eyes (*proposuit*). Evil does not then become ethical (that is, really evil) until man chooses ; and this word (*proposuit*) reminds one of the continual reference to man's probation : evil in its nature is probably only in *relation* to us. All things are in pairs ; a Pythagorean *συστοιχία* ; right and left ; heaven and earth ; light and darkness ; soul and body ; and this latter is *bad* in its nature and a hindrance to our better aspirations. Apart from Evil, Good is absolutely inconceivable.

(f) The Final Good is clearly Immortal Life, and virtue (conceived of as an objective law) is only the means appointed by God whereby we attain to it. Virtue is pure impassibility, the absolute surrender and refusal of all the tempting allure-

ments of this life; success and happiness here is entirely incompatible with future bliss.

This *arcanum* or *sacramentum mundi* is clearly and concisely stated in Epit. 69 *Factus a Deo Mundus, ut homines nascerentur; nascuntur autem homines, ut Deum patrem agnoscant (in quo est Sapientia); agnoscunt ut colant (in quo est Iustitia); colunt ut mercedem Immortalitatis accipiant; accipiunt Immortalitatem ut in aeternum Deo serviant.* Everything is thus referred to the moral conception of man, and his perfecting through trial for a future inheritance.

Present interest will centre round (d) and (e), and the Lactantian idea of duality in this world, which forms the centre of his system (Opif. 10: The nose God made *ipsa duplicitate pulcerrimum. Ex quo intelligimus, quantum dualis numerus una et simplici compage solidatus ad veram valeat perfectionem*) To him *physical* motion and *moral* free-will were alike impossible, unless there existed two extremes, opposite yet in a sense united, each entailing the other, between which a path might be traversed in either direction. And so there is absolute need of antithesis: III. 29 *Ex quo fit, ut virtus nulla sit, nisi adversarius sit.* V. 7 *Virtutem aut cerni non posse, nisi habeat vitia contraria; aut non esse perfectam, nisi exerceatur adversis. Hanc enim Deus bonorum et malorum voluit esse distantiam, ut qualitatem boni ex malo sciamus, &c.* *nec alterius ratio intelligi sublato altero potest. Deus ergo non exclusit malum, ut ratio virtutis constare posset.* VI. 22 *At enim saepe dictum est, virtutem nullam futuram fuisse, nisi haberet quae opprimeret.* VII. 4 *Ipsa ratio ac necessitas exigebat et bona homini proponi, et mala; bona quibus utatur, mala quae vitet et caveat.* II. 8 (the interpolator, a somewhat bolder exponent of this theory of Subordinate Dualism): 'Bonum et malum fecit, ut posset esse Virtus, quae nisi malis agitur, aut vim suam perdet, aut omnino non erit.' (Contrast alone brings our value of goodness and health.) Ita bonum sine malo in hac vita esse non potest. Utrumque,

licet contrarium sit, tamen ita cohaeret, ut alterum si tollas, utrumque sustuleris; nam neque bonum comprehendi et percipi potest sine declinatione et fuga mali, nec malum caveri ac vinci sine auxilio comprehensi ac percepti mali. Necesse igitur fuerat, et malum fieri, ut bonum fieret.' VII. 5 (the same later hand), some one asks, 'Cur non bonum tantum fecit, ut nemo peccaret, nemo faceret malum? Nulla virtus esse poterat, nisi diversa fecisset, nec omnino apparere vis boni potest, nisi ex mali comparatione.' Evil is nothing but 'boni interpretatio' he who instituted the circus-games 'amator unius coloris fuit, sed alterum ei et quasi aemulum posuit, ut posset esse certamen et aliqua in spectaculo gratia. Sic Deus, &c. . . . Si desit hostis et pugna, nulla victoria est. . . . ' Virtue is made perfect 'de malorum conflictatione Ergo diversitas est, cui omnis ratio veritatis innititur ' The fall of man is in reality an ascent: knowledge of good, as well as of evil, was given simultaneously: 'Qua percepta, statim de loco sancto pulsus est, in quo malum non est relegatus in hunc communem orbem ut ea utraque simul experiretur. Quamdiu in solo Bono fuit, vixit ille princeps generis humani velut infans boni et mali nescius.' (See SCHELLING'S *De Origine Mali*.) On this mediety of man depends both *intellectual* and *moral* worth, his peculiar dignity 'ut ratio virtutis sapientiaeque constaret, inter utrumque medium, ut haberet licentiam vel mali vel boni sequendi.' —Epit. 29 *Fit ut bonum sine malo esse non possit.*—De Ira 13 *Deus proposuit ei et bona et mala, quia sapientiam dedit, cuius omnis ratio in discernendis malis et bonis sita est. . . . Invicem sibi alterutra connexa sunt, ut sublato alterutro utrumque sit tolli necesse positis tantummodo in conspectu bonis, quid opus est cogitatione, intellectu, scientia, ratione?* § 15 *Jam superius explanavi simul Deum proposuisse bonum et malum (et bonum quidem diligere, malum autem odisse); sed ideo malum premisisse, ut et bonum emicaret: quod alterum sine altero (sicut saepe docui) intelligimus constare non posse.*

The difficulties and inconsistencies which arise afterwards in this dogma have their origin in the fluctuation between the *physical* and *moral*, the *impersonal* and *personal* conceptions. And it may here be remarked that the old feud of religion and philosophy (*Religio : Sapientia*) among the ancient Greeks may be traced to the same ambiguity. The extreme emphasis on capricious *personality* in popular superstition leads in reaction to the complete elimination of will and purpose from the theology of reflecting men, and the search for a *metaphysical* unity takes the place of an inquiry into *moral* motives and sacrifices of propitiation. Excessive anthropomorphism of mythology is followed by Ionic hylozoism, and later by the postulate of τὸ θεῖον or νόησις νοήσεως, which has no human affinities. LACTANTIUS alternates between a *physical* theory of God's development by contraries, in which there is always a systoechy of higher and lower in nature (whence comes our virtue and vice, as we choose one or the other), and a purely *moral* notion of evil: IV. 25 (sin is not) *necessitatis* (= physical and inevitable), *sed propositi ac voluntatis*. VI. 23 *Mens est enim profecto quae peccat*. Similarly, the leaders of this great struggle sometimes retire into the background, leaving only antithetic forces of nature, or come into prominence as independent *moral* wills, as persons fighting for the possession of man. I shall first cite those passages in which the *physical* polarity of the universe is traced to natural and inevitable causes; and next, and in conclusion, those in which the Evil Spirit is described as *personal*. In the first it is clear that the responsibility is thrown back upon the Creator, Who thus perhaps ceases to be a *moral* governor, and becomes rather a delighted spectator of mimic warfare. In the second series the emphasis is laid on the *personality* of Satan; but it is impossible to acquit LACTANTIUS of the charge of colouring this with *physical* notions. The first set of quotations tends to make it doubtful if the Body is not the sole cause of sin; the second reminds us that the Spirit is free. But it may be

plausibly urged that it is the diverse character of the Good and the Bad Spirit that entails this system of confronting opposites in creation. Even in the former group frequent traces of this view may be found.

II. 9. Above God placed *lucem perennem et superos et vitam perpetuam, et contra in terra, tenebras et inferos et mortem*. So East and West, or the gates and grave of light. Day is of God, as are *omnia quaecumque meliora sunt*; *nox autem quam occidens extremus induxit, eius scilicet quem Dei esse aemulum diximus*. Again: *Nox, quam pravo illi antitheo dicimus attributam*. Elements are diverse: *Duo igitur illa principalia inveniuntur, quo diversam et contrariam sibi habent potestatem; calor et humor*.

II. 12. *In ipsius autem hominis fictione illarum duarum materialium, quas inter se diximus esse contrarias, ignis et aquae conclusit perfecitque rationem Ex rebus igitur diversis ac repugnantibus homo factus est, sicut ipse Mundus ex luce et tenebris, ex vita et morte; quae duo inter se pugnare in homine praecepit. Utriusque officia sunt, ut hoc quod est ex caelo et Deo, imperet; illud vero quod ex terra est et Diabolo, serviat.*—

III. 6 *Ita quoniam ex his duobus constamus elementis, quorum alterum luce praeditum est, alterum tenebris* (part is given to knowledge, part to ignorance).—IV. 25 *Etenim cum constet homo ex carne et spiritu caro quoniam terrena est*

copulatum sibi spiritum trahit secum (but he is careful in this passage, as noted above, to guard himself from a mere superficial, necessitarian view of evil, as in the Manichean system; sin is a matter of the will (*propositi ac voluntatis*)).—VI. 22 *Itaque fecit omnia Deus ad instruendum certamen duarum rerum.*—

VII. 4 *Quoniam homo ex rebus diversis ac repugnantibus configuratus est, anima et corpore, id est, caelo atque terra, tenui et comprehensibili, aeterno ac temporali, sensibili atque bruto, luce praedito atque tenebroso; ipsa ratio ac necessitas exigebat et bona homini proponi et mala.*—VII. 5. For at the creation of man God *spiritum suum terreno corpore induit et involvit, ut compactus ex rebus diversis ac repugnantibus bonum ac malum*

caperet. . . . Ergo quia virtutem proposuit homini Deus, licet anima et corpus consociata sunt; tamen contraria sunt, et impugnant invicem.—VII. 9 *Rerum Natura his duobus elementis, quae repugnantia sibi et inimica sunt, constat, igne et aqua* (one ascribed to heaven and the other to earth).—De Ira, 15 *Denique ipsum mundum ex duobus elementis repugnantibus et invicem copulatis esse concretum, igneo et humido. . . . Sic et nos ex duobus aequè repugnantibus compacti sumus, animo et corpore, quorum alterum caelo ascribitur, quia tenue est et intractabile, alterum terrae, quia comprehensibile est; alterum solidum et aeternum est, alterum fragile atque mortale. Hinc existit in hominibus naturae suae depravatio.*—§ 19 *Sed quoniam compactus est, ut diximus e duobus, animo et corpore, in altero virtutes, in altero vitia continentur, et impugnant invicem.*

It appears then as if it were matter that was evil: we have besides certain inconsistent passages like the following:—II. 11 *Illius est totum (= Dei) quicquid sumus.* Yet the Supreme Good concerns the soul alone: III. 9 (*Summum Bonum*) *ut solius animi sit, nec communicari possit cum corpore.*—V. 21 *Non perspiciunt altius vim rationemque hominis, quae tota non in corpore sed in mente est.*—VI. 17 *Nos autem Summum Bonum non referimus ad corpus, sed omne officium solius animae conservatione metimur.*—But again we have IV. 24 (reminding us of Theophylact's *ὅτι οὐ φύσει ἀμαρτωλὸς ἡ σὰρξ*), Christ came in the flesh, *ut ostendat etiam carnem posse capere virtutem.* Yet their good is mutually exclusive: *Animi bona mala sunt corporis, id est, opum fuga, voluptatum interdictio, doloris mortisque contemptus. Ita corporis bona mala sunt animi. . . . Qui mavult bene vivere in aeternum, male vivit ad tempus et afficitur omnibus molestiis et laboribus.*—VII. 10 *Sicut duae vitae propositae sunt homini, quarum altera est animae, altera corporis; ita et mortes duae.*—VII. 12 (Platonic theory of the fall of the Soul) *Quia tenebroso domicilio terrenae carnis inclusa est* (so also De Ira, 1).—De Ira, 10 *Cui particulam de Sua sapientia dedit, et instruxit eum ratione, quantum fragilitas terrena capiebat.*

§ 19. The soul's goods, which consist in *continendis libidinibus contraria sunt corpori; et corporis bona, quae sunt in omni genere voluptatum, inimica sunt animo.* § 20 *Adeo subiecta est peccato fragilitas carnis, qua induti sumus.*

There are here confused traces of three different versions of the origin of Evil: (1) The 'Platonic' (as it is called), which is clearly restated by PLUTARCH (*de Is. et Osir.*) that matter coexists with God, and can be only imperfectly brought under discipline by His persuasion; (2) that evil (or the possibility of it) is necessary from the configuration of the universe and Man, the microcosm, by an Almighty power, Who expresses Himself by opposites (*physical*); (3) that the world indeed is created entirely good (or, perhaps more accurately, indifferent), but the Evil Spirit and Man's Free-will find means of perverting its use to their own hurt.

We must now review those passages, which refer to the creation of Free Spirits (noting whether here, too, the complete independence of the *personal* is really preserved, and whether the character of the bad, as well as of the good, spirit is not a direct creation of God). As to the real hostility of this evil power to God, there is no doubt, whatever its cause.

II. 1. The ingratitude of men, whence can it come, unless there be *aliquam perversam potestatem, quae veritatis semper sit inimica, quae humanis erroribus gaudeat, cui unum ac perpetuum sit opus, offundere tenebras et hominum caecare mentes, ne lucem videant, ne denique in caelum aspiciant.*—III. 29. As we Christians know that Fortune is nothing at all, *ita scimus esse pravam et subdolum spiritum, qui sit inimicus bonis . . . qui contraria facit quam Deus.*—And thus a wilful rebel will be eternally punished: VII. 26 *perpetuo igni cremabitur in aeternum.* II. 17. He who yields to his evil advice *in illa decidet, quae in distributione rerum attributa esse ipsi malorum principi disputavimus, in tenebras scilicet et inferos et supplicium sempiternum.*

But in the following passages the *responsibility* of the Devil

is by no means clear, and a certain physical necessity seems to overpower the unbiassed free-will: (but if Satan be a mere agent of the divine will, the question put in Hom. XX will press upon us for solution.) II. 8. Before God began the creation of the world, *produxit similem sui spiritum, qui esset virtutibus Dei patris praeditus Deinde fecit alterum in quo indoles divinae stirpis non permansit.* Tainted with the poison of his own envy, *suo arbitrio (quod illi a Deo liberum datum fuerat) contrarium sibi nomen ascivit Invidit enim illi antecessori suo, qui Deo patri perseverando carus est. Hunc ergo ex bono per se malum effectum Graeci διάβολον appellant, nos criminatorem vocamus, quod crimina in quae ipse illicit, ad Deum deferat.* But the interpolator is bolder: he begins the discussion by the statement: 'Fecit in principio bonum et malum'; and attempts to explain Satan's fall: 'Cur autem iustus Deus talem voluerit esse (explicabo). Fabricaturus Deus hunc Mundum, qui constaret ex rebus inter se contrariis atque discordibus, constituit ante diversa, fecitque ante omnia duos fontes rerum sibi adversantium, inter seque pugnantium; illos videlicet duos spiritus, rectum atque pravum, quorum alter est Deo tanquam dextra, alter tanquam sinistra, ut in eorum essent potestate contraria illa, quorum mixtura et temperatione Mundus constaret.' It will be seen that the interpolator, in the interests of the doctrine of omnipotence, leans to an entirely physical interpretation of evil.

'Quoniam fas non erat, ut a Deo proficisceretur malum (neque enim contra se ipse faciet); illum constituit malorum inventorem, quem cum faceret, dedit illi ad mala excogitanda ingenium et astutiam, ut in eo esset et voluntas prava, et perfecta nequitia; et ab eo contraria virtutibus suis voluit oriri, eumque secum contendere, utrumne ipse plus bonorum daret, an ille plus malorum. Sed rursus, quoniam Deo summo repugnari non potest, bonorum suorum potestatem illi ultori (or alteri) assignavit, quem supra bonum et perfectum esse diximus. Ita duos ad certamen composuit et instruxit, sed eorum

alterum dilexit, ut bonum filium, alterum abdicavit, ut malum. (The angels too are formed to be his ministers 'unius sed repugnantis naturae; cf. *De Ira*, 15. Some remained good, others fell, but in the beginning all were 'pares aequa conditione apud Deum,' which is inconsistent with the description of the Devil just given.) 'Cum autem Deus ex his duobus alterum bono praeponisset, alterum malo, exorsus est fabricam Mundi, omnibus his quos creavit ministrantibus et per certa officia dispositis.' (When therefore we read 'pars . . . per-versa voluntate descendit,' we feel there is an intrusion of an alien idea. 'Who doth resist His will?')—In LACTANTIUS himself, II. 9, the night is given to the *præus Antitheus*; and II. 14, we have *cui ab initio dederat terrae potestatem*.—V. 22 *Deo quia repugnari non potest, ipse adversarios nomini suo excitat, non qui contra ipsum demum pugnent, sed contra milites eius*.—VI. 6 *Fons autem bonorum Deus est, malorum vero ille scilicet Divini nominis semper inimicus*. Opif. 19; (The interpolator explains the Devil's origin from the *moral* nature of man: 'Dedit ei et constituit adversarium nequissimum et fallacissimum spiritum, cum quo in hac terrestri vita sine ulla securitatis requie dimicaret. Cur autem Deus hunc vexatorem generis humani constituerit, breviter exponam. Ante omnia diversitatem voluit esse (ideoque vulgo non aperuit veritatem, sed eam paucissimis revelavit); quæ diversitas omne arcanum Mundi continet . . . Noluit enim Deus hominem ad illam immortalem beatitudinem delicato itinere pervenire. Daturus, ergo virtutem, dedit hostem prius, qui animis hominum cupiditates et vitia immitteret; qui esset auctor errorum malorumque omnium machinator, ut quoniam Deus hominem ad vitam vocat, ille contra . . . traducat ad mortem.'

Virtue is conceived of as mere impassible refusal to yield to the pains or pleasures of life, which be it noticed, VI. 4, it is God and not the Devil who puts in our path: VI. 18 *Summa igitur virtus habenda patientia est, quam ut caperet homo iustus, voluit illum Deus . . . pro inerte contemni*.—VII. 5 *Ut pro-*

poneret homini virtutem, id est, tolerantiam malorum ac laborum, per quam posset praemium immortalitatis adipisci. Epitome, § 34 Virtus enim malorum sustentia est.

For God desires us to reach our prize with difficulty, VII. 5 *Excogitavit inenarrabile opus quemadmodum infinitam multitudinem crearet animarum, quas primo fragilibus et imbecillis corporibus illigatas constitueret inter bonum malumque medias, ut constantibus ex utrisque naturis virtutem proponeret, ne immortalitatem delicate assequerentur ac molliter* (see Opif. 19, interpol.) *sed ad illud aeternae vitae ineloquibile praemium summa cum difficultate ac magnis laboribus pervenirent.*

From these passages it is clear that both LACTANTIUS and his interpolator (somewhat bolder than the original author) fix their eyes on the *moral* life of man, and in explaining the universe start therefrom. Agreeing with the Stoics in the belief that the 'good will' is alone of value (that state of mind, ἀπάθεια, *quae nec eripi cuiquam, nec transferri in alterum potest* VII. 26), they reach instinctively two necessary corollaries:—(i) This good will is purely negative, and consists in denying all the messages of sense, and defying the blows of fortune; that is, life is to be entirely ascetic and unsocial in the midst of a world, which, made by God, is yet governed by the Devil; (ii) the powerlessness of the good will here, and yet the consciousness that it alone is of worth, requires a reward in a future life, to be won with difficulty at the price of the rejection of the insidious blandishments of the present. And though they do not face the question of the Devil's happiness in Hell, it is clear that this being does not possess free-will in the sense that we do, inasmuch as he and the world he governs were created for our probation, to represent a particular temptation. The Clementines, with a somewhat subtler inquiry, finally relieve him of responsibility by showing that his *physical* conformation entails this delight, either in evil or the punishment of the wicked, and this enjoyment of darkness and fire, as his natural abode. The final

result of both authors, though it is one from which they seem to shrink, is that the world centres round personal and responsible man ; that he is free to choose present or future life ; and that the Lords of these two spheres are creatures and agents of God, who perform His will on the left hand and on the right, and are in a strict sense not free, for they do but execute His commands by an inherent law of their being. Such at least, if we can reduce scattered references to order, would seem to be the lesson conveyed by the Clementine writings and by the last Latin author before the Council of Nice ; and if we recall the opposite views then current, *necessitarian* and *impersonal*, and remember that in course of time these views will find admission into the Christian Church itself, we shall find instruction in this honest attempt to approach *speculation* only from the *practical* point of view ; to subordinate inconsistencies of result to the supreme importance of maintaining the dignity and the freedom of man the individual, and to regard the question of future life with no impartial coolness, but with a firm conviction that God is and that He is the rewarder of them that diligently seek Him. But it must be allowed that in these systems the mystery of Iniquity is by no means explained, nor the personal responsibility of the prince of evil. It seems to vanish behind *physical* language, and the notion of *rebel* finally gives way to that of *accredited agent*. Yet it may be safely said that none who attempt a final solution of this insoluble problem can afford to neglect these two points, in which the merit of the pseudo-Clementines and Lactantian writings is conspicuous : a firm adherence to the *righteous* and *personal* conception of God (at least so far as *human* responsibility is concerned, in distinction to *diabolic*), and a firm belief in the *freedom* of man and his discipline by the adversity and temptation of this present life.

V.

THE

STYLE AND LANGUAGE OF ST. CYPRIAN.

[E. W. WATSON.]

CHAPTER I.

THE STYLE OF ST. CYPRIAN.

§ 1. Introduction and Literature. § 2. Cyprian's works. § 3. Relation to the Old Latin Bible and other translations. § 4. Comparison with Tertullian. § 5. Comparison with Apuleius. § 6. Relation to Seneca and Cicero. § 7. Poetical and Gnomical elements. § 8. Cyprian's repetitions from himself. § 9. Tropes: metaphor, metonymy, periphrasis, hyperbaton, &c. § 10. Plays upon language. § 11. Symmetry. § 12. Grammatical devices for effect. § 13. Rhythm. § 14. Rhyme. § 15. Alliteration. § 16. Parataxis. § 17. Anaphora. § 18. Asyndeton. § 19. Amplification. § 20. Figura etymologica. § 21. Conclusion.

§ 1. Some six years ago the Bishop of Salisbury suggested to Mr. H. J. White and myself that we should turn our attention to the study of St. Cyprian. The work was begun, but Mr. White soon found that his work at the Salisbury Theological College and upon the Latin Vulgate would not permit him to share it. I have therefore had to continue it alone, but not without an interest and help from the Bishop and Mr. White, which have been of the greatest service, and indeed make Salisbury one of the few places in England where patristic studies can with any convenience be pursued.

Limits of space have compelled me to omit much that is interesting. All mention of syntactical matters¹, of the forms of words, of words which occur in writers of the same

¹ There is one instance of an auxiliary verb which is so remarkable that it must not be passed over: the earliest use of *uolle* as a future auxiliary in 484. *addiderunt (martyres) . . . non in hoc fidere ut liberari in praesentia uellent sed illam libertatis et securitatis aeternae gloriam cogitarent.* The

class as Cyprian, has had to be abandoned, except where they illustrate the subject of the paper. Yet I hope that I have been able in some instances to improve and elucidate the text, and that the collection of words used by Cyprian in Christian senses may do something towards making the history of Christian terminology more definite, and the account of his style and rhetoric be of interest to those who are engaged upon the same subjects in other authors.

The exact object of this paper is to describe the chief characteristics of the style of St. Cyprian, to determine his literary affinities, and to collect the most remarkable words in his vocabulary, both general and theological. In all these respects his works offer much that is interesting and important for the history of the Latin literature and language, as well as for that of the growth of Christian thought and organization.

Little has as yet been done in these respects for the study of Cyprian. The great scholars of the seventeenth century who have edited him, though all, especially Rigault and Fell, with Dodwell in his wonderful *Dissertationes Cyprianicae*, have done good service, took little interest in the history of style and language. It is indeed remarkable that with their vast knowledge they should have passed over so much that is strange and striking. More may be learned from scattered notes in the works of such writers as Gronovius and Barth than from them. The progress that has been made of late has been considerable. The index to Professor von Hartel's edition in the Vienna Corpus of the Latin Fathers is in itself an admirable commentary, and the suggestions as to interpretation which it contains are indispensable to the student; but it was one of the earliest works to appear (1868-1871) in the Vienna edition, and like the rest of those first volumes it has a somewhat incomplete index. It can never be used to prove a negative, and cannot be regarded as an adequate authority for such inquiries as have been instituted by Professor Wölfflin, and now are instance from Corippus given by Sittl, *Lokale Verschiedenheiten*, p. 128, is three hundred years later.

carried on by so many skilled colleagues of his in the *Archiv für lateinische Lexicographie* and elsewhere.

Two works upon the language of Cyprian have appeared of late years. One is very short, but admirable as far as it goes; the introduction prefixed to the Abbé Léonard's edition of some of the treatises¹, which, with his editions of Minucius Felix and Tertullian's *Apology*, ought to be better known in England. But this introduction, brief as it is, is mainly devoted to syntax, and on most points of style is altogether silent. The other work, of much greater size and far less value, is by the Abbé Le Provost². It shows a very slight knowledge of modern scholarship and is quite without method; words and constructions, for instance, taken from Cyprian's Biblical citations, are arranged and discussed indiscriminately among Cyprian's own. Though the book contains a good deal that is useful, especially on pp. 61 ff., where the writer notices some of Cyprian's debts to Seneca and others, it is so discursive and in places so inaccurate as to be of little service, even had the author followed a better plan and possessed a wider knowledge³.

But the chief debt of this paper is to the *Archiv für lateinische Lexicographie*, already mentioned, without the help and example of which, direct and indirect, it could not have been written. A special acknowledgement is due to Professors Wölfflin, Thielmann, and Landgraf for their work in that review and elsewhere⁴. Paucker, Rönsch, and many more

¹ *Sancti Thascii Cypriani Libri ad Don., de Mort., ad Demetr., de Bono Pat.*, édition classique . . . par l'Abbé Ferd. Léonard; Namur, 1887.

² *Étude philologique et littéraire sur Saint-Cyprien*, par M. Le Provost, vicaire capitulaire de Saint Briec et Tréguier; Saint Briec and Paris, 1889, 304 pp., 8vo.

³ One of his chief aims is to prove that Cyprian's writings and the Latin Bible, which he seems to regard as one of Cyprian's works, are almost Augustan in form.

⁴ I may mention that some writers in the *Archiv*—not those mentioned nor others among its leading contributors—have used Hartel's index without looking to see whether the passages cited were Cyprian's own or from Cornelius or some other writer, and that Roman words have been in consequence attributed to Africa, and other false conclusions drawn.

who have dealt with the language generally or with particular writers, are mentioned in the following pages. To them, and to others who have suggested thoughts none the less valuable that there has been no occasion to cite their words, the heartiest thanks are paid¹.

§ 2. In this paper the works of Cyprian have been regarded as a whole. Written as they were within a period of ten years, and by a man whose style had been formed before his conversion to Christianity, there was no room for development in manner. All that his religion did for him was to change his subjects and to enlarge his vocabulary. It has often been said that his letters are more carelessly written than his treatises. There is some truth in this, though there is much bad writing in the latter². On the other hand Cyprian's best and most elaborate writing, rhetorical and poetical, may be found in such panegyrical orations as *Epp.* 38, 39, 40, written to be pronounced before the assembled Church of Carthage on behalf of newly ordained clergy, as

¹ Schmalz's *Stilistik* in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch* has been of the greatest help. If it could be expanded to an adequate extent it might fulfil all requirements. The lines are laid down for a complete history of the growth of Latin style. Several years' continuous work have assured me more and more of the value of Georges' *Lexicon*. It would be ungrateful not to mention also the names of Sittl, Miodoński and Koffmane. Becker, Kretschmann and Koziol, the writers on Apuleius, the author most akin to Cyprian in style, have been of great service. On Tertullian I have only seen the excellent paper by Kellner in the *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1876, and Kolberg's and Bonwetsch's writings.

² E. g. 226. 10 *constituere audet aliud altare . . . nec scire quoniam* sq., 250. 19 *ante est ut sciamus . . . tunc facere* sq., 352. 19 *diristi per nos fieri et quod nobis debeant imputari omnia ista*, 373. 19 *nisi iterum pietas divina subueniens iustitiae et misericordiae operibus ostensis uiam . . . aperiret*, 386. 1 *ad corroboracionem fidei et dilectionem Dei*, 405. 13 *unusquisque cum nascitur . . . initium sumit a lacrimis et quamuis adhuc omnium nescius et ignarus nihil aliud nouit . . . quam flere*, 408. 18 *ut fratri in te peccanti non tantum septuagies septies sed omnia omnino peccata dimittas*, 422. 9 *Saul quoque rex ut David odisset . . . quid aliud quam zeli stimulus prouocauit?* 220. 25 f., 250. 12 f., 385. 10 f., &c. Tenses are constantly confused and put in wrong sequences; 197. 14, 239. 6, 260. 3, 329. 16, 330. 20, 384. 13, 401. 1, 429. 14, &c. Indicative often in dependent clauses; 339. 18, 392. 20 f., 419. 10, &c.

Epp. 6, 10, 28 and 37, laudations of the Confessors, or *Ep.* 58 to the people of Thibarais, which Ebert¹ describes as showing the most brilliant and characteristic aspect of Cyprian's style. Such letters, if they ought to be so called, are hardly less ornate than the *Ad Donatum*. On the ground, then, of the substantial identity of Cyprian's style throughout his writings no distinction has been made between different parts of them in this paper, and all are cited simply by page and line of Hartel's edition.

All Cyprian's undoubted works are reviewed here. *Ep.* 33, of which some doubts have been expressed, has been included, though of course it can contribute little. But the *Quod Idola Dii non sint* has been excluded. There has been much discussion as to its genuineness, which there is no room to recapitulate here. It must suffice to say that its jerky style, its paucity of conjunctions, the want of any reference to it, and of any repetition of its language in other parts of Cyprian's writings, though he so constantly repeats what he regards as happy phrases, together with the use of terms which he never employs², have convinced me that it is not his. Yet even if the treatise be genuine, the loss to a knowledge of Cyprian through its exclusion is not great. It is a mere cento from known and perhaps unknown sources, much more clumsily compiled than Cyprian's adaptations from Tertullian³. In spite of the advocacy of Wölfflin and Matzinger, I have not felt justified in using the *De Spectaculis*

¹ *Litteratur des Mittelalters*, p. 63. He selects § 9 for special commendation. *Ep.* 11. § 8 is at least its equal. Goetz, *Gesch. d. Cypr. Litteratur*, Basel, 1891, gives a good collection of ancient opinions on Cyprian's excellence as an orator and writer.

² E. g. *altare* of a heathen altar 24. 14. *uulgus* 19. 2, 23. 11, 25. 10, 26. 18. The subject is mentioned in various notes in the following pages.

³ Jerome's witness (*Ep.* 70. 5) is the strongest claim that *Quod Id.* has to Cyprianic authorship. But quite apart from the question of the value of Jerome's attestation, which is not too great, it is clear that spurious treatises had been fathered on Cyprian a generation earlier. Lucifer's use of the *De Laudibus Martyrii* shows that he had no doubt of its being Cyprian's work, and it has a place in the Cheltenham List. *Quod Id.* may well have no stronger claim, quite apart from internal evidence.

and *De Bono Pudicitiae* as Cyprianic¹; but they again could not have contributed much material.

The text followed has of course been Hartel's. Little more can remain to be done for the Treatises, and the reader feels himself perfectly safe with that text². But the Letters need much further investigation. There must be more meaning than has yet been discovered in the varying order of the *Epp.* in different groups of MSS., and even in MSS. closely allied, and more MSS. need to be collated³. But even so the changes to be made cannot be considerable.

§ 3. The most obvious characteristic of Cyprian's writings is their thoroughly rhetorical character, and their independence of Christian literary tradition. There were two considerable bodies of literature with which he might have shown affinity, the Old Latin Bible and its kindred translations from the Greek, and the writings of Tertullian. Of both his style shows independence, and of the former his constant attempt to improve upon the translators' Latin shows how little esteem he had for their work.

One cannot help being struck by the small respect which Cyprian shows for the language of his Latin Bible⁴, which he quotes so constantly and so precisely. Apart from the

¹ Wölfflin on *De Spect.* in *Archiv für lat. Lex.* viii, p. 1; Matzinger, *Des hl. Cyprianus Tractat De bono Pudicitiae*, Nürnberg 1892. Each writer defends both treatises, and both can allege very strong grounds, though Matzinger's proofs seem the more convincing. But the arguments of Weyman (*Hist. Jahrbuch d. Görres Gesellschaft*, 1892), Demmler (*Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1894) and Haussleiter (*Theol. Literaturblatt*, 1894) raise serious difficulties. Their claim for Novatian of these two tracts and of *Quod Idola* is less successful than their attack on Cyprian's authorship. It seems impossible that the same pen could have written both *Quod Idola* and the other two.

² With the well-known exception of the *Testimonia*.

³ Cf. Professor Sanday in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, III. p. 217 ff., on the Cheltenham List. On p. 299 is a table giving a partial clue to the arrangement of letters. In *Old Latin Biblical Texts* II, Appendix II, the same writer has given some account of the Oxford MSS., and shown reason for supposing them well worth further examination. I have lately collated those that seem most important.

⁴ May I state my own strong conviction, for what it is worth, that there never was more than one original Old Latin version?

termini technici of Christian doctrine and discipline, and from his own diction when alluding to Scriptural, and especially Pauline, language, there is no sign of any dependence. In spite of its rich vocabulary, in some respects superior to that of the Vulgate, the Old Latin version was clumsily executed and quite modern. By his extreme care in indicating that its words are not his own (see p. 252), Cyprian seems to disclaim all responsibility for the translation which he had to use, and indeed its whole style is markedly incongruous with his own. There are a few Biblical phrases which he uses constantly and naturally, such as *accipere personas*, *ambulare in lumine*, *conversatio*, *scandalum*, *tribulatio*. But their character shows that they were part of the common Christian vocabulary, as they had been, no doubt, before the Bible was translated into Latin¹. But Cyprian not only, as a rhetorician, disliked the style of the Latin Bible: he was also discontented with its vocabulary. It used many Greek words; on a later page those which Cyprian retained are collected, and it will be seen with what vigour, and in some cases with what success, he strove to eject them. Indeed, the whole of the next chapter, dealing with his ecclesiastical vocabulary, is an evidence of his purism in this respect. He wrote a long letter (*Ep.* 63) upon the Eucharist, without ever using the word *eucharistia*; *daemon*, *mysterium*, and others are almost banished, and throughout his works he never uses words so common as *Paracletus*, *parabola*, *proselytus*, *neophytus*, *brauium*, though Tertullian freely used them all. The only Greek words, for which substitutes had been provided, which he constantly prefers are *baptisma*, because of heretical associations of *tinctio* (see p. 264), *presbyter*, because of the indefiniteness of *senior*, and *laicus* instead of *plebeius*. And there are few of the Greek terms of Church use for which he has not essayed to

¹ It would be interesting to know when the Latin Bible, for its own sake, became venerable in the eyes of Christians. Lactantius seems to have as little respect for it as Cyprian, and Arnobius even less. His allusions to definitely Christian matters are expressed in thoroughly unbiblical language. But in Jerome, Ambrose and Augustine a reverence for manner as well as for matter is evident.

find a Latin synonym. But it is not only Greek words which are avoided by Cyprian. He is still more averse to Hebrew. *Satan* and *Satanas*, common in Tertullian, are entirely absent. The only Hebrew word freely used is *gehenna* (374. 8, 483. 8, &c.). *Mamona*, 381. 18, *sabbatum*, 720. 2, and a few more could not be avoided¹.

But Latin words of modern or rude invention are disliked by Cyprian as much as Greek or Hebrew. The reader of the titles of the *Testimonia* finds himself in the presence of words quite different from those which Cyprian elsewhere employs; theological terms found only there or perhaps also in the carelessly written letters of the Baptismal controversy, which formed part of the original stock, but offended Cyprian's taste. Thus *saluator* only occurs *Test.* ii. 7 tit. and *saluare* only in the Baptismal letters, 790. 20, 809. 12, just as *catecumenus* is found in both *Test.* iii. 98 and 795. 16, and not elsewhere. *Saluare* was modern and probably undignified in sound; Cyprian's many substitutes for it will be found in Ch. II. The most noteworthy is the old ceremonial term of heathen worship, *sospitare*, 188. 25, 211. 9. Arnobius, 2. 74, another rhetorician, uses *sospitator* of Christ. Cyprian's use of this word, of *altare* for the *ara* of the O. L., of *uestigium* for *pes* in the Baptismal ceremony of washing and kissing the feet, for all of which see the next chapter, was no doubt part of a deliberate plan for making Christian language more stately, and so recommending the Faith.

Cyprian's extensive use of the Bible is certainly in part rhetorical. He renounced the direct citation of the classical

¹ Greek and Hebrew words are marked as alien by their not being adapted to Latin forms. The pl. and acc. of *haeresis* and *exhomologesis* should probably always be in *-is* and *-in*; cf. 227. 14, 423. 11, 524. 6, 781. 10, 800. 1, 805. 21, 806. 9; *haereseos* 772. 17; *martyras* 502. 19, &c. *Propheten* seems the normal form, as in Tertullian. Yet *agapem* 102. 5. Hebrew nouns, except those which are classical in form, as *Pharao* 328. 5, and *Daniel*, *Ezechiel*, &c., of the third declension (yet *Samuel* acc. 728. 20), are treated irregularly; e.g. *Abraham* is indeclinable 468. 19, 670. 6, 703. 19, but declined 704. 3, which, however, is Biblical. *Hierosolyma* (pl.) 660. 11, *Hierusalem* never.

writers, though he still employed them for ornamental allusions, and Scripture had to fill the place. It would be a very inadequate account of his motives to say that the *Testimonia* and *Ad Fortunatum* were composed for this end¹, but it would be easier to underestimate than to overestimate the rhetorical use made by Cyprian of his Bible, and especially of his own extracts in the *Testimonia*. The influence of this work over Christian literature for some generations after its compiler's death has probably not yet been realized. Yet when Cyprian himself is aiming at effect by means of florid diction, not by appeal to authority, he judiciously abstains from any suggestion of Biblical language.

There is some evidence that Cyprian knew Irenaeus (Harnack, *Altchristliche Literatur*, p. 267), and it may be more than an accident that the words *praefiguratio* 763. 14, and *plasma* 468. 12 should apparently occur for the first time in Irenaeus (5. 29, 2; and 1. 18, 5. 11, 2), and then in Cyprian, though not in Tertullian. But there is no evidence that he knew any other translations into Latin².

§ 4. Of Cyprian's dependence on Tertullian, his master according to Jerome's well-known anecdote, there can be no doubt. But it is entirely a dependence of matter, not of manner. No two styles can be more different. Tertullian is always concise, even to obscurity. His sentences, according to his own rules of art, are always well shaped; he can never be accused of carelessness. But he is the most reckless of writers in the adoption of words of vulgar life, and in their

¹ Yet cf. Haussleiter's *Cyprianstudien in Comment. Woelfflin*, p. 379 ff. Speaking of the *De Habitu Virginum* he says, 'Der frühere Lehrer der Beredsamkeit benutzt die Sammlung der "Zeugnisse" unter dem rhetorischen Gesichtspunkt der Topik;' and later 'Der kasuelle Anlass, die nothwendig gewordene Zurechtweisung der Virgines, bildet den Zettel des Gewebes. Den Einschlag liefern die *Testimonia* und der unerschöpfliche Tertullian. Cyprian's Arbeit beschränkte sich so auf die rhetorische Ausführung.'

² He may have known the Greek Irenaeus, not the Latin, which shows some signs of a later date. He certainly had a hand in the translation of *Ep.* 75, though that can only have been in improving a Latin version already made.

invention for any momentary need. Cyprian, on the other hand, attains his effect by an amplitude of expression which degenerates often enough into mere verbosity, and is guilty from time to time of a sentence so prolonged and involved that its construction is lost or obscured. Indeed, he is a very careless writer, even at his best, as regards structure. Yet he is sparing in the use of new or colloquial words, and when he employs them it is almost always to obtain some rhetorical effect. For that purpose he is not afraid to endanger his sense, as will be seen from the passages given hereafter of language forced for alliteration, rhyme, &c.¹ Few of the words which strike the reader as characteristic of Tertullian are found, except in isolated instances, in Cyprian. Oehler's index under the headings, for example, of *adsignare*, *capere*, *censeri*, *conuenire*, *deputare*, *dispingere*, *elogium*, and many more, shows words and idioms of frequent occurrence that are never, or

¹ See pp. 222, 225, &c. In 728. 11 ff. is a question lost in a string of citations. *Ep.* 41 begins with two sentences, one of twenty and the other of fifteen lines. Instances of grammatical carelessness in the Treatises have already been given on p. 192. The Letters have naturally even more errors. Some of his chief causes of confusion, beside those mentioned there, are the dependence of several clauses on one conjunction not repeated, as in 740. 9-23, where all depends on one *cum*; cf. 298. 19 ff., 744. 20 ff., and many more; clauses simply linked together without any subordination, or without any indication of the beginning of the apodosis, as 407. 22, 528. 23, 539. 9, 544. 15, 606. 13, 772. 18, &c.; double relative clauses, as 589. 10, 643. 9, 699. 13; double conditional clauses, as 754. 12, 781. 11; the use of a participle for a relative or conditional clause, as 499. 23, 518. 14, 687. 11; the use of the genitive and ablative in many eccentric senses, and other causes which can only be dealt with in a discussion of syntax. Such grammatical peculiarities as seem to be rhetorically intended are mentioned later. Beside these must be named the omission of words or prefixes through a cognate preceding as 600. 22 *in tanto fratrum religiosoque conuentu* (i. e. *tam religioso*), 628. 7 *pari grauitate et salubri moderatione* (i. e. *pariter salubri*), so perhaps also 671. 19 *talia ac tanta et multa exempla* (i. e. *tam multa*) should be read. With these may be compared ps.-Apul. *Ascl.* 8 (33. 24 Goldb.) *tantus et bonus*, Hieron. *Ep.* 48. 12 *toties et crebro*. The prefix *con-* is omitted 431. 23 *conlaetare et gratulare melioribus*, 701. 2 *collegarum et sacerdotum*; cf. Apul. *Apol.* 40 (51. 15 Kr.) *conexa et catenata*. Correlatives also are omitted occasionally, as 189. 17, 383. 24. Cyprian's mistakes usually occur near the end of his writings, and are especially common in the long controversial letters, of which he seems to have grown tired before they were finished.

most rarely, to be found in Cyprian, whose own favourite words, e.g. *blandiri*, *copulare*, *cumulare*, *grassari*, *magisterium*, *obsequium*, *proficere*, *repraesentare*, are in no wise frequent in Tertullian. The only writing of Cyprian's which seems to show signs of his master's influence in style is *Ep.* 63, certainly one of his earliest compositions. It contains such words as *taxare* and *laetificare* (705. 19, 710. 18), which he afterwards avoids. Yet a fair proportion of the few needless Greek words employed are loans from Tertullian; cf. p. 296.

The influence of Minucius Felix on Cyprian, or rather the wholesale borrowing from him in the *Ad Don.*, and the more moderate loans elsewhere (e.g. *B. Pat.* § 3, which contains *qui non loquimur magna sed uiuimus* (398. 21) from Min. Fel. 38. 6, which in its turn probably comes from Sen. *Ep.* 26. 5 *utrum loquar fortia an sentiam*) is so obvious and well indicated already that it need not be retailed here. Their style also is very similar¹.

§ 5. Cyprian's object in such treatises as the *De Habitu Virginum* and *De Patientia* was no doubt to give his people the benefit of Tertullian's thoughts, while providing a substitute for writings which, however harmless themselves, would probably lead their readers on to Montanist works of the same author. A similar motive seems to have led Cyprian to compose the *Ad Donatum*. The philosophical writings of Apuleius, composed in that ornate style which was as pleasing to Cyprian's age as to himself, must have been a dangerous attraction to the less convinced Christians. In all probability they were written with a deliberate religious purpose; perhaps even the *Metamorphoses* were composed by Apuleius in order to attract his readers to the Mysteries, with an ecstatic account of which he ends his book. The *Ad Donatum* appears to be a counterblast to such literature as this, probably to the very writings of Apuleius which are extant. The theory of a definite purpose of presenting Christianity in its most pleasing aspect, as a mystery initiation into which brings new

¹ If evidence be still needed of the earlier date of Minucius, I have given a small proof on p. 225.

life and joy, and presenting it vaguely, without revelation of its inward teaching, but with all the attractions of what passed for the highest eloquence, seems a better account of the work than the supposition usually entertained, that it is the crude and florid production of a new and ill-instructed convert. No stress need be laid upon the apparent autobiography which it contains; a neophyte in his first enthusiasm is the natural speaker in such a composition. It is a piece of literary workmanship, and only in that light can it be judged. Its style is no evidence that it was written soon after Cyprian's conversion. He was emphatically a man of his day, and his generation regarded such writing with admiration. Tertullian had already set the example of a Christian teacher indulging in rhetorical display, and that without any excuse of possible usefulness. The *de Pallio*, with its elaborate antitheses and assonances and all the artificial graces of the time, its *minimum* of Christianity and its adulation of the Severi, is as clearly written for the sake of words as Fronto's praises of Smoke and Dust or anything in the *Florida* of Apuleius. Cyprian had at least a serious subject, if he treated it somewhat trivially. At any moment during his episcopate the need for a rhetorical antidote to rhetorical pagan tracts may have arisen, and when the need arose his education enabled him to supply it. That his standard of taste did not change is shown by *Ep.* 76, which contains some of his most highly coloured rhetoric, written under the inspiration of approaching martyrdom within a few weeks of his death¹. That such an indirect reply to pleas for paganism might naturally be made is shown, I think, conclusively by the *Asclepius* attributed to Apuleius. Unless I am entirely mistaken, that piece is translated from the Greek by a deliberate imitator of the writings of Cyprian. Cyprian found it necessary to show the world that Christian

¹ Against this view of the *Ad Don.* must be set Augustine's statement that it was his work as a new convert. *Doctr. Chr.* 4. 14. This, at any rate, has been the view usually taken of Augustine's meaning. But does he necessarily imply more than that *Ad Don.* stood at the beginning of his copy?

literature could be as attractive as heathen ; a generation later the literary advantage was on the side of Christianity.

It would be impossible to show any direct influence of Apuleius on Cyprian, though nothing can be clearer than the fact that both had been trained in the same school of rhetoric. The writers on the style of Apuleius might, with a very small amount of change, turn their books into treatises on Cyprian. There is only one of Apuleius' devices, the use of diminutives, which is not also employed by Cyprian¹. Apuleius, a leisurely writer aiming at nothing but effect, uses his tricks of style with much more frequency than Cyprian ; yet Cyprian has them always at command, and on occasion, as in the *Ad Don.*, the perorations of most of his treatises and the panegyrical letters, can use them as lavishly as Apuleius himself². The symmetrical arrangement of balanced clauses, the constant pleonasm (for Cyprian when striving to be eloquent will always use two words in preference to one), the alliteration, the rhyme, the poetical diction, the forced metaphors and combinations of incongruous words, and all the artifices of style are to be found in both³. Though this paper is confined

¹ *Clausula* 287. 5 and *summula* 479. 2, 701. 6 are Cyprian's only diminutives of the first declension, and they are not employed for mere effect. *Morula*, 500. 11, is not Cyprian's own, but quoted by him from the words of the recipient of a vision. Diminutives in *-culum* are fairly numerous, but only *conuenticulum* 220. 23, 683. 6 and *corpusculum* 201. 4, 761. 5 are diminutive in more than form.

² Kretschmann, *De latinitate L. Apuleii*, Königsberg, 1865, p. 9 notes the excessive symmetry of Apuleius, *uix autem dici potest quam creber ac nimius fuerit Apuleius in omnibus his dictionis flosculis* (πάρισα, &c.) *studiose appetendis*. Kretschmann, Becker and Koziol on Apuleius are all useful to a reader of Cyprian, if only to teach him the wide use of pleonasm in this school, and to recognize the superabundance of synonyms without trying to torture them into differences of meaning.

³ Apuleius' quaint rhyme with adverbs in *-atim*, *Met.* 8. 15 (144. 14 Eyss.) *non laciniatim disperso sed cuneatim stipato commeatu* has an exact parallel in Cyprian 598. 21 *ostiatim per multorum domos uel oppidatim per quasdam ciuitates discurrentes*, where Cyprian has an assonance as well, and so excels his rival. What could be more Cyprianic than *Met.* 4. 19 (68. 4 Eyss.) *his omnibus salubri consilio recte dispositis*? Yet it refers to the arrangements for a burglary.

to one writer, it may be suggested that a comparison of the style of different authors with the text-books of rhetoric would cast much light on the history of education under the Empire, and might be a more certain guide to localization than the study of words, which has been pursued so vigorously of late.

§ 6. Apuleius is not the model of Cyprian; they were only trained in the same school, whatever it may have been; it was, at any rate, not that of Fronto. But Cyprian owes a direct debt to Seneca. In the next chapter (p. 291) one striking metaphor, that of the gladiator for the Christian, has been pointed out as common to both. This is only one of several thoughts which Cyprian owes to the Stoic philosophy of Seneca. As illustrations of hardship the Stoic often dilates on torture, the *eculeus*, the *laminae*, the *frons inscripta*, the wild beasts, &c., dangers which were much more real to the Christian. Hence not only the general sense of Seneca, but even turns of language are reproduced; Sen. *Dial.* 1. 4. 11, *uulnera praeberere uulneribus* (Cypr. 491. 17 *torquerentur . . . iam non membra sed uulnera*; for the thought cf. *Mart. Polyc.* 12), *Ep.* 66. 18 *nihil interesse utrum aliquis in gaudio sit an in eculeo iaceat ac tortorem lasset*, *Ep.* 71. 5 *si uirtutem adamaueris quidquid illa contigerit tibi . . . faustum felisque erit; et torqueri si modo iacueris ipso torquente securior* sq.: *Dial.* 5. 3. 6, *Ep.* 14. 5, &c. (cf. Cypr. 192. 9, 491. 13, 582. 19, &c.). But Cyprian borrows from Seneca on other themes also, and his words as well as his thoughts; *Ep.* 94. 56 *properantis mundi uolubilem cursum* = Cypr. 577. 8 *reuerterentis anni uolubilem circulum*, *Dial.* 5. 1. 5 *accessus lenes et incrementa fallentia*, cf. Cypr. 209. 13, 247. 26, &c., *Ep.* 83. 27 *retinere rectum tenorem* = 621. 17, 725. 9, *Dial.* 5. 1. 4 *ira praecipitat* = 225. 11 (cf. 5. 20), though this may be Virgilian, *Aen.* 2. 317; words frequent in both and similarly used are *aestuar*, *fluctuar*, *inflari*, *inconcussus*, *proficere* (of moral progress), *repraesentare*. The *Ad Don.* especially is full of reminiscences of Seneca¹.

¹ Cf. with 8. 25 *aruiuae toris* sq. Sen. *Ep.* 15. 2; with 9. 1 *carius perire*,

The only other prose writer whom Cyprian evidently knew is Cicero. Though no educated writer of post-Augustan date could fail to show the influence of Cicero, yet there can be none who is less indebted to him than Cyprian. In *Ad Don.* 1 (3. 13) *dum erratici palmitum lapsus . . . repunt* there is an imitation of *De Senectute* 52, *utis serpens multiplici lapsu et erratico*; and 668. 15 sq. suggests *contempsit Catilinae gladios*. Beside these there seem to be only little expressions which might naturally cling to the memory, such as *turbo et tempestas* 210. 17, 618. 2, *praepropera festinatio* 717. 11, *expugnator matrimonii alieni* 644. 10. Two of Cicero's words, *ingressio* 193. 15, and *impugnatio* (six times: see Hartel's index), seem to have been revived by Cyprian, after an intervening period of neglect.

§ 7. Among existing poets one cannot be sure that Cyprian knew any but Virgil. Lucretius, whom Tertullian and Lactantius know well, Arnobius too well, is never copied. *Arborei fetus* 353. 2 from *Georg.* 1. 55, *frondea tecta* 3. 14 from *Georg.* 4. 61, *furiata mens* 424. 11 from *Aen.* 2. 407, *fluctuans uario mentis aestu* 239. 13 (and 300. 16) from *Aen.* 4. 532, *bibat licet gemma* 13. 24 from *Georg.* 2. 506, *fanda atque infanda* 630. 17 from *Aen.* 1. 543, &c., and, most clearly of all, 367. 24 *quando et in agro inter cultas et fertiles segetes lolium et auena dominetur* (alluded to again 385. 9) from *Georg.* 1. 154 *interque nitentia culta Infelix lolium et steriles dominantur auenae*; probably also 577. 14 *per uicissitudines mensium transmeauit hibernum* from *Aen.* 1. 266 *ternaque transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis* (cf. p. 305, n.) are evidences that Cyprian could quote his Virgil, while 4. 8 *exilis ingenii angusta mediocritas . . . nullis ad copiam fecundi caespitis culminibus ingrauescit* from *Ecl.* 1. 68 *congestum caespite culmen* proves that he could forget or mistake his meaning. *Area fruges terit* 304. 24 recalls Tibullus 1. 5, 22 *area dum messes sole calente teret*.

Ep. 115. 8 *curius inepti*. *Ad Don.* § 12 suggests Sen. *Ep.* 115. 8 ff. and *Dial.* 1. 3, 10 ff. But cf. especially *Ad Don.* § 10 (and *Ad Dem.* §§ 10, 11) with *Dial.* 4. 7. 3, and 4. 8. 2.

But it is probable that there are also citations from Seneca's tragedies. Their language, of course, has many resemblances to that of the moral writings, and also to prose rhetoric of Cyprian's school. In no play is this so strong as in the *Hercules Oetaeus*. But 355. 23 *si terra situ pulueris squalcat* is very possibly from *Phaedr.* 471 *orbis iacebit squalido turpis situ*; cf. 830. 2 *squalent membra . . . situ et sorde deformia*, which suggests a dislocated hexameter. *Viuax flamma* 368. 16 occurs in *Med.* 826, *compage rupta* 491. 16, though in a different sense, in *Oed.* 580 (plural *Herc. Oet.* 1135, 1228) and *obductae fores* 10. 25 *Herc. Oet.* 1548. These also may be reminiscences.

There are at least two more instances of apparently hexameter lines, from unknown poets, cited indirectly; 353. 10 *nouella ac uegeta iuuenta pollere*, which suggests *uegeta pollere iuuenta*; cf. *auena dominetur* already cited, and 646. 23 *carinam praeualidis et electis roboribus intexe*, which may be from *roboribus ualidis intexe carinam*, and also one iambic *senarius* with its two last words transposed, 474. 7 *nemo diu tutus est periculo proximus*¹.

Beside these instances of actual verse, Cyprian's diction is at least as full of poetical elements as that of any post-Augustan writer. Taking only a few illustrations, and those confined to nouns, *acies*=‘warfare’ 495. 6, 526. 15, 654. 9, 663. 23, *clades* 224. 14, 302. 28, &c., *labes* 6. 4, &c., *moles* 15. 10, &c., *sordes* (sing.) 104. 19, 830. 2, *strages* 358. 21, &c., *strues* 13. 20, *suboles* 410. 6, &c., are in form or use poetical, as are *aeuum*=*uita* 6. 3, 364. 20, *aetas*=*tempus* 780. 14, *germen* 189. 12, *gleba* 355. 24, *meta* (of a river) 7. 9, *merx* (sing.) 678. 22, *prex* (sing.) 226. 8, 247. 9, 292. 12, 408. 20, &c., *sudor*

¹ No one seems hitherto to have noticed this line. Professor J. E. B. Mayor, who recognizes that it is verse, has pointed out that the thought is in Sen. *Herc. Fur.* 326 f. *nemo se tuto diu Periculis offerre tam crebris potest*, but does not know the line itself. It is not in Wölfflin's *Publilius Syrus*. Jerome, *Ep.* 30. 14 has *nemo, ut beatus Cyprianus ait, satis tutus periculo proximus*. Tertullian *Natt.* 1. 20 similarly transposes two words of the Hesiodic line to adapt them to prose;—*sic figulus figulo, faber fabro inutdet*.

(of a fountain) 353. 16, *conamina* 687. 15, *lumina* = 'eyes' 8. 24, 10. 26, *pignora* = *liberi* 388. 11, 26, &c.¹ So also with compound expressions: *classicum uocis* 317. 11, *grana pretiosa* = 'jewels' 197. 25 (not in Georges)², *durus ac ferreus* 239. 17, *sidus turbidum* 249. 4, *supinae manus* 330. 19, *pauperes uenae* 353. 4, *laborata monilia* 259. 14, *longaeva uita* 353. 25, *crudo tempore* 518. 20, *geminus agon* 580. 4, *candida lux* 230. 11, 369. 24, 577. 13 (also in Apuleius, *Met.* 6. 20, p. 109. 23 Eyss.), *flammis ambientibus medios* 221. 8, *lassa domus* 313. 2, *fons senectute deficiens* 353. 16, *animalia uergente situ ad terram depressa* 362. 16, and many more. The use of simple for compound verbs may also be regarded as poetical, e.g. *forare nauem* 304. 23 = *perforare*, *formare* = *reformare* 402. 12, *premere* = *opprimere* 244. 21, *quaerere* 694. 8, 747. 22, *signare* = *adsignare* 15. 15, *spectare* = *expectare* 539. 11, *sternere* 362. 21, *suadere* = *persuadere* 478. 4, *sumere* = *accipere* 378. 4, 519. 16, and constantly, *tergere* 494. 5, *uertere* 218. 10.

A writer so diffuse as Cyprian could neither use nor originate many proverbial expressions. Otto, in his *Sprichwörter der Römer* and Weyman in his review of that book in Wölfflin's *Archiv*, 8, p. 397, have gleaned what there is; 6. 13 *in proprias laudes odiosa iactatio est*, 13. 27 and 245. 11 *possideri magis quam possidere*, 202. 19 *non est ad magna facilis adscensus*, 419. 10 *de scintillis conflare incendia*, 421. 2 *gladio suo perimi*, 431. 20 *unde uulneratus fueras inde curare*, 505. 12 *parum est adipisci aliquid potuisse, plus est quod adeptus es posse seruare*, 617. 6 *quasi mutasse sit hominem mutare regionem*³, are the most interesting. To these must be added *nemo diu tutus est periculo proximus* 474. 7, cited above. *Semel uincit qui statim patitur* 577. 3, is perhaps the source of the proverb *uincit qui patitur*⁴.

¹ A. Funck in Wölfflin's *Archiv*, 7, p. 101, states that Cyprian is the first to use *pignora* systematically as a substitute for *liberi*.

² Cf. Tert. *Res. Carn.* 7 *Rubentis Maris grana candentia*.

³ This must be simply proverbial, not Horatian. There is no other possible allusion to that poet.

⁴ Professor J. E. B. Mayor finds the words imbedded in the *Catonis*

§ 8. There is no source from which Cyprian draws more freely than his own writings. Phrases, and even long sentences, which he regards as effective are repeated, and this not only in hasty letters written about the same time, but also in his more elaborate productions separated by intervals of years. Felicitous expressions must have been stored up either in his memory or in his common-place book for repetition. One sentence in *Ad Don.* 3 (5. 18 ff.) *necesse est, ut solebat, uinolentia inuitet, inflet superbia, iracundia inflammet, rapacitas inquietet, crudelitas stimulet, ambitio delectet, libido praecipitet*, the alliterations and rhymes of which pleased him, is repeated with modifications in *Un.* 16, and *Mort.* 4 (225. 9, 299. 18), and reminiscences of it are found in *Dem.* 10 and *Z. L.* 6 (357. 27, 423. 6); so with *sol radiat* sq. in *Don.* 14 and *Op.* 25 (15. 11, 393. 27). The very effective conclusion of the *De Opere et Eleemosynis, in pace uincentibus coronam candidam pro operibus dabit, in persecutione pro passione geminabit*, is repeated from the end of *Ep.* 10, and the thought occurs again 577. 16. Other instances are 241. 1 *negotiationis quaestuosae nundinas aucupari*=515. 22; 239. 11 *auulsam uiscerum nostrorum partem*=521. 12; 14. 20 *adridet ut saeuat* sq.=202. 14; 13. 13 *caducis uotis* sq.=390. 20 ff.; 35. 10 *libellus compendio breuiante digestus*=224. 2, where the sense is quite different; 101. 12 *praeceptorum grande compendium*=287. 25; 214. 5 *fons . . . exundare . . . diffundi*=353. 15, 411. 22, and cf. 642. 15; 301. 22 *imbrem nubila serena suspendunt*=352. 9; 351. 2 *oblatrantem te . . . et obstrepentem*, cf. 229. 13 and 602. 3 (*Tert. adu. Marc.* 2. 5 init. *O canes . . . latrantes in Deum ueritatis*). Many more instances might be given¹.

Monostichu (Riese, *Anthol. Lat.* 716. 42), *qui uinci sese patitur pro tempore uincit*, but does not know the source of the usual form. Tert. in dilating on the subject in *Apol.* 50 does not put the thought in the form of an aphorism.

¹ I think it might be shown that in some small particulars Cyprian's language varied from time to time; that *adhuc insuper, porro autem, pariter et*, and some other expressions, are only found within certain periods. This might be of use in fixing the date of some of the Treatises, which is not so well ascertained as that of the *Epp.*

§ 9. We may begin our study of the details of Cyprian's style with the rhetorical tropes¹. Of several of these he makes little use; to others he is devoted. Of metaphorical language, especially, good and bad, his writings are full. Some of it is poetical, some scriptural in origin; perhaps none is very striking. His enemies are *lues*² et *pestes* 219. 1, *Patriciani . . . et ceterae haereticorum pestes et gladii et uenena* 781. 14 (gen. of definition), and similar words are common. Other metaphors are *uarietas uitiorum* 359. 19³; *collidentium uoluntatum diuortium* 215. 8; *animae tinea, cogitationum tabes, pectoris rubigo* 423. 17; *adulteria colorum* 199. 5; *in odium persecutionis facibus liuoris exarsit* 422 5 (cf. 358. 10, 424. 6); *interfector poenitentiae* 694. 4; *nubilum liuoris* 426. 6. Verbs are still more often so employed, e.g. *sopire dolorem*, &c., 685. 9⁴, *oblatrantium fluctuum incursus* 667. 24, *domus iam lassa iam fatigata* 313. 2, *effossi et fatigati montes* 353. 3, *calcare carnificinam* 339. 24, *mutilare gloriam*, &c. 238. 23, 794. 10, 841. 11 (cf. *amputare* 425. 16, *castrare* 204. 3), *seminare gloriam*, &c. 577. 19, &c., *destruere castitatem, ueritatem*, &c. 420. 4, and often, *gubernandae ecclesiae libram tenentes* 744. 16, *antiqua illa contra episcopatum meum uenena relinquentes* 591. 9, and many more.

Metonymy in Cyprian is almost confined to the use of abstract for concrete nouns (cf. Volkmann, *op. cit.* p. 424 n.), which is carried to an excessive degree; 652. 17 *pacem non deliciis sed armis damus*, 387. 12 *patrimonium copiosum cum indigentium paupertate communicans*, 421. 17 *alta illa sublimitas* (i.e. Satan; cf. *Quod. Id.* 8, p. 25. 14), 190. 18 *quodsi Christum continentia sequitur et regno Dei uirginitas destinatur*, 501. 18

¹ As classified by Volkmann, *Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer*, p. 415 ff. Examples could no doubt be given of others than those mentioned, but they would be in no way characteristic of Cyprian's style.

² Does this plural occur earlier than Tert. *An.* 30 (350. 11 Reiff.), *Apol.* 20, &c.? Cf. 352. 8.

³ A medical metaphor; cf. *uarietas leprae* 226. 25, Sen. *N. Q.* 3. 25. 11.

⁴ P. Geyer's argument from this word in Wölfflin's *Archiv* 8. 477 is spoiled by his neglect of Cyprian and Arnobius.

rogemus . . . cito latebris nostris et periculis subueniri = *latentibus et periclitantibus*. *Mediocritas nostra* = *ego*, 101. 15, &c., is very common (see p. 273); *conscientia uestra* apparently is used for *tu* 656. 16, and elsewhere. Other instances are *cum plebis inaequalitas discreparet* 497. 14, *adunationis nostrae corpus unum* 698. 21, *cum omnium baptismo communicans* 800. 2 and 805. 17, *circumuenire solitudinem singulorum* 693. 1. Abstract periphrases are constantly used for *Deus*, cf. p. 244. Cyprian makes no excessive use of collective abstracts; *fraternitas* is, of course, common; *noua fraternitas* = 'Cain and Abel' 421. 23, cf. *germanitas Thebanorum*, *Quod. Id.* 8 (25. 18); *conuiuium* = *conuiuiae* 16. 11, *audientia* = *auditores* 4. 14, and others¹. Such abstracts are not only used of persons; 600. 17 *episcopatus tui ordinationem singulorum auribus intimaui*mus and the like are very frequent².

Here may be classed the use of concrete plurals for abstracts³; cf. 357. 13 *delicta mendaciorum, libidinum, fraudium, crudelitatis, impietatis, furoris*, where they are combined with singular abstracts, 510. 2 *gubernacula ecclesiae* = *gubernatio*, 674. 2 *naufragia*, 728. 4 *mens praua et fallax lingua et odia uenenata et sacrilega mendacia*, and many more. Conversely, plural abstracts in a concrete sense are common: *laudes, uirtutes, gloriae*, as in classical writers.

But Cyprian also frequently changes the meaning of words at his own convenience. *Formido* = 'object of fear' 209. 10 is classical; but he ventures on *discrimen* for *trutina* 218. 18

¹ Cyprian falls far short of other Christian writers; *Vita* 5 (A. xcv. 24) *per omnes aditus sollicita caritas circuibat*; *Firm. Mat. Err.* 27. 3 *ut his omnibus* (sc. *typis*) *quasi per gradus quosdam ad lignum crucis salus hominum perueniret* = *ὁ σωζόμενος*; *Victor Vit.* 1. 25, &c.

² Abstracts with a genitive are constantly employed; *ueritas* grows quite monotonous, used as it is in 779. 8 *sanctificandi salutaris aquae ueritate*; cf. 223. 16, 305. 13, 341. 11, 379. 23, &c.; so *fides* often, e.g. 660. 9 *fide deuotionis* = *deuotione fideli*. A characteristic example is 211. 18 *quos detinere non potest in uiae ueteris caecitate circumscribit et decipit noui itineris errore*. Other good instances are 337. 1, 424. 10, 631. 23, 675. 15, 780. 22.

³ Cf. Wölfflin in his *Archiv*, 5. 492, for instances from *De Aleatt.* So in Hieron. *Ep.* 69. 3 *effusio sanguinis et instar suis in omni caeno libidinis uolutabra* = *uolutatio*.

(cf. *examen* 528. 4, 665. 7), *simultas* = 'quarrelsomeness' 409. 1, *tenacitas ac firmitas* parallel with *vinculum* and *fundamentum* 407. 26, and conversely *firmamentum* for *firmitas* 489. 10, *conluvio* for *inquinatio* 644. 12, *facinus* for 'guilt' (not 'crime') 679. 20¹. Instances of verbs with forced and unusual meanings are also common; see *perstringere*, *praestringere*, *perstrepere*, *praestruere* in Hartel's index, *promittere* 493. 10, 594. 4, *proruere* 528. 15, 598. 10, *occurrere* = *succurrere* 523. 19, *subducere* 8. 11, and many more. He delights in devising new shades of meaning, giving a personal subject or object to a verb never so used before, or otherwise showing his ingenuity².

Periphrasis is excessively common. Cyprian's devotion to abstract nouns marks his style off from that of the classical writers, and often even impedes his sense, as in 517. 4, 571. 14, 600. 1, 656. 14, 743. 17. *Cremabit addictos ardens semper gehenna et uinacibus flammis uorax poena* 368. 16, combines pleonasm with periphrasis; cf. *uermium edax poena* = *vermes* 410. 9. Another curious periphrasis is 243. 21 *cui enim non nascenti adque morienti relinquenda quandoque patria?* where *nascens adque moriens* is put for *mortalis*. A periphrastic use of *circa* is as common in Cyprian as in other late writers, 478. 12, 616. 18, 674. 2, &c.

Hendiadys is not very common except with verbs; *properare et uenire* = *properanter* 509. 13, *cum ad me litteras direxerint et petierint* = *petentes* 519. 14, *cum manna deflueret et . . . ostenderet* 763. 14, and the like. The substantives come rather under the head of amplification or extension of meaning, as 402. 8 *crudelitas necis et effusio sanguinis*, 259. 15 *indumenta peregrina et sericas uestes*, 577. 6, 710. 14, &c., many of which are cited in § 19.

¹ *Facinus* represents *δρῶπῶ* in Mt. 24. 12 in Cyprian's Bible, 335. 18; Vulg. *iniquitas*. Jerome has only allowed the word to survive in three cases in the Vulgate; all of these are in the usual sense.

² So with adjectives; *succincta diligentia* 101. 9, *delicata congressio* 202. 17, and others which normally would be used of persons, not of abstractions.

Of hyperbaton there is one remarkable form, found also in Apuleius¹, by which one of two co-ordinate words is separated by a copula from those which qualify or agree with it; 524. 2 *incommodo aliquo et infirmitatis periculo* = *incommodo et periculo infirmitatis*, 603. 1 *supersederunt et ad nos redire noluerunt*², 614. 10 *perfidiae et haereticæ prauitatis*, 660. 14 *proclamantes et fidem suam per haec uerba testantes*, 518. 16, 538. 4, 670. 17, 768. 22, 795. 4³.

Cyprian often displaces his words, sometimes with awkward results, though there can be no doubt that he does it deliberately. Dependent words are frequently pushed to the front, as in the very clumsy instance, 627. 13 *secundum quod tamen ante fuerat destinatum, persecutione sopita cum data esset facultas in unum conueniendi, copiosus episcoporum numerus*⁴ sq.; cf. 740. 3 *obrepere autem si hominibus Basilides potuit, Deo non potest*, which may be excused by epiploce with the preceding *obrepsit*, 368. 20, 404. 24, 411. 4, 789. 14 (where *et qui* = *qui et*), &c. *Esse* especially is often prefixed; 387. 21 *quo amplior fuerit pignorum copia esse et operum debet maior impensa*, 5. 15, 398. 23, 623. 4, &c. In 243. 21 obscurity is caused not only by a strange periphrasis but by the putting of *non* before its natural place; cf. 514. 16. *Quid* clauses are usually dislocated; 200. 1 *uiderint quid sibi nuptae blandiantur*

¹ *Met.* 6. 31 (116. 16 Eyss.) *ultra modum delictique saeuire terminum = modum terminumque delicti*; *Plat.* 1. 15 (77. 7 Goldb.) *pulmones loco ac sui genere cordi plurimum consulunt = loco ac genere*; and perhaps elsewhere. It is an imitation of such poetical licence as *Hor. Carm.* 3. 4. 11 *ludo fatigatumque somno*, *Tibullus* 1. 3. 56, &c.

² To take this as hyperbaton for *supersederunt et noluerunt redire* seems more reasonable than with Hartel (*Preface*, p. liii) to appeal to an unattested statement of Nonius that the verb *supersedere* may mean 'to be obstinate.' Rönisch, *Beitr.* 3, p. 80 agrees with Hartel.

³ So also in other writers among Cyprian's *Epp.* In 552. 8 (Novatian) the MSS. read *tenorem euangelici uigoris inlibatam dignitatem seruare*. Hartel reads *tenore*, but *tenorem et* is at least as near to the MSS., and quite possible according to this idiom. So Cornelius (613. 15) *malitia et inexplibili auaritia*, and Nemesianus (835. 3) where, for the MS. *ut . . . cadauera (or cadaueria) ipsius publici hostis nerui concisi calcarentur, cadauer et* should probably be read, instead of *et* being inserted after *hostis*, as by Hartel.

⁴ This separation by a genitive of noun and adjective is rare in Cyprian.

sq., 209. 4, 299. 10, 373. 18, &c.; cf. the extraordinary *quae cum uiris adque uiros* sq., 200. 25. *Prius longe quam* 498. 18, *multum malitia protracta* 399. 18 (cf. 424. 22), and the like, occasionally occur.

Adverbs and conjunctions are often put unnaturally late in the sentence. *Namque* is third 651. 17, 735. 23, *elenim* third 771. 8, *utique* fourth 727. 12. *Et* also is often displaced, occurring once in the sixth place, 698. 21. Such arrangements as 264. 8 *quam contristauerat nuper laetam faciet ecclesiam*, 318. 13 *si confectam et paratam iam uestem darem*, 507. 23 *post confessionem sanctificata et inlustrata plus membra*, 578. 21 *in carne adhuc licet uobis positus*, are common¹.

§ 10. Cyprian does not furnish many examples of playing upon language. Verbs are sometimes used in two senses; e.g. 383. 17 *seruas pecuniam quae te seruata non seruat*, 403. 5 *si admissum facinus agnoscant . . . ad praemium regni caelestis admittit*, 466. 4 *sed aliis terram colentibus illa* (sc. *leuitica tribus*) *tantum Deum coleret*, 688. 21 *ut . . . magis petant fundi pro se preces adque orationes antistitis quam ipsi fundant sanguinem sacerdotis*, 711. 12 *nos omnes portabat Christus qui et peccata nostra portabat*². So with substantives; 402. 14 *ut . . . palmis in faciem uerberaretur qui palmas ueras uincetibus tribuit*; cf. 724. 18 *si uero apud insanos furor insanabilis peruerauerit*, and 616. 10 *Nouatiani et Nouati nouis . . . machinas*, which never recurs, obvious though it is. Perhaps the only instances of oxymoron are *grande compendium* 110. 12, 287. 25 (cf. Aug. *C. D.* 4. 21 *magnum compendium*), *magna et diuina breuitas* 288. 1, *fetus sterilis, nubila serena* 301. 20, 22. Cyprian indulges in few conceits; 582. 21 the confessors' feet are bound,

¹ Examples of tropical language not so often used by Cyprian are, (1) the proleptic use of adjectives 13. 11, 353. 25, 378. 15, 741. 12; (2) litotes, only in such mild expressions as *non facile = nequaquam* 320. 1, and often, and similarly *minus*, *minime* and a few more; (3) hyperbole 239. 11 *auulam uiscerum nostrorum partem* (repeated 521. 12, and perhaps suggested by Hor. *Carm.* 2. 17. 5), 491. 17, 528. 5, 679. 23; (4) brachylogy, such as is classed by Volkmann (p. 423) under synecdoche, 217. 25, 427. 3, &c.

² Ordinary zeugma is common enough in Cyprian; 481. 6, 693. 6, &c.

yet they are trampling on the serpent¹ (cf. 619. 6), 710. 21 wine changed to water, 829. 10 gold carried to the mine.

§ 11. Nothing is more characteristic of Cyprian than his striving after symmetry in the formation of his periods. Of parisosis many examples must necessarily be given in illustration of other figures, and therefore few are given here; 313. 25 *qualis illic caelestium regnorum uoluptas sine timore moriendi, et cum aelernitate uiuenti quam summa et perpetua felicitas*, where it is combined with rhyme, antithesis and chiasitic arrangement², 491. 10 *uidit admirans praesentium multitudo caeleste certamen Dei et spiritale proelium Christi, stetisse seruos eius uoce libera, mente incorrupta, uirtute diuina, telis quidem saecularibus nudos, sed armis fidei credentis armatos*, where there are two short instances of parisosis, *Dei, Christi* being inserted to fill out the one, and *credentis* to complete the other, 365. 18 *exultant semper in Domino et laetantur et gaudent in Deo suo, et mala adque aduersa mundi fortiter tolerant, dum bona et prospera futura prospectant*, 740. 1, &c. In the concluding section of *Ad Dem.*, 370. 15-22, there is a succession of six groups of clauses, arranged by two, three and four, of nearly equal length³. Indeed, Cyprian constantly for the purpose of balance inserts otiose words; many of the instances cited under the head of amplification are due to this desire rather than to a simple preference for two words instead of one; cf. 201. 10 *simul cum amictu uestis honor corporis . . . ponitur*, 311. 11 *uenturus ad Christi sedem, ad regnorum caelestium claritatem lugere non debet et plangere, sed potius secundum pollicitationem Domini, secundum fidem ueri in projectione hac sua et translatione gaudere*, where *secundum fidem ueri*, whatever it may mean⁴, is simply inserted to increase

¹ Reading *calcatus* instead of *galeatus*; cf. p. 213 n.

² Chiasmus is very common, e.g. 198. 22, 204. 17, 390. 22, 694. 3. It is, of course, often combined with other figures, under which examples occur.

³ This equivalence makes Hartel's conjecture of a lacuna in line 17 unlikely. It is also probable that *patri* was meant to rhyme with *caelesti*, as *crucis* rhymes with *sanguinis* just before.

⁴ Cf. *Fragm. Iuris Vat.* § 282; it seems to represent Cyprian's common *fides ueritatis* = *fides uera*.

the number of pairs to four. Other examples are 421. 11, 580. 11, 598. 19 ff., in all of which words appear to be added in order to make one clause equal in length to another.

One of the worst and most constant features of Cyprian's style is the monotonous arrangement of his words in twos and threes. Of the former many instances must be given hereafter under amplification; but even when he is not filling out his sentences with synonyms he is equally careful to save his words from standing alone; cf. 237. 17 *adest militum Christi cora candida qui persecutionis urgentis ferociam turbulentam stabili congressione fugerunt, parati ad patientiam carceris, armati ad tolerantiam mortis*, where four substantives are provided with adjectives, and all is followed by a pair of symmetrical rhyming clauses. These again are followed by three rhyming clauses of equal length. Similarly 364. 7 *per ipsa quae uos cruciant et fatigant probari et corroborari nos scimus et fidimus*, and 682. 14, where, to complete the symmetry, mere pleonasm, such as *poenas aeternas et supplicia perpetua*, is admitted. For other examples of this love of pairs of words see p. 230.

Though it not so easy to arrange words in threes as in pairs, Cyprian very frequently does it. Beside other instances given in this paper, such passages as 493. 3. 523. 4 (where *et confessorum praesentiam*, in form if not in substance, seems due to this desire), 587. 11, 663. 23, 668. 12, 712. 8, are strong evidence for the use even where the reading is somewhat doubtful, as in 582. 22 and 746. 11¹. The third co-ordinate word or phrase is often loaded for emphasis; 669. 9 *exaltatio et inflatio et adrogans ac superba iactatio*, 689. 2 *nullus Dei sacerdos*

¹ In 582. 22 Hartel reads *et quamuis ligati neruo pedes essent, galeatus serpens et obtritatus et uictus est*. But the MS. evidence is strong for *calcatus* and against *galeatus*, which is only read by P, *qui plurima coniecturis peringeniosis uexauit* (Hartel, Pref. p. xxxiii). *Calcere* and *obterere* are combined again in 428. 9 and 664. 20. In the last passage is a play upon the words *calciati* and *calcari*; here upon the *ligati pedes*, which yet are free. In 746. 11 *ubi sit tutus accessus et salutaris introitus et statio securo* the evidence is divided, in a badly attested letter, between the insertion and omission of *accessus*. Hartel brackets the word, but in a doubtful case Cyprian's usage is sufficient to turn the scale in its favour, as also in 646. 20.

sic infirmus est, sic iacens et abiectus, sic inbecillitate humanae mediocritatis inualidus qui sq., 422. 10 *innocentem, misericordem, miti lenitate patientem*, 243. 16, 390. 21, 505. 24, 681. 14, &c. Even a sixfold combination occurs, as in 687. 19, 730. 10. Many triple rhymes and pleonasms will be found in §§ 14, 16

Cyprian's range of subjects naturally led him often to contrast truth with error ; but the opportunities for symmetrical arrangement which antithesis gives had perhaps quite as much to do with his devotion to that figure. Antithesis real and unreal, combined usually with pariosis or other figures, abounds in his pages. *Ep.* 38, especially, contains little else. Such strings as 806. 5 *succumbat et cedat ecclesia haereticis, lux tenebris, fides perfidia, spes desperationi, ratio errori, immortalitas morti, caritas odio, ueritas mendacio, Christus antichristo*, are very common ; cf. *Fort.* 6 *tit.*, 593. 18, 687. 19, 773. 5, &c.

This love of symmetry is clearly manifested in numerous abrupt changes of voice in the verbs. In order to gain apparent uniformity the subject is violently altered and a passive introduced in the second half of a sentence, the first half of which has had a deponent verb ; e.g. 402. 24 ff. *ille non loquitur nec mouetur nec maiestatem suam sub ipsa saltem passione profitetur ; usque ad finem perseueranter ac iugiter tolerantur omnia ut consummetur in Christo plena et perfecta patientia*, 410. 13 ff., 423. 10 ff., &c. Conversely, the first clause is made to adjust itself to the second, 276. 24, &c.

§ 12. Certain grammatical devices are also freely used for rhetorical purposes. One of the most frequent is the use of plural abstracts, which is also characteristic of Apuleius (Koziol, p. 251). Instances are *acerbationes* 600. 21, *administrationes* 629. 9, *anxietates* 405. 16, *confessiones* 481. 3, *conflictationes* 299. 11, and often, *conlutationes* 405. 23, *conspectus* 237. 15, *dignationes* (acts of favour) 500. 13, &c., *infestationes* 406. 4, 501. 11, *meditationes* 430. 14, *miserationes* 379. 24 (also *Bibl.*), *postulationes* 319. 12, *tarditates* 318. 25, *ultiones* 363. 8, 366. 10 (*Bibl.*).

Here may also be placed the use of verbal nouns as attributes, which is very common, e.g. *desertor adsecla* 13. 11, *expugnator inimicus* 201. 18 (where *inimicus* is the substantive, cf. *subtilis inimicus* 249. 10), *inpium et persecutorem (fratrem)* 404. 8, and especially *peccator*, as *peccator populus* 273. 25, cf. 641. 7, 670. 5, 769. 2, &c. Cyprian extends this attributive use to substantives of other forms, as 3. 14 *baiulae arundines*, 13. 7 *comes pompa* (cf. 401. 10), 360. 24 *index uox*, 581. 12 *martyr lector*, 724. 6 *superstes crapula*. In this respect Tertullian (cf. Sittl, *Lokale Verschiedenheiten*, p. 110) far exceeds Cyprian, and Ambrose again leaves Tertullian in the rear ¹.

As in other third century writers ² derivative adjectives constantly take the place of a subjective or objective genitive, and even of a prepositional expression. *Dominicus* and *ecclesiasticus* especially are so used, e.g. 642. 23 *ecclesiasticum corpus*, 621. 5 *litteris . . . quas ad me de uestra regressione et de ecclesiastica pace ac fraterna redintegratione fecistis*, where the aim is uniformity, 319. 15, 656. 21, and often *dominica confessio* (by the martyrs), 309. 19 *arcessitio dominica* (cf. *Pass. Perp.* 18 *fin. dominicae passionis*), 390. 1, 699. 15 *nummaria cupiditas, quantitas*, 652. 5 *saturitas dominica* (bestowed by the Lord), 204. 5 *diuinum munus et patrium = Dei Patris*, 411. 8 *caput bubulum*, the last being a loan from Tertullian *Jud.* 1.

Present participles, often of verbs which Cyprian uses in no other form, and in senses which cannot be distinguished from those of an adjective, are very common, e.g. *adulantia blandimenta* 247. 11, *angentes fortunae, iniuriae*, &c., 14. 3, 301. 5, 412. 15, 657. 22, 710. 17, *discordans et dissidens* 285. 16,

¹ It may be noticed that though Cyprian, like other writers after Livy, uses substantives in *-tor* to express a single act as well as a state or quality (cf. Schmalz, *Stilistik*, § 2 in Iwan-Müller's *Handbuch*), he is very sparing of such use; 379. 8, 644. 10, 734. 13, and a few more.

² E.g. Apuleius, see Koziol, p. 255; cf. Hildebrand's note to Arnobius, p. 449, and Zink on Fulgentius Myth. Other writers on late Latin authors make the same remark. Perhaps Arnobius goes furthest in this direction.

discrepans 602. 7, *exundans* 214. 6, 353. 15, 411. 23, *fallens* 247. 26, 360. 21, 421. 1, *ferociens* 7. 16, 484. 10, 630. 22, *frustrans* 13. 15, 390. 23, *incursans* 8. 5, 356. 25, 625. 6, *lenocinans* 198. 21, *multiplicans* 241. 3, *oblectans* 4. 1; cf. Léonard's Introduction, § 36. Such participles are often joined with an adjective; 407. 1, 507. 2, 629. 3, &c.

The neuter plural of adjectives, with or without a genitive following, is also a favourite usage; *adversa mundi* 363. 22, 431. 2, *extrema mortis* 724. 16, *secreta et abditamenta mentis* 383. 13, *arcana cordis atque abditamenta* 653. 6 (cf. 257. 12, 268. 26, 423. 5, 563. 13 (Roman), Thielmann in Wölfflin's *Archiv*, 3. 490), *occidua* 353. 11, *caelestia = caelum* 204. 4 (for *superna* in the same sense see p. 285), *amatoria* 195. 17, *canora musica* 420. 5 (cf. Apul. *Plat.* 1. 1, 64. 3, Goldbacher), *serena longa* 352. 9, &c.

Cyprian is very moderate in the combination of different degrees of comparison. Superlative is followed by positive in 239. 10 *maximas eximiasque uirtutes*, 313. 26 *quam summa et perpetua felicitas*, 477. 13 *summus et magnus fructus*, 672. 14 *summa et magna*; conversely, 394. 4 *quam grandis et summa laetitia*; superlative by comparative 288. 5 *praecepta prima et maiora*, cf. 339. 2; comparative by positive 191. 11 *meliora et diuina*, 468. 16 *frugaliores et innocentes cibi*. Similar irregularities are 222. 7 *inexpiabilis et grauis culpa*, 293. 17, 504. 17 (cf. 303. 19) *frequenter ac semper*, 576. 9 *satis ac plurimum*, 687. 2 *castra inuicta et fortia*, 754. 16 *quam sine spe sint et perditionem sibi maximam . . . adquirant* sq. It will be seen that most of these are legitimate; and it must be remembered that the irregular superlative had practically become positive. Comparative adjectives and adverbs, as in other late writers, are constantly used indefinitely or as equivalent to superlatives. There are nine instances in the short *Ad Don.*; cf. 104. 31, 313. 5, 483. 11, 603. 8, &c.

The Greek attraction of the relative, and the merging of the antecedent in it, is also common. This attempt at conciseness sometimes leads to obscurity, as in 582. 6, where the subject to

cui plus licuit et coegit is *ecclesia*¹, the *et* marking the apodosis; cf. 282. 7, 287. 15, 306. 2, 386. 18, &c. *Secundum quod* is especially common in citations, 285. 17, &c. Hartel's Index is far from exhausting the instances.

Certain other usages are adopted for rhetorical purposes, especially the historical infinitive, which is found five times, 6. 6, 217. 20, 240. 21, 242. 14, 255. 12. Among these are both descriptive and narrative passages. The employment also of *ut* clauses in many and often strange senses², consecutive, explanatory or other, as 195. 23, 569. 13, 678. 12, &c., of *quod* clauses as 320. 17 *ne . . . perdant quod euaserint* (repeated 501. 2), 664. 1 *ne perdat integer quod nuper stetit*, 202. 22, 298. 18, 403. 25, &c., in some of which *quod* may be a relative and object to the verb, as in 769. 14 *consentire in id quod illi baptizauerint*³, seems often to be dictated by rhetorical motives.

Hypallage, sometimes bold enough, is not uncommon. Instances are 202. 26 *magna uos merces habet*, 576. 12 *uestris cordibus adhaeremus* = 'you love us,' 716. 6 *quod furtum et adulterium ne in nos etiam cadat cauere sollicite . . . debemus*, 195. 8 *patrimonio tuo Deum faenera* (repeated 263. 8, 386. 11), 584. 25 *presbyterii honorem designasse nos illis sciatis*, 682. 5 *exarmatur fides militantis populi*.

§ 13. Nothing shows the rhetorical training of Cyprian better than his use of rhythm, rhyme, and alliteration. Rhythm, even more than the others, displays this. In this respect the *Ad Donatum*, Cyprian's most rhetorical writing, shows just the same results on examination as his other Treatises and the Letters. Taking the ends of periods (including in them the words preceding a colon) we find that six forms all but exhaust the list. There are 150 of these

¹ The period should surely be placed after *suadentibus*. *Nobis suadentibus cui plus licuit* for 'the Church which had greater rights over him than I who was urging him' is not only harsh but unlike Cyprian.

² Though not often final; *ad hoc . . . ut* or some further definition is usual.

³ Cf. Ambr. Ep. 63. 9 *perdiderunt utique quod ietunauerunt, perdiderunt quod se aliquo continuerunt tempore*.

terminations. Of these fifty-five are of the form $\bar{\cup} \cup | - - \bar{\cup}$ (*tectâ fecerunt, gerere festinant, amoena consentit, &c.*), and forty-five are trisyllabic in their ending, nine terminate with a monosyllable followed by a word of two syllables (*ex uobis, hanc sedem, &c.*), and one with three monosyllables (*usus est, ars est*)¹. A tribrach is only used five times before the final trisyllable; the usual trochee is much more often a whole word than a termination. The next terminal rhythm in number is $- \cup - \cup$, of which there are twenty-seven instances, only four of which are vitiated by a long syllable at the end. Twenty are formed by one word (*sortiatur, &c.*), six by two words, the first a monosyllable (*et fauebam* 6. 2, where the *et* is put out of place for the purpose, *non timetur, &c.*), only two by dissyllables (*saepe mecum*). Then follows $- \cup - | - \cup \bar{\cup}$ with twenty-two examples (*amore quo diligis, convivium sobrium*), of which seven have the last syllable long, and two the first resolved into two short (*iudicia praenoscimus, adsidua uel lectio*). Twelve have a trisyllabic word at the end, five one of four syllables (*poenitenda contagia, &c.*), and the rest two words (*iura proscripta sint, singuli crimen est, &c.*). Then comes $- \cup | \cup \cup - \cup$, that *esse uideatur* ending which Quintilian (9. 4. 73, 10. 2. 18) complains of as hackneyed. Of these there are fourteen, all but one (*damnare quod eramus*) ending in a four-syllabled word, and only one (*donantur alieni*) having its final syllable long. Then comes $- \cup | - \cup \cup \bar{\cup}$ (*ueritate simplicia, pectus et pateat, &c.*) with twelve instances, eight ending in a four-syllabled word, and five with a long syllable, and finally twelve of $\cup - - \cup$ (*reuelabo, recensere, facit mecum, pavor nullus, &c.*) with five examples of a word of four syllables, five with two words, and one (*elaboratam*) extending beyond the termination. The six terminations account for 137 of the 150 cases, in 105 of which the last word is of the quantitative value of $- - \cup$ at least. Only thirteen cannot be accounted for under these six heads.

¹ For two monosyllables regarded as equivalent to a dissyllable cf. Bährens' Preface to *Poetae Latini Minores*, vol. 1, p. xii.

In the *De Lapsis*, not quite so carefully written, out of 262 endings all but twenty-eight fall under the same six heads. Nearly a third, eighty-one, are of the form $\bar{\cup} \cup | - - \bar{\cup}$, sixty of $- \cup - \cup$, twenty-eight of $- \cup - | - \cup \bar{\cup}$, twenty of $- \cup | \cup \cup - \cup$, sixteen of $- \cup | - \cup \cup \bar{\cup}$, and twenty-nine of $\cup - - \cup$ ¹.

In the *De Bono Patientiae*, more carefully written than the *De Lapsis*, of 123 terminations all but seventeen come under the above heads; thirty-two under the first, twenty-five under the second, fourteen (of which seven are of the resolved form $- \cup \cup \cup | - \cup \bar{\cup}$ as *uera patientia, fecit in origine*) under the third, thirteen under the fourth, nine under the fifth, and thirteen under the last. Of the remaining seventeen, seven are of a form rare in *Ad Don.* and *De Lapsis*, that of $- \cup - | - -$, as *actibus nostris, benignius dici*.

Taking next six of the most rhetorical Epistles, 10, 28, 37, 38, 39, 58, together, the result is found to be much the same. Of 192 terminations all but twenty come under the six heads, the numbers belonging to which are respectively 56, 40, 23 (four in the resolved form), 16, 7, and 30.

It may be sufficient to take two more letters, both long ones, *Ep.* 59 to Cornelius, denouncing Novatian's party, and the controversial *Ep.* 73 to Jubaianus on Baptism. In the former, which contains 118 terminations, the numbers of the

¹ It will be seen that there are comparatively few of the more difficult forms. Of the first form, twenty-eight are of two complete words, as *mundus eluxit* and forty-three have the first word longer. In ten the first is, or ends with, a tribrach. In eight two words (*iacere me credo, &c.*) are employed to form the final molossus. Two are formed of one word, *nuntiauerunt, praedicauerunt*, and in one, *et rogauerunt* (242. 17), the *et* is put out of its place to secure this ending. Of the second form forty-two are words of four syllables (fifteen with the final long), sixteen have a monosyllable first (*ut periret, &c.*) and two are of two dissyllables. Of the third form sixteen end with four-syllabled words; the others are of three or compound tenses; there should be added one of the form $- \cup | \bar{\cup} - \bar{\cup}$ (*sponte properauimus*). Of the *esse uideatur* form all end with words of four syllables. Of the fifth form all except three ending with three-syllabled words (*communicare se simulant, &c.*) end with words of four. Of the twenty-nine of the last form, twenty-two are of four syllables and seven of two dissyllabic words; seven have the final long.

different forms are 22, 28, 18, 5, 11, 11. These with seven of — — — — —, mentioned as also fairly numerous in *De B. Pat.*, and sixteen irregular, make up the whole number. In *Ep.* 73, written, like all those on the same subject, with less regard to form than Cyprian's other works, the numbers among 123 terminations are 23, 22, 18, 8, 7, 15. Among the large proportion of thirty exceptions are many of four long syllables (*baptizari*, &c.), which hardly occur in those previously analyzed¹.

Little would be gained by going through more of Cyprian's writings²; the results would be the same. He had no doubt been trained so effectually that his sentences, however hastily written, instinctively ended with one of the forms already mentioned. Very rarely does he end with a short word, except when two combine to form one of these terminations; hardly ever is there a hexametrical ending.

Cyprian's care for rhythmical endings can clearly be seen in the varying forms of such words as *contagium* with its alternative *contagio*. The former, which is the normal form of the third century, is used twenty-four times, the latter fourteen times, often demonstrably, as in 203. 14 *contagione transit* and 829. 15 *contagione maculetur*, to produce a rhythmical effect which the other would not have given. A more remarkable instance is *saepe*. *Frequenter* is the normal word for 'often' throughout Cyprian; *saepe* is never used except for rhythm⁴, terminal or other, and is comparatively rare.

¹ Without going through the particulars as fully as in *Ad Don.* and *De Laps.* it may be mentioned that in *De Pat.* the terminations are unusually harmonious and perfect. The same may be said of the six rhetorical letters. Among other signs of Cyprian's comparative indifference to the styles of *Epp.* 58 and 73, and others like them, is the rarity of the *esse uideatur* ending, and the greater number (in *Ep.* 73 nearly 25 per cent.) of irregular endings.

² Yet an occasional emendation might result, as in 779. 2, where *quaerente rescripserim*, for which there is some authority, is much more in Cyprian's style than the better attested *quaerenti* of Hartel's text, and in 483. 10, 633. 14, 711. 22, where *perseuerent*, *multa diuersitas*, *dilectio* should be read.

⁴ 5. 21, 251. 4, 260. 13, 422. 10, 435. 14, 475. 21, 569. 19, 576. 8, 629. 10, 764. 16, 765. 9, and perhaps a few more times.

The solitary instance of *fateri* for *confiteri* is due to rhythm, *ut... Christum victrix lingua fateatur* 665. 1¹. All these Cyprianic terminations are usual enough in classical writers, and are among those approved by Quintilian, 9. 4. 93 ff.²

§ 14. Rhyme, though only of a few types, is common in Cyprian. Within the same clause such rhymes as 405. 12 *cum sudore et labore*, 593. 7 *amore et ardore*, 793. 4 *pudorem eius et honorem*, 602. 13 *novitate uel prauitate*, 229. 26 *sanctitas et dignitas*, 320. 11 *diuitias et delicias*, 693. 7 *malitia et saeuitia*³, 314. 2 *gloriam et victoriam*, 742. 4 *nec annis nec minis*, 248. 16 *contumacibus et peruicacibus*, 748. 4 *execrabiles et detestabiles*, 765. 7 *laudabiles ac probabiles*, 420. 11 *exerte adque aperte*, are frequent⁴; cf. 6. 14 *quamuis non iactatum possit esse sed gratum*, 255. 22 *tanta est potestas Domini, tanta maiestas*, 267. 3 *fundamenta aedificandae spei, firmamenta conrobolandae fidei*, a good example of *pariosis*, 390. 22, and many more. It is also combined with other figures; 239. 22 *integritas propria et sanitas priuata*, 664. 3 *integros honor, lapsos dolor ad praemium prouocet*. Longer examples often occur, as 204. 17 *hanc imaginem uirginitas portat, portat integritas, sanctitas portat et ueritas, portant sq.*; in 305. 6 and 749. 9 are three nouns of the same form; cf. 424. 8, 694. 4.

Rhymes at the end of parallel clauses are also common;

¹ *Compago* 231. 10, 642. 24, *compages* 5. 8, 197. 20, 226. 14, 304. 23, 491. 16, 712. 6, *adfectus, adfectio*; *consensus, consensio*, and other alternatives may be accounted for in the same way.

² In *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1893, is an important paper by W. Meyer on rhythm in later Latin. He only makes one incidental mention of Quintilian, appearing to hold that a complete revolution took place in the second century, and that earlier writers need not be taken into account. His examples of quantitative rhythm are taken from Cyprian. The analysis is admirable, but too elaborate and even artificial, making no allowance for exceptions. His theory of the pervading cretic serves well for the grouping of instances; but Cyprian's final cretic is usually a dactyl, and he loves to end with a molossus.

³ Cf. *malitia et nequitia* 1 Cor. 5. 8 in Cyprian's Bible (125. 16) as well as in the Vulgate.

⁴ Similarly in 794. 4 I would read *non putant se alternis immo aeternis peccatis communicare*. The *alienis* of the MSS. is pointless, and *immo* points to a play on words, as in 279. 7.

261. 17 *iniuste sibi placentes et transpunctae mentis alienatione dementes*, 382. 22 *cogitatio . . . meditatio*, 357. 25 *peccatur . . . placeatur*, 370. 18, 390. 26, 432. 14, &c. ; cf. 277. 25 *iniuriam facere non nosse et factam posse tolerare*, where *posse* is displaced from the end to get the *esse uideatur* rhythm. In 725. 6 ff. there are three rhymes in one period, *elaborate . . . reuocate . . . consentiant . . . faciant . . . tenorem . . . uigorem*, each ending its clause; and the same number in 706. 13; in 731. 19 there are alternating rhymes, *proscripti sunt . . . fuerunt . . . profecti sunt . . . sumpserunt*.

A word at or near the beginning of a sentence rhyming with another at the end is also frequent; 262. 26 *post indumentum Christi perditum nullum iam uelle uestimentum*, 405. 18 *sulatur enim quamdiu istic uiuitur et laboratur*, 681. 1 *compelluntur . . . prosecuntur*, 357. 19, 547. 7, 576. 19, 683. 2, &c.

That the number of rhymes of these different kinds is no accident may be seen from the cases in which Cyprian has forced his language into rhyme; 598. 2 *aduentantibus et rei ueritatem reportantibus*, where *aduentare*, a verb most rarely used by Cyprian, is manifestly less appropriate than *aduenire*; 629. 22 *factus est autem Cornelius episcopus de Dei . . . iudicio, de clericorum . . . testimonio, de plebis . . . suffragio, de sacerdotum . . . collegio*, where the last word, which is quite inappropriate, is used for the natural *consensu* (672. 7 and elsewhere) because of its ending, as is *praesentia* for *adsensus* in the similar passage 523. 5; 602. 18 *et laboramus et laborare debemus ut unitatem . . . obtinere curemus* for *obtaineamus*; 398. 25 *inde patientia incipit, inde claritas eius et dignitas caput sumit. origo et magnitudo patientiae Deo auctore procedit*, where *et magnitudo* seems inserted because *claritas* in the preceding clause is provided with a rhyme; 731. 17 *Cyprianum . . . sacerdotem Dei agnoscentes et contestantes ei*, where *ei*, a word almost unused by Cyprian, and certainly never placed in an emphatic position elsewhere, is obviously set at the end of the period for rhyme with *Dei*; 394. 28 *in pace uincentibus coronam candidam pro operibus dabit*,

*in persecutione purpuream pro passione geminabit*¹, where nothing but the rhyme could have induced him to reject the natural *addet*; 231. 11 *quicquid a matrice discesserit seorsum uiuere et spirare non poterit, substantiam salutis amittit*, where only the rhyme can account for the change of tense; even stronger is 727. 21 *qui iudicio ac testimonio Dei non probantur tantum sed etiam gloriantur*. The sense required is that they receive not mere approval but actual praise. It would be against Cyprian's rules of rhythm to end a period with the hexametrical *glorificantur*; he therefore spoils his sense with *gloriantur*, unless indeed we suppose a verb *gloriare*=*glorificare*, very rare elsewhere²; so also 675. 5 *item Paulus monet nos cum mali de ecclesia pereunt non moueri nec recedentibus perfidis fidem minui*, where the violent change of construction can have no other purpose than rhyme; cf. *erunt . . . accipiunt* 252. 14.

Certain imperfect rhymes, which Cyprian appears to have intended for such, may here be mentioned; 302. 28 *cladem, laudem*, 370. 25 *laetus, gratus*, 393. 28 *unus est, communis est*, 471. 10 *locutus est, tuitus est*, 250. 21 *concessum, promissum*, 582. 18 *contabuit, pauit*; cf. *gemino sumus dolore percussi et duplici maerore confusi* in the Roman *Ep.* 36 (572. 12).

It remains to mention that Cyprian carefully avoids parechesis, except in such cases as *bonorum morum*, where it cannot be avoided. There are a few exceptions, as 593. 23 *adulterinis doctrinis*, but very few. One reason for Cyprian's use of *deifica disciplina* may be that *diuina disciplina* breaks this rule; see ch. ii. § 1.

The numerous instances of parallel clauses ending with *est, sunt, &c.* are no doubt arranged for purposes of rhyme, e.g. 189. 11 *nunc nobis ad uirgines sermo est, quarum quo sublimior gloria est maior et cura est*, 383. 15 *pecuniae tuae captiuus et seruus es, catenis cupiditatis et uinculis alligatus es, et quem soluerat Christus denuo uinctus es*, 642. 6 *quisquis ille est et qualiscumque*

¹ The difference in quantity does not deter Cyprian from this rhyme; *abit . . . inrogabit* occurs 368. 11. *Robore et uigore* is a favourite expression.

² Yet cf. *gloriantes*=*βοῦλάσσωτες* in *Ecclus.* 43. 30.

est, christianus non est qui in Christi ecclesia non est. The number of such terminations is striking; cf. 9. 3 *ut quis possit occidere peritia est, usus est, ars est*, 630. 7 *profanus est, alienus est, foris est.*

§ 15. Alliteration is at least as common as rhyme. The constant use of prepositional prefixes, evidently as much for this purpose as for amplification, is one of the most obvious features of Cyprian's style; e.g. 673. 12 *adplicito et adiuncto*, 802. 8 *addidit et adiecit*, 357. 17 *coartata et conclusa*, 711. 6 *conflueret et conueniret*, 217. 14 *designat et denuntiat*, 353. 5 *decrescit ac deficit*, 639. 5 *disponit et dirigit*, 675. 20 *enititur et elaboramus*, 768. 22 *exorbitans et . . . exerrans*, 357. 14 *increpat et incusat*, 233. 7 *inpeditos et implicitos*, 351. 2 *oblatrantem et . . . obstrepentem*, 632. 18 *offocari . . . et opprimi*, 330. 17 *perseuerandi et permanendi*, 334. 15 *praemonet et praenuntiat*, 772. 9 *praeponere et praeferre*, 213. 9 *renitur et resistit*, 770. 16 *repudiare et reicere*, 687. 4 *suggerit et subministrat*. *Perdere* and *perire* are often combined, 410. 26, 421. 8, &c. Instances in which the alliterative verbs are in parallel clauses, or one of them a participle or replaced by a verbal noun, are also numerous, e.g. 355. 26 *corrumpat . . . consumat*, 368. 6 *adueniens hoc admonet*, 584. 12 *congressioni et paci congruentes*; cf. 356. 6 *ecce uerbera desuper et flagella non desunt*. In these cases the alliterative words are rarely synonyms, but such juxtaposition is far too common to be an accident.

Ordinary alliteration is also very common, especially in the more rhetorical parts of Cyprian's writings; 4. 3 *uoluptaria uisio*, 7. 14 *uenenorum uirus*, 231. 6 *ueri itineris uia (uia ueritatis, &c., 211. 4, 431. 11, 768. 23, 833. 5, and elsewhere)*, 217. 23 *oris osculum*, 195. 1 *gratia gloriae*, 238. 6 *capita captiua*, 430. 5 *suboles subseciua*; so also with words connected by conjunctions; 221. 1 *mandauit et monuit*, 373. 2 *multa et magna*, 404. 15 *magna et mira*, 674. 9 *magnalia et mirabilia*, 218. 16 *permittit et patitur*, 393. 13 and 699. 30 *libenter ac largiter*, 229. 25 *firmitas et fides*, 278. 2 *fortiter ac fidenter*, 731. 10 *propria et priuata*, 479. 6 *sollertia et sollicitudo*, 485. 8

credere et crescere, and many more. There are many alliterations also in words balancing one another in the same or different clauses; 3. 12 *dant secessum uicina secreta*, 368. 16 *uiuacibus flammis uorax poena*, 194. 28 *quibus multa magnalia cum miraculo faceret*, 238. 12 *quae cum saeculo sexum quoque uicerunt*, 423. 16 *non hominis sed honoris inimicus*, 577. 22 *hospitium carceris horreum computatis*, 398. 19 *non uestitu sapientiam sed ueritate praeferimus*¹; cf. *frugibus . . . fragrantia* 352. 28, *uindicta . . . uenia* 408. 23. In some cases it is plain that Cyprian has used forced language for purposes of alliteration, as in 582. 7 *nec fas fuerat nec decebat*, where the natural *erat* would not have given the effect, and in 676. 11 *qui non tantum ab his istic abstentus sed et abs te illic . . . pulsus est*². So also 279. 7 *cottidianis immo continuis orationibus*, 374. 5 *sanguine et sanctificatione Christi*. *Cui uita iam deerat uictus abundantiam cogitabat* 282. 7 is an exact parallel to Apuleius, *Flor.* 16. 68 *dolor intestinorum . . . compelleret ante letum abire quam lectum*; yet *uita uictusque* is Ciceronian.

Prolonged alliteration is very common, e.g. 8. 23 *paratur gladiatorius ludus, ut libidinem crudelium luminum sanguis oblectet*, 202. 25 *magna uos merces habet, praemium grande uirtutis, munus maximum castitatis*, 227. 20, 341. 12, 383. 23, 388. 11, 468. 18, &c. Often the alliteration is wholly or in part prepositional; 219. 16 *hos eosdem denuo Dominus denotat et designat dicens me dereliquerunt* sq., 363. 19 *quae de Dei indignatione descendunt*, 497. 12 *in petendo autem fuisse dissonas uoces et dispares uoluntates et uehementer hoc displicuisse illi qui diixerat, petite et inpetratis, quod plebis inaequalitas discreparet* sq., where besides the *dis* alliteration there is another with *u*, 230. 8 ff., &c. In 475. 4 f. a fivefold alliteration with *con-*

¹ This is borrowed from Min. Fel. 38. 6 (54. 20 Haln) *nos qui non habitu sapientiam sed mente praeferimus*, and is evidence, as far as it goes, of the precedence of Minucius. No one, in the third or fourth century, would have altered the alliterative *non uestitu sed ueritate* into the simple equivalent.

² The only other instance of *abs* in Cyprian is, I think, 253. 24 *abs te*. For language forced for alliteration cf. 561. 2 (Roman) *si nondum nostrum sanguinem fudimus sed fudisse parati sumus*. The aorist infinitive is simply alliterative.

occurs, ending with the very inappropriate verb *confitetur*; cf. 599. 8, where *confitetur* is chosen because of the preceding *consuluisse*.

Other alliterations are elaborately chiasitic; 214. 13 *profluentes largiter riuos latius pandit*, and 732. 8 *Puppianus solus integer inuiolatus sanctus pudicus*, with their arrangements of p. l. r. l. p. and p. s. in. in. s. p., are perfectly symmetrical. Or the alliterative words may begin and end clauses, as 243. 13 *nec . . . ad profana contagia sponte properauimus; perdidit nos aliena perfidia; parentes sensimus parricidas*, where an alliteration begins and ends three successive clauses. But such examples are naturally more frequent with kindred words.

§ 16. Parataxis is exceedingly common in Cyprian, and is indeed more characteristic of him than any other rhetorical figure. The simplest form, as 13. 17 *saltibus saltus*, 421. 2 *frater fratris*, 251. 4, 340. 27, 422. 8, &c. is comparatively rare; cf. 254. 21 *ab immundo spiritu immunda correpta*, 658. 1 *iusto iustorum praecedentium exemplo*, 357. 19 *indignamini indignari Deum*, &c. Cognate words in close connexion are more common; 199. 22 *quando oculi tibi non sunt quos Deus fecit sed quos diabolus infecit*, 689. 2 *iacens et abiectus*, 690. 11 *nec capi nec decipi*, 657. 14 *uiuít et uiuificat*, 785. 22 (with alliteration) *Paradisi potus salubres et salutare*, 710. 12 *a sapore saeculari resipiscere*, 769. 7 *ut intus per sanctos sanctificetur*, 11. 8, 200. 24, &c. So also when the words are in different, and especially in antithetical, clauses; 362. 23 *cum statu oris et corporis animum tuum statue*, 694. 3 *magis durus saecularis philosophiae prauitate quam sophiae dominicae lenitate pacificus*, where the verbal opportunity has caused Cyprian to overcome his dislike of Greek words, 496. 5 *sibi placentes et omnibus displicentes*, 662. 20 *uenit Antichristus sed superuenit Christus*, 259. 17 *auro te licet . . . condecoras sine Christi decore deformis es*, 356. 23 *et non agnoscis Dominum Deum tuum cum sic exerceas ipse dominatum?*, 581. 2 *illic fuisse conspicuum gentilium multitudini, hic a fratribus conspici* (so also 357. 26), 428. 18, a double example, *si accepto Spiritu sancto sancte et*

spiritaliter uiuimus, cf. 471. 12. Another chiasmic instance is 420. 17 *tam paratus semper ad repugnandum quam est ad inpu gnandum paratus inimicus*. But Cyprian's favourite instances are *fides* and *sacerdos* with their cognates contrasted with *perfidia*, *sacrilegium*, &c.; 229. 19 *si . . . fidem primam perfidia posteriore mutauerit*, 769. 12 *dum sacerdotem quaerit in sacrilegum fraude erroris incurrit*, 723. 15 *qui idolis sacrificando sacrilega sacrificia fecerunt sacerdotium Dei sibi uindicare non possunt*, 382. 23, 675. 5, 777. 20, 253. 22, 471. 6, 687. 21, 737. 22, &c.; cf. 226. 5, 431. 1.

But the chief use of this figure in Cyprian is for continuance of thought, not for antithesis. Such language as 277. 20 *qui in aeternum manere uolumus Dei qui aeternus est uoluntatem facere debemus*, 233. 11 *ut . . . euigilet fides nostra uigilantiae praemium de Domino receptura*, cf. the whole passage, 646. 18 *operari tu putas rusticum posse si dixeris 'agrum peritia omni rusticitatis exerce'* sq., where a very rare word has been chosen to keep up the connexion of language, 307. 29, 427. 19, 492. 2, &c. is common. Prolonged parataxis, often combined with anaphora or alliteration, is a marked characteristic of Cyprian's style; 500. 9 *ad . . . dignatione eius indignum . . . mandare dignatus est*, 468. 18 *ceterum quantum uult inde quaerat, qualis quaestus est* sq., 313. 18 *patriam nos nostram paradisum computamus, parentes patriarchas habere iam coepimus; quid non properamus et currimus ut patriam nostram uidere et parentes salutare possimus*, 470. 14 *qui . . . per omnes contumelias et poenas superbum populum calcaret et premeret ut contemptus sacerdos de superbo populo ultione diuina uindicaretur*. In the third of these examples the chiasmic *patr. par. par. patr.* is to be noticed; in the fourth the recurrence of *c. et p.* in the first, and the repeated words in the middle of both clauses. A more complicated example is 310. 22 *quod interim morimur, ad immortalitatem morte transgredimur, nec potest uita aeterna succedere nisi hinc contigerit exire. non est exitus iste sed transitus et temporali itinere decurso ad aeterna transgressus*. Here, beside the repetition of *aeterna*,

three verbs with their cognates and two prefixes are pressed into the service. Another elaborate instance is 409. 16 ff. *nam cum in illa prima transgressione praecepti firmitas corporis cum immortalitate discesserit et cum morte infirmitas uenerit, nec possit firmitas recipi nisi cum recepta et immortalitas fuerit, oportet in hac fragilitate adque infirmitate corporea luctari semper et congredi, quae luctatio et congressio* sq. The stiff monotony of these two passages is not due to carelessness; they are from the most rhetorical of Cyprian's later writings, the *De Bono Patientiae*, and the words were no doubt deliberately chosen and arranged. Similar passages are excessively numerous throughout Cyprian's writings; among the best are those which begin 261. 17, 361. 9, 393. 9, 501. 5, 647. 4, 693. 4. In some instances the language is forced for the sake of symmetry; e.g. 381. 18, where at the end of a long parataxis we read *et dum times ne pro te patrimonium perdas, ipse pro patrimonio pereas*, 493. 16 *hunc igitur agonem per prophetas ante praedictum, per Dominum commissum, per apostolos gestum* sq.; 576. 9 *per tales talia perferuntur*. In all these and in many more cases prepositions are used unnaturally for this rhetorical purpose. No stronger instance of Cyprian's attachment to this figure can be found than his consenting to use the unliterary word *deificus* (see ch. ii. § 1) in parataxis with *Deus*; 618. 22 *nec remanere in ecclesia Dei possunt qui deificam et ecclesiasticam disciplinam* sq., and elsewhere. He avoids it in every other context. It remains to mention such prolonged instances as 582. 19 *iacuit inter poenas poenis suis fortior, inclusus includentibus maior, iacens stantibus celsior, uincientibus firmior uinctus, sublimior iudicantibus iudicatus*, and 695. 18 *ut pascendo gregi pastor et gubernandae nauis gubernator et plebi regendae rector redderetur* sq. These also are not uncommon in Cyprian.

§ 17. No figure is more common than anaphora in Cyprian; it is constantly used both in prolonging a period and in beginning successive sentences; 319. 5 *insinuantes et docentes hoc esse baptismum in gratia maius, in potestate sublimius, in honore pretiosius, baptismum in quo angeli baptizant, baptismum in*

quo Deus et Christus eius exultant, baptisma post quod nemo iam peccat, baptisma quod fidei nostrae incrementa consummat, baptisma quod nos de mundo recedentes statim Deo copulat. in aquae baptismo sq. Not only is *baptisma* carried through the sentence, but Cyprian also, for the sake of symmetry, here uses the vulgar *in* instrumental—*baptisma in quo angeli baptizant*—which is very rare in his writings. This may be compared with his use of *deificus*, mentioned above. Other good instances are 368. 9 ff. *credite illi qui omnino non fallit. credite illi qui haec omnia futura praedixit. credite illi qui credentibus praemium uitae aeternae dabit. credite illi qui incredulis aeterna supplicia gehennae ardoribus inrogabit*, and 731. 6 ff. *dixisti sane scrupulum tibi esse tollendum de animo, in quem incidisti. incidisti, sed tua credulitate inreligiosa. incidisti, sed tua mente et uoluntate sacrilega, dum incesta, dum impia, dum nefanda contra fratrem, contra sacerdotem facile audis libenter et credis.* In *De Hab. Virg.* §§ 8–11 begin with *locupletem te dicis et diuitem*; in *Mort.* 14 (306. 2 ff.) five short sentences begin with *mori timeat*; in *Ep.* 74. § 8 (805. 16 ff.) are five questions beginning *dat honorem Deo qui*, followed by *si sic honor Deo datur*; in *Ep.* 55. 20 (638. 16 ff.) an eightfold example. Other instances, more or less elaborate and regular, are countless; 359. 18, 672. 5, 595. 9, 829. 18, &c.¹ In some cases the aim is obviously alliteration, as in 202. 7 *uince uestem quae uirgo es, uince aurum.*

The examples of the same word repeated at the beginning and end of a clause are few; 479. 20 *salutat uos diaconus et qui mecum sunt salutant*, 596. 7 *pacem pollicetur ne perueniri possit ad pacem. salutem promittit ne qui deliquit ueniat ad salutem*, and probably others; cf. 365. 12 *Dei hominem et cultorem Dei*, 414. 19, &c. This is more common with cognate words, as 686. 18 *delictis plus quam quod oportet remittendis paene ipse delinquo*, and with rhyming words².

¹ Cf. Seneca, *N. Q.* 3 prolog. *quid est praecipuum?* six times repeated.

² For this figure cf. Volkmann's *Rhetorik der Gr. u. Römer* 471, and Apuleius, *Met.* 4. 32, 11. 5 (76. 13, 208. 7 Eyss.), though neither is an exact parallel.

§ 18. Asyndeton, not to any noteworthy extent of words, but of clauses, is very characteristic of the style of Cyprian. Especially it is his custom to end long periods with a string of asyndeta; e.g. 5. 18 *tenacibus semper inlecebris necesse est, ut solebat, uinolentia inuitet, inflet superbia, iracundia inflammet, rapacitas inquietet, crudelitas stimulet, ambitio delectet, libido praecipitet*. In this instance Cyprian was no doubt as much interested in the rhyme as in the asyndeton; but he was so well satisfied with the latter that he has repeated the combination in no less than four other treatises, though less completely and with much variation: 225. 9, 299. 17, 423. 6; cf. 357. 27, which, however, is not asyndetic. Other good examples are 411. 26, 596. 4, 617. 18, 655. 18, 806. 1.

A period formed of two asyndetic clauses of some length, often antithetical, is common, as also an unconnected clause at the end of a period; cf. 412. 7 *docet delinquentibus cito ignoscere, si ipse delinquas diu et multum rogare*, 231. 10, 425. 19, 746. 7, 765. 11, 793. 10. Long asyndetic passages, with anaphora and alliteration, are frequent; *Mort.* § 26 and *Z. L.* §§ 7, 8 are good examples.

Though Cyprian's use of copulative conjunctions is variable and eccentric¹, he does not seem to have used polysyndeton as a rhetorical figure.

§ 19. Amplification by means of synonymous nouns coordinated is common in Cyprian. The simplest form, of two substantives without epithet, is not the most usual. *Preces et orationes*, words without any distinction of meaning in this writer, occurs at least eight times (see p. 269 for this and other pleonasms concerning prayer); *scopulos et saxa* 474. 5², *conflictationes et pressurae* 404. 29, *apostatae et desertores uel aduersarii et hostes* 647. 16, *uictimae et hostiae* 195. 21, 652. 24,

¹ Cf. the passages beginning 412. 17, 527. 22, 587. 14, 668. 2.

² This is a favourite pleonasm of Seneca, *Ben.* 4. 22. 3, *Dial.* 2. 1. 2 *saxa et rupes*, *N. Q.* 2. 6. 5 *scopulos rupesque*, *N. Q.* 3. 12. 2 *saxa cautesque*, *N. Q.* 4. 2. 5 *scopuli cautium*. Apuleius, *Met.* 5. 27 (94. 26 Eys.) *saxa cautium*, *Met.* 6. 31 (116. 27) *saxum scruposum*. Lucan, 2. 619 *scopulosae rupes*, 5. 675 *scruposis saxis*, Ambr. *Ep.* 6. 13 *scruposa rupes*. Cyprian has *scopulosa saxa* 301. 23.

mora et tarditas 497. 4; cf. 240. 5, 694. 22, and many more. *Adversarius et Inimicus, episcopi et sacerdotes*, and others, which are practically fixed theological terms, will be found in the next chapter. It may be noted that in 383. 9 ff. there are to be found within eight lines *ineptis et stultis, metu et sollicitudine, secreta et abdita, alta et profunda, captivus et servus, catenis et vinculis*; cf. also 309. 24 ff.

It is not very often that one of these coordinated substantives defines the other, as in 310. 18 *verbis et promissis*, 525. 11 *obsequiis et operibus*, 597. 12 *ex eorum sermone adque adseueratione*, 600. 2 *sinum adque complexum*; cf. the context. A singular abstract with a plural concrete is more usual; *ui et lapidibus* 408. 22, *in latebris adque in solitudine, . . . in febris et in languore* 654. 2 f.; so 659. 23, 666. 1, 679. 4, 688. 11, &c.

Adjectives are often similarly joined; 363. 18 *clarum adque manifestum*, 257. 12 *abdita et secreta*, 618. 14 *similia et paria*, 268. 26, 780. 9, &c. This is more usual than two identical adjectives attached to a substantive; *parua et modica delicta* 682. 3, and again 786. 21, *sub regali ac tyrannica servitute* 337. 21, *eiusmodi et tales serui* 567. 21; cf. Novatian in *Ep.* 30 (555. 23) *episcopi vicini et adpropinquantes*.

It is more usual for Cyprian to double both epithet and substantive; *fama mendax et falsus rumor* 601. 7, *dissimulatio nulla, nulla cunctatio* 358. 23; for this use of *dissimulatio* see p. 301, *pares ambo et uterque consimiles* 584. 8, *proxima mors et vicina arcessitio* 298. 25, *mandata divina ac praecepta caelestia* 338. 12, 378. 21, and often; cf. 356. 18, 419. 11, 422. 25, 580. 20, 798. 14, &c.

Double adverbs are also common; 290. 8 *sollicite et caute*, 649. 12 *incaute et temere*, 309. 24 *merito ac iure*, 648. 1 *uberius ac plenius*, &c.; cf. 675. 12 *ultro et crimine suo perire*. But as a rule they are employed for alliteration rather than simply to fill out the sentence.

When synonymous and even not synonymous nouns are preceded by a preposition, this preposition is often repeated for the sake of symmetry; 505. 23 *in arto et in angusto*

itinere, 593. 4 *a uultibus adque ab oculis uestris*, *ib.* 11 *per minas et per insidias perfidorum*, 731. 20 *in carcere et in catenis*. In the two last alliteration is partly the motive. Other instances of such repeated prepositions are 404. 12, 421. 4, 606. 10, 641. 22, 654. 2, 3, 6.

When synonymous verbs and participles are coordinated, it is more usually with a view to alliteration than to simple amplification. For such forms as *addimus et adiungimus*, *recreati et renati*, &c. see § 15. Cyprian's otiose manner of citing Scripture is mentioned in the next chapter, § 6. In addition to the examples cited there, good instances will be found in *Ep.* 74. §§ 3, 11 and *Laps.* 15. Beside such cases there are many others, e.g. *uereris et metuis* 380. 8, *festinat et properat* 414. 27, *adgnoscant adque intellegant* 599. 4, *quam* (sc. *persecutionem*) *iste uoto quodam euadendae et lucrandae*¹ *damnationis excipiens haec omnia commisit et miscuit, ut qui eici de ecclesia et excludi habebat* sq. 619. 12, *Goliath interfecto et ope ac dignatione diuina tanto hoste deleto* 422. 12.

There are some instances of double synonymous phrases; 196. 12 *fugiant castae uirgines et pudicae incestarum cultus, habitus inpudicorum, lupanarum*² *insignia, ornamenta meretricum*; cf. 363. 11 *ruinis rerum, iacturis opum, dispendio militum, deminutione castrorum*³.

Though Cyprian's usual amplification may be expressed by the formula AB + AB, in some cases he varies it by doubling the qualifying synonym in the second half, thus using the form AB + AAB; e.g. 388. 21 *bis delinquis et geminum ac duplex crimen admittis*, 601. 1 *neque enim facile promenda sunt et incaute ac temere publicanda quae* sq.⁴; cf. 365. 18 *exul-*

¹ For *lucrari* = *effugere* see p. 308.

² Cf. 699. 25 *lenonum et lupanarum insignia*; see Haussleiter in Wölfflin's *Archiv*, 8. 145, Wölfflin, *ib.* p. 8, on *Spect.* 5 (App. 8. 5), and Georges' *Lexicon*, s. v. In all these cases *lupana* = *meretrix*.

³ I. e. *exercituum*, as in 693. 11 and elsewhere in Cyprian.

⁴ There are other instances to which the references are unfortunately lost; quite sufficient in all to prove that this form is no accident, but a deliberate rhetorical device. I have not noticed it in Apuleius.

tant semper in Domino et laetantur et gaudent in Deo suo, 669. 9, &c.

Clauses identical in meaning are not uncommon; e.g. 249. 17 *nemo se fallat, nemo decipiat*, 195. 7 *diuitem te sentiant pauperes, locupletem te sentiant indigentes*, 581. 7 *quoniam semper gaudium properat nec potest moras ferre laetitia*, 426. 2 ff., a triple instance, 247. 2, 363. 12, &c. So Novatian in *Ep.* 30 (553. 20) *non sit minor medicina quam uulnus est, non sint minora remedia quam funera*¹, and probably the same writer in *Ep.* 36 (572. 12).

It was naturally more difficult to find three synonyms than to find two, and therefore cases are less common in Cyprian, though by no means rare; e.g. 198. 7 *opus Dei et factura eius et plastica*, 305. 6 *infirmitas et inbecillitas et uastitas*, 284. 22 *pacificos et concordēs adque unanimes*, 400. 11 *quisque lenis patiens et mitis est*, 720. 15 *adultos et prouectos et maiores natu*, 310. 1 *si simulata, si ficta, si fucata uidentur esse quae dicimus*, ib. 4 *inprobat denique apostolus Paulus et obiurgat et culpat*, 377. 16 *reuelat angelus et manifestat et firmat*, 618. 3 *hostis quietis, tranquillitatis aduersarius, pacis inimicus*, 318. 3 *circumnuenit nescium, fallit incautum, decipit inperitum*; this last is preceded by three *si* clauses.

The subordination of synonymous substantives is also very common; 217. 23, 220. 17 *concordia pacis*, 285. 11 *concordiae pax*, 222. 1 *zeli discordia*, 198. 20, 226. 11 *temeritatis audacia*, 284. 14 *uigor censurae*, 744. 16 *censura uigoris*, 301. 8 *morbi ualetudo*, 5. 10, 15. 26 *senium uetustatis*, 618. 23 *actus conuersatio*, 200. 13 *sermonum conloquia* (cf. *sermo conloquii* in *Ep.* 75, 826. 8), 721. 17 *lapsus ruinae*, 201. 10 *amictus uestis*, 7. 14, 806. 11 *uenenorum uirus*, 502. 17, 503. 20, 632. 19 *exitus mortis*, 490. 11 *certaminis proelium*, 202. 11, 214. 12, 228. 19, 231. 6, 318. 15, 500. 15, 617. 1, 775. 10, &c. So

¹ Novatian had certainly learned rhetoric in the same school with Cyprian and Apuleius. His attempts at effect in language are the same as theirs. His characteristic difference from both is the parade of logical method, in syllogism, &c. The three writers are of course widely different in vocabulary.

with gerunds; 194. 11 *concupiscendi libido*, 602. 14 *ambigendi scrupulus*, 479. 11 *introeundi aditus*. Instances where the dependent substantive is of narrower application than the other are frequent, e.g. *hospitium carceris* 494. 2, 577. 22, *carcerum claustra* 828. 8, *custodia carceris* 582. 15, *obsequium operationis* 503. 18 (cf. 525. 11), *subsidium cibi* 283. 10, *quantitas numeri* 338. 7, *uoluntatis imperium* 308. 16, *conuiciorum probra*, *contumeliarum ludibria* 402. 9, 10. Two synonymous nouns combined with a synonymous genitive occur 373. 18 *fragilitatis humanae infirmitas atque inbecillitas*.

A synonymous substantive and adjective also stand often together; 15. 5 *immortalitas aeterna*, 301. 23 *scopulosa saxa*, 355. 26 *morbida ualetudo*, 421. 11 *maliuolus liuor*, 422. 11 *mitis lenitas*, 578. 13 *multiplex numerositas*, 583. 14 *generosa nobilitas*, 644. 11 *caenosa uorago* (cf. in *Ep.* 75 *uorago et caenum* 824. 21), 702. 1 *ultronea uoluntate* = *ultra*, 783. 6 *adumbrata simulatio*, 364. 20 *aeuum temporale*, 35. 10, 224. 2 *conpendium breuians*, 7. 17 *increpantes minae*, 287. 6 *collecta breuitas*; cf. 272. 8¹. I have only noticed one instance of a double synonymous adjective with a synonymous substantive, 313. 4 *turbida et procellosa tempestas* (cf. 501. 21, 618. 2).

Examples of a synonym or synonyms under a government different from that of the adjective are also frequent, e.g. 189. 21 *cauti ad sollicitudinem*, 214. 6 *exundantis copiae largitas*, 230. 20 *aliqua fallentis astutiae calliditate decepti*, 250. 3 *praepropera festinatione temerarius* (and similarly 528. 9), 424. 25 *remedium curae medentis*, 578. 11 *inmota et inconcussa fide stabiles*, 624. 22 *aestuantis animi sollicitudo suspensa*, 689. 3 *inbecillitate humanae mediocritatis inualidus*, 617. 20 *auaritia inexplebilis rapacitate furibundus*, *adrogantia et stupore superbi tumoris inflatus*, 192. 12, 357. 28, 422. 11, 478. 12, 807. 17, &c.

Otiose pronouns are not uncommon. It is, of course, possible that many of these are not inserted for purposes of rhetoric, but simply through carelessness. Yet the large number of similar cases in Apuleius and Arnobius makes it

¹ Similarly in 501. 17 *exiguam stantium paucitatem* should probably be read.

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with gerunds; 194. 11 *concupiscendi libido*, 602. 14 *ambigendi scrupulus*, 479. 11 *introeundi aditus*. Instances where the dependent substantive is of narrower application than the other are frequent, e.g. *hospitium carceris* 494. 2, 577. 22, *carcerum claustra* 828. 8, *custodia carceris* 582. 15, *obsequium operationis* 503. 18 (cf. 525. 11), *subsidium cibi* 283. 10, *quantitas numeri* 338. 7, *uoluntatis imperium* 308. 16, *conuiciorum probra*, *contumeliarum ludibria* 402. 9, 10. Two synonymous nouns combined with a synonymous genitive occur 373. 18 *fragilitatis humanae infirmitas atque inbecillitas*.

A synonymous substantive and adjective also stand often together; 15. 5 *immortalitas aeterna*, 301. 23 *scopulosa saxa*, 355. 26 *morbida ualetudo*, 421. 11 *maluolus liuor*, 422. 11 *mitis lenitas*, 578. 13 *multiplex numerositas*, 583. 14 *generosa nobilitas*, 644. 11 *caenosa uorago* (cf. in *Ep.* 75 *uorago et caenum* 824. 21), 702. 1 *ultronea uoluntate* = *ultra*, 783. 6 *adumbrata simulatio*, 364. 20 *aeuum temporale*, 35. 10, 224. 2 *conpendium breuians*, 7. 17 *increpantes minae*, 287. 6 *collecta breuitas*; cf. 272. 8¹. I have only noticed one instance of a double synonymous adjective with a synonymous substantive, 313. 4 *turbida et procellosa tempestas* (cf. 501. 21, 618. 2).

Examples of a synonym or synonyms under a government different from that of the adjective are also frequent, e.g. 189. 21 *cauti ad sollicitudinem*, 214. 6 *exundantis copiae largitas*, 230. 20 *aliqua fallentis astutiae calliditate decepti*, 250. 3 *praepropera festinatione temerarius* (and similarly 528. 9), 424. 25 *remedium curae medentis*, 578. 11 *inmota et inconcussa fide stabiles*, 624. 22 *aestuantis animi sollicitudo suspensa*, 689. 3 *inbecillitate humanae mediocritatis inualidus*, 617. 20 *auaritiae inexplebilis rapacitate furibundus*, *adrogantia et stupore superbi tumoris inflatus*, 192. 12, 357. 28, 422. 11, 478. 12, 807. 17, &c.

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503. 14, 595. 25, 670. 8, and many more. *Deus et Christus eius*, if the *eius* be superfluous, is mentioned in the next chapter, § 4.

Such uses as 582. 26 *et si aliquis Thomae similis extiterit qui minus auribus credat, nec oculorum fides deest ut quis quod audit et uideat*, and 547. 12 *ne quid conscientiam uestram lateret quid mihi scriptum sit, quidque ego rescripserim* are not uncommon; *quis* is a pronoun which Cyprian used often and sometimes strangely¹: *quid deinde illud, quale est ut* or *quod sq., quid deinde illud, quam sq.*, and similar phrases are used several times in rhetorical questions; 9. 6, 307. 3, 359. 16, 507. 20, 792. 12, and elsewhere.

Otiose pronouns in apposition are rare in Cyprian and not remarkable, e. g. *hic idem* 570. 4, 584. 20, *is ipse* 359. 16, 583. 23, and, as a substitute for *quisquis, talis . . . quisque* 225. 25; cf. *quod totum hoc* in *Ep.* 75 (811. 27)².

A verb synonymous with its subject or a participle with the noun in agreement, occurs several times; 213. 1, 4 *originem ab uno incipientem . . . exordium ab unitate proficiscitur*, 542. 12 *denique huius seditionis origo iam coepit*, 398. 25, &c.; synonymous with an adjective 490. 4 *exulto laetus et gratulor*³, 488. 23 *cum opinio dubia nutaret*, 430. 17 *oratio ingis omnino non cesset*, &c.; with the adjective as object 360. 12 *multiplicas*

¹ But these may be merely careless language, as is that of Caldonius, 537. 13 *ne quid uidear temere aliquid praesumere*.

² To syntax rather than to style belongs the use of *plusquam quod* for *plusquam*, e. g. 687. 15 *aut plus existimemus ad impugnandum posse humana conamina quam quod ad protegendum praeualeat diuina tutela*, cf. 321. 10, 526. 14, 686. 19, and elsewhere; but in 623. 10 the *quod* is omitted. *Illud* or *hoc* introducing an *ut, quod* or acc. inf. clause is frequent, 305. 14, 547. 15, 713. 20, 756. 6, 765. 5, 799. 14. Through the weakening of *ut* as a final particle—its normal use in Cyprian is consecutive or explanatory—*ad hoc* or *propter hoc* are used, the former especially, to give the final sense to *ut* or *ne*. To Hartel's list of the former may be added 14. 8, 15. 8, 102. 23 and very many more; *propter hoc ut* 839. 12, *propter hoc . . . ne* 653. 9, *propter hoc quod* 756. 9. Similarly, to strengthen *quod, hoc ipso, ex hoc ipso*, &c. are often used, e. g. 321. 1, 406. 14, 720. 22, &c., cf. *hoc ipso si* 195. 15, *hoc ipso quo* 387. 14, 512. 4, *hoc ipso quia* 693. 4.

³ *Gratulari = gaudere* is common in Cyprian; cf. 545. 6 *laetatus satis et plurimum gratulatus quod sq.*; see p. 308.

numerosa supplicia. A synonymous adverb and verb are also common: 569. 2 *pertinaciter persistere*, 707. 17 *rursus iterare*, 540. 3 *nec delicto priori adiciant adhuc aliud delictum* (cf. 249. 22, 254. 3, 792. 17), 5. 6 *denuo renasci*, 640. 10 *denuo redire*, 591. 11 *denuo renouare*, 391. 8 *ante praedicere*, which is very common. Indeed verbs formed with *prae* are usually preceded by *ante*, as *ante praeuenire* 347. 14, *ante praemittere* 720. 1, *ante praemonere* 768. 22, *ante praestruere* 209. 11, *ante praemonstrare* 704. 12. Both *denuo* and *ante* occur together in 706. 13 *denuo praecanitur et ante praedicitur*, unless, as is very probable, *item denuo* go together. Instances of a synonymous verb and noun connected by a preposition are not frequent; 15. 26 *non haec unquam procumbet in lapsum senio uetustatis*, 188. 22 *per omnia seruitutis obsequia Redemptoris imperio pareamus*, 431. 13 *ut diuina et spiritalis seges in copiam fecundae messis exuberet*, 785. 17 *arbores frugiferas intra muros suos intus inclusit*, 243. 17, 362. 20, &c. *Nisi cum Trofimo comitante uenissent*, 632. 3, may be classed with these, and 577. 8 *reuertentis anni uolubilem circulum*. A synonymous ablative is more common, usually in elaborate phrases containing other forms of amplification; 424. 5 *quantoque ille cui inuidetur successu meliore profecerit tanto inuidus in maius incendium liuoris ignibus inardescit*, 293. 20 *quando mundi lege decurrens uicibus alternis nox reuoluta succedit*, 643. 23 *quando . . . uasa lignea diuini ardoris incendio concrementur*, 670. 7 *cum tormentis cruciabundus flammae cremantis ardoribus aduratur*, 576. 16 *cum in secessu priuatis precibus oramus*, and similarly 275. 18, 501. 9, 567. 2, &c., 724. 7 *cenis adque epulis etiam nunc inhiant quarum crapulam super superstitem in dies cruditate ructabant*, and many more. Cf. the periphrastic *amor quo diligis* 4. 5, *cari quos diligimus* 300. 25.

Temporal and local adverbs are often combined, others rarely. *Diu multumque differtur* 400. 7, 412. 8, 623. 14, *festinato statim* 676. 3, *seorsum foris* 672. 9; cf. *primo et inter initia* 625. 13. *Iamiamque* seems only to occur once, 833. 7; *tandem iam* 726. 10. *Quando adhuc et*, strictly temporal, is

read, 477. 1¹. An adverb with a synonymous prepositional expression is very common, though the adverbs so employed are few; *hic in ecclesia* 584. 17, *illic in carcere* 576. 10, *illic apud clericos* 479. 3, *illinc a vobis* 618. 4, *inde ad nos* 617. 18, *istic in mundo* 301. 14, *istic apud fratres* 678. 17, *istinc de saeculo* 310. 13, *intus in ecclesia* 647. 16, *foris extra ecclesiam* 214. 25, are instances of the usual types. *Statim* is often similarly used; *in primo statim natiuitatis exordio* 243. 11, *a primo statim persecutionis die* 679. 21, 210. 3, 272. 20, 337. 2, 401. 10, 405. 18, 482. 1, 721. 9, &c.; so also *adhuc* 354. 3, 797. 21. An adverb synonymous with an adjective occurs 272. 8 *breuiter collecta* (cf. *collecta breuitas* 287. 6), 808. 10 *quo minus aqua continua perseueranter ac iugiter flueret*, 519. 15 *quando ipsa ante mater nostra pacem . . . prior sumpserit*; cf. 421. 11 *non prius alterum deiciens . . . quam ipse zelo ante deiectus*, and 695. 6. Two very Apuleian expressions are 541. 3 *libellos gregatim multis dare* and 598. 21, cited above, p. 201. There remain the otiose uses of *magis*² and *adhuc*. *Magis ac magis* is used at least twelve times, 225. 8, &c., *magis* followed by a comparative thrice; 397. 10 *quid magis sit uel utilius ad uitam uel maius ad gloriam quam* sq.³, 420. 19, 583. 17. *Magis* is followed by an otiose *plus* 513. 12. *Adhuc* is used like *magis* to strengthen a comparative; to Hartel's instances add 356. 9, 357. 21, 694. 1; *adhuc magis* together 404. 8, *ultra adhuc* 287. 12 and 667. 2, *adhuc insuper*⁴ 359.

¹ *Et tunc quidem gladio occidebantur, quando adhuc et circumcisio carnalis manebat.* Hartel's statement, s. v. *quando*, that the word is used *perraro* with the indicative is an overstatement. The instances, both temporal and logical, are fairly numerous.

² This adverb, which gives Cyprian great difficulty, has many irregular uses, not given in Hartel's *Index*, which belong rather to syntax than to style. *Magis tam*, of which he gives two instances, also occurs 549. 17, but is confined to the Roman letters.

³ This is not carelessness, but no doubt a superfluous word introduced for parallelism with the *maius* that follows. It is at the opening of *De Bono Pat.*, and Cyprian always bestows his best rhetoric upon the beginning and end of his writings.

⁴ *Adhuc insuper* is confined to a short period of Cyprian's writings. It occurs four times in *Ep.* 59, once in 67, once in 73, twice in *Ad Dem.*, once in

22, 24, 681. 2, &c., *adhuc insuper et* 404. 19, *post ista adhuc insuper* 683. 8, *et post ista adhuc insuper et* 685. 13 (cf. *et post ista adhuc* 403. 1), *immo adhuc insuper* 779. 16. *Adhuc usque* 495. 18, 679. 13 appears to be first used by Tertullian; *quoad usque* 301. 14 had been already used in the O. L. Bible.

Copulative conjunctions are constantly multiplied; *et* . . . *quoque* 598. 5, *nec* . . . *quoque* 427. 22, *etiam* . . . *et* 677. 22, *adhuc quoque* 750. 13, *sed et* constantly (see Hartel's *Index*), *sed nec*, *sed neque* 319. 21, 390. 9, 517. 11, 631. 14, 805. 1, &c., *nec non et* 238. 14, 318. 23, 339. 19, &c., *nec non* . . . *quoque* 409. 14; cf. *nec non etiam* . . . *quoque* of Novatian, 551. 12. *Pariter et* is of constant occurrence, e. g. 600. 11, 21, almost always connecting long words; *simul et* is rare; to Hartel's list should perhaps be added 510. 3; *similiter et* only 399. 8. *Denuo quoque* occurs 190. 8, *item denuo* often, 374. 6, 751. 2, &c. *Porro autem* is common in Cyprian's latest writings, 374. 21, 419. 7, and in the *Epp.* on the Baptismal controversy. The only earlier instance is in *Ep.* 58, 659. 8. *Scilicet certe* is read once, in a badly written passage, 339. 8. The list of otiose conjunctions might be made much longer.

Prepositions are used otiosely with *uicarius* and *solus*; *pro me* . . . *uicarias litteras* 480. 13, and similarly 587. 13, 656. 14, 697. 20, *me solum sine uobis* 593. 6 and so 294. 12; cf. 594. 23 *sibi soli*.

It remains to notice certain cases of *contingere*, *debere*, *esse*, *posse* used simply to expand the sentence; 432. 12 *peruenire* . . . *ut eum uidere contingat* = *uideamus*, 547. 5 *quorum tempora inlustravit tanta felicitas ut aetate nostra uidere contingeret probatos seruos Dei* sq., 509. 13 *quamquam causa compelleret ut ipse ad uos properare et uenire deberem*, and similarly 827. 21¹;

B. Pat.; once also in *Ep.* 75 (826. 8). The combination is not noticed by Georges under either word.

¹ Yet this *debere* may be purely auxiliary; cf. Cod. Lugd. *Gen.* 29. 21 *ut introire deberem* = *ἵνα εἰσέλθω*, cited by Thielmann in Wölfflin's *Archiv*, 2. 65, and 487. 6 in the Roman *Ep.* 8. *Coeepisse* and *incipere* are certainly used by Cyprian as strict auxiliaries.

510. 22 *si qui sunt qui . . . indigeant*, 502. 11 *utinam loci conditio permetteret ut ipse nunc praesens esse possem*, 404. 17, 505. 12, &c.; cf. 602. 18, cited on p. 222. *Videri*, again, is used superfluously in a number of passages where there is certainly no idea of seeming, as 309. 27 *spei nostrae et fidei praeuaricatores sumus, si simulata, si ficta, si fucata videntur esse quae dicimus*, where *videntur esse* must be for *sunt*; cf. 223. 15, 227. 10, 714. 8, 761. 10, 809. 12, &c.¹

§ 20. Hitherto examples of amplification have been chosen which were not cases of *figura etymologica*, or other rhetorical devices. Of *figura etymologica* in the strict sense² there are not many instances in Cyprian. Taking them in Landgraf's order, the following is perhaps a complete list; 259. 15 *induere indumenta*, 432. 11 *curricula decurrere*, 578. 21 *vita uiuitur*, 512. 4 *superantem superare*, 621. 17 and 725. 9 *tenere tenorem*, 710. 14 *poto poculo*³; 425. 21 *inluminati Christi lumine*, 501. 7 *oratione communi . . . orantes*, 672. 8 *discidio scindere* (cf. 231. 9), 768. 14 *unctione unctus*; 728. 14 *episcopum episcopi et iudicem iudicis*; 3. 4 *tempestium tempus*, 238. 2 and 723. 15 *sacrificia sacrilega*, 399. 5 *sacra sacrilega*; 465. 4 and 581. 5 *praesens adesse*; 408. 19 and constantly *omnis omnino*; 473. 2 *continenter tenere*. Besides these there only remains *magis ac magis*, already mentioned; *magis magisque* is never used by Cyprian.

§ 21. Sufficient evidence has been given to show that Cyprian's style is that of a man so thoroughly trained in a rhetorical school that he never, even in his most hasty writing, fails to show his education. It is a style which is essentially

¹ Some instances are purely passive, as 622. 15 *etsi videntur in ecclesia esse zizania*, which states that they are, not that they seem to be, present, 673. 19 *cum talis . . . inipugnari uidetur, apparet quis inipugnet*. There is a strange passive use of *uideri* in *De Rebapt.* 7 (A 78. 9).

² As defined by G. Landgraf in *Acta Seminarii Philologici Erlangensis*, vol. ii. pp. 1-69, '*compositio duorum congenerum uocabulorum quae item grammaticae legibus artissime inter se conexa unam eamque amplificatam atque disertissimam notionem efficiunt*.'

³ The frequent *oblationem offerre*, since it is a fixed part of the Christian vocabulary, cannot be regarded as an instance of *accusatiuus etymologicus*.

one with that of Apuleius, and had no doubt been learnt by both on African soil. But how far it was peculiar to Africa is a more doubtful point. In its literary aspect it is closely akin to that of Ammianus and the Panegyrist; in its grammatical to that of Vitruvius¹. Though it is certain that provincial peculiarities existed, and certain also that many of them have been detected, yet the unconscious degeneration of grammar and the conscious efforts after rotundity of expression were common to the whole empire. A constant emigration seems to have been going on from southern Italy to Carthage, as now to Buenos Ayres, and the connexion between Rome and Africa could not have been closer than it was. Africans of Roman descent no doubt did their best to retain, and the educated natives to assume, the characteristics in language and otherwise of Italians. It is therefore dangerous to regard as peculiarities of African writers what may only appear to be such, because comparatively little has survived of the literature of other provinces in the third century. What would have been the strongest possible evidence, could it have been sustained, a Semitic element in African Latin, has been abandoned by the author of the theory². There are of course local elements in the style of Cyprian as of other writers, and the present tendency of inquirers is certainly not to underestimate them; but his style is undoubtedly that of an educated, though careless, Latin writer, trained in and satisfied with the fashions of his day. There is no sign that he had any training but the rhetorical. Legal terms occasionally occur; but every Roman knew something of law, and nothing indicates that Cyprian had a professional knowledge. Of philosophy, in spite of his acquaintance with Seneca, he shows no sign. That formal logic, of which Novatian makes so pedantic a display, and in which his

¹ As set out in J. Fraun's *Bemerkungen zur Syntax des Vitruv*, Bamberg, 1885.

² K. Sittl, *Lokale Verschiedenheiten*, p. 92 ff. He surrenders it, with some reservations, in the *Jahresbericht*, 1892, p. 246. Yet is not *unctus Dei* for *a Deo* 768. 14 a Hebraism?

philosophy, derided by Cyprian, appears to have consisted¹, is never employed. His full command of all the technical devices of the rhetorician, chastened only to some extent by the seriousness of his thought, his amplitude of expression and the smoothness with which his periods move—it would be possible to collect from the few pages of Cornelius almost as many abrupt transitions as from all Cyprian's writings,—the copiousness and originality of his vocabulary, all display him as one who exercised the thoughts and the culture of the old world upon the problems of the new. It is recognized now that the older scholars were wrong in classing together all the Christian authors as writers of ecclesiastical Latin. No such Latin existed till the monasteries were established, and the great Fathers had written. And there is no author to whose style the term can be less appropriately applied than Cyprian.

¹ Fronto also (*De Eloquentia*, p. 146, Naber) appears to regard formal logic as of the essence of philosophy, and ridicules it accordingly. Cf. *Pa.-Apul. De Dogm. Plat.* iii. p. 272 Oud. (ed. Goldbacher in *Wiener Studien*, 1885, p. 267. 10), and *Apul. Flor.* i. 7.

CHAPTER II.

LANGUAGE.

§ 1. *Deus*, &c. § 2. Divine action, creation, miracles, law. § 3. Divine favour and disfavour. § 4. Christ and His work. § 5. The Holy Spirit, prophecy, visions. § 6. Scripture. § 7. Types. § 8. *Christianus, fidelis*, &c. § 9. *Ecclesia*, &c. § 10. Laity. § 11. Bishop. § 12. Other Orders and Ordination. § 13. Councils. § 14. Proselytes and catechumens. § 15. Baptism and accompanying Rites. § 16. The Eucharist. § 17. Prayer. § 18. The place of worship. § 19. Preaching. § 20. Manner of address, *frater*, &c. § 21. Payment of the clergy. § 22. Christian virtues. § 23. Alms. § 24. Christian conduct and progress. § 25. Sin and Penitence. § 26. Freewill and conscience. § 27. Death and Heaven. § 28. The devil and hell. § 29. World and Heathen. § 30. Persecution, Confession, Martyrdom and Lapse. § 31. Herey. § 32. Greek words. § 33. New and rare substantives. § 34. Adjectives. § 35. Pronouns. § 36. Verbs. § 37. Adverbs and Conjunctions. § 38. Prepositions, &c.

IN this chapter the attempt is made to give a full account of the theological and ecclesiastical terms used by Cyprian. The subject is that of language, not of doctrine or history, and though the latter cannot be avoided, and indeed it is hoped that this paper may be of use for their study, they have not been introduced except in illustration of the words employed. Illustration from other writers has been avoided, and the history of words before and after Cyprian's day passed over, unless light could in some way be thrown upon Cyprian's motive in using them. Biblical terms also, and especially those of St. Paul, have been omitted, as belonging to the common stock of all Christian writers.

IN Cyprian's day the Latin tongue was still adjusting itself to the Faith, and the Christian vocabulary was unsettled. Cyprian was one of those who had most influence in fixing it. A good deal may be learnt, not only from the words

which he used, but from those which he avoided or attempted to displace, of the course of Christian thought as well as of the Latin language. His hostility to Greek terms, for instance, which I have illustrated, must be regarded as an early sign of severance between Eastern and Western Christendom. But the limits of this paper leave room only for the statement of facts, not for the drawing of conclusions. I have concluded with a selection of new and rare words, not of Christian significance. Want of space has compelled me to omit much that is interesting in this respect.

§ 1. *Deus*, with Cyprian's love for abstracts, is paraphrased in many ways, e. g. 519. 16 *quando . . . nos diuina protectio reduces ad ecclesiam suam fecerit*; 680. 16 *ne vulneratos diuina clementia in ecclesia sua curet*; *diuina censura* 496. 19, 737. 8, &c.; *diuina maiestas*, *pietas*, *benignitas*, *bonitas*, *indulgentia*, *dignatio* 250. 21, 274. 5, 579. 3, &c.

Deitas is not used by Cyprian. It first occurs in *De Aleatt.* 7 (A 100. 9); an evidence, as far as it goes, for the later authorship of that tract. *Diuinitas*, in the only passage where Cyprian uses it (339. 26), perhaps stands for *diuinatio*, though a comparison with 661. 19 renders this doubtful. *Trinitas* occurs 292. 6, 782. 4, 791. 22, after Tertullian; *diuina firmitas* 215. 7 must mean union of Persons.

Though *Dominus*, when it stands alone, is normally for *Christus*, yet *Deus* and *Dominus* are also used interchangeably and in combination; for rhetorical purposes they often occur at the ends of parallel clauses, e. g. 232. 22 *diem Domini et iram Dei*, 757. 3 *dignatione Dei et ordinatione Domini*. In 320. 13 *praeferamus . . . Deum et Christum diabolo et antichristo* Cyprian has gained three rhetorical figures at the cost of one false antithesis.

Beside *diuinus* the adjective *deificus* occurs. The word, which seems to belong to vulgar Latin¹, is used rarely and

¹ It is used by the illiterate Lucianus in *Ep.* 22 (533. 12), in *De Aleatt.* 11 (A 103. 16), several times in the *De Montibus*, by the translator of *Ep.* 75 (815. 4), in *Sent.* 8 (441. 9). Cyprian only uses the word thrice, and each time deliberately, for the sake of parataxis with *Deus*; 429. 15, 618. 22, 742.

only for a special rhetorical purpose instead of the usual *diuinus*, for which *caelestis* is a frequent substitute. *Dominicus*, which is very common, seems to be used indefinitely, e. g. 430. 16 *sit in manibus diuina lectio, in sensibus dominica cogitatio*, where the words are simply used for variety, as with *Deus* and *Dominus* above, as well as in the strict sense, e. g. *dominica confessio* (of Christ) 319. 15, 656. 21, though the latter is more usual. *Dominicus* (sc. *dies*) = Sunday 581. 8; for *dominicum* = *eucharistia* see p. 266; *spiritalis*, in the corresponding sense, is also common¹.

§ 2. Divine action is often expressed by *diuinitus*, 432. 1, 689. 4. &c.; by *providenter*, for alliteration, 607. 19; by *desuper* in 356. 7 for the same reason; by *caelitus* in the rhetorical *Ad Donatum*, 6. 5. Similarly *spiritaliter*, e. g. *quod spiritaliter praecipitur = a Spiritu sancto*, 713. 19; cf. *humanitus laedunt persecutiones*, i. e. 'inflicted by men,' 366. 10.

Acts of power such as miracles are *magnalia*, *mirabilia*, both several times, *magnalia et mirabilia* 674. 9, *mirabilia uirtutum* 401. 8, *uirtutes* 223. 17, and often. *Miraculum* occurs in the sense of *miratio* 581. 3, 583. 23, not in that of miracle. The nearest approach to it is 582. 15 *conluctationis miraculum = conluctatio mirabilis*; cf. 195. 1 *quibus multa magnalia cum miraculo faceret = mirifice*².

Cyprian does not often mention the work of creation³.

21. In 429. 15, 742. 21 there is the further reason that to write *diuina disciplina*, as would have been natural, would be contrary to his rules of composition; see p. 223. Tertullian's *deus deificus* (active) in *Apol.* 11 is probably a coinage of his own; the word is carefully avoided by the more classical of the Christian writers; even Lucifer and Lactantius, in spite of their debt to Cyprian, reject it. It certainly in Cyprian has no meaning other than that of *diuinus*; cf. *regifico luzu* Virgil. *Aen.* 6. 605, *castifiscus* Sen. *Phaedr.* 169.

¹ Beside this use *spiritalis* is constantly used as practically equivalent to *Christianus* or *sincerus*, e. g. 428. 10, 545. 9, 583. 8. *Caelestis* and *spiritalis* are very often combined; 192. 22, 239. 9, 320. 20, 621. 8, &c.

² This use of *cum* is very common in Cyprian; 588. 15 *cum pace = pacifice*, 232. 10 *cum fiducia = fidenter*, &c.

³ Of the numerous passages in which the Vulgate has *Creator*, *creare*, *creatura*, there are singularly few in Cyprian. The only one of these words

Creare, I think, does not occur, *creatura* twice, in a concrete sense, 708. 12, 768. 17, *creator* only 792. 4 *negans Deum creatorem Christi*¹. *Facere* seems to be the usual equivalent for *creare*, with *factor*, 662. 7, 718. 15; cf. 319. 19², and *factura*, in a rhetorical passage, 198. 7. In the *De Hab. Virg.*, adapted from Tertullian, he borrows that writer's *plastica* and *protoplastus* 198. 7, 190. 15; *plasmare* in 804. 18 is an allusion to Sap. 15. 11; *divinum plasma*, 468. 12, is some evidence that *Ep.* 2 belongs to an earlier date than O. Ritschl's arguments indicate. When Cyprian's style was matured he avoided, as far as possible, the use of Greek words. *Instituere* is used for *creare* 201. 28, *institutio* 468. 10; *institutor* is so used by Tertullian and Lactantius. *Artifex* is used 198. 20, 201. 27, not, I think, *opifex*, though *opus* is found, 198. 7, &c.³

The usual words for God's law and appointment are *dispositio* (*Test.* 1. 11 *tit. dispositio et testamentum*), *institutio*, *ordinatio*, *traditio*, and *lex*⁴. *Praescriptio* in the legal sense seems the

which they contain is *creatura*, Ecclus. 24. 5, Col. 1. 15 (62. 15, 63. 16). In Dan. 14. 4 (337. 20, 661. 13) and Mal. 2. 10 (114. 16) *condere* takes the place of the Vulgate *creare*. In Eph. 4. 24 *κτισθῆς* is translated by *constitutus* (124. 23) instead of *creatus*, as in the Vulgate. There are no other passages in which *creare* or its cognates might have been expected. In the contemporary *Ad Nov.* 4 (A 56. 13) Gen. 6. 7 reads *perdam hominem quem feci*.

¹ This seems a reference to Heb. 3. 2, where *Clarom.* reads *creatori suo*, and the Old Latin MSS. generally that or *qui creavit eum*; Vulgate *ei qui fecit illum*. There is another possible reference to Heb. 4. 12 in 271. 21 *inpetrabilis et efficax sermo*. Since Tertullian knew the Epistle it is incredible that Cyprian was ignorant of it, though he would not cite it as Scripture.

² *Creare* is not even used, when it might naturally have been expected, of the divine appointment of Bishops, but always *facere*, *constituere*, &c., though *creare pseudoeπισcopum* occurs 642. 22. In fact, through its use by Marcion, the word seems to have gained a heretical connotation, of which this may be a survival. Tertullian very rarely uses it except in reference to the *deus Marcionis* (*Adu. Marc.* constantly, *Carn. Xti* 2, *Res. Carn.* 2, *Prae.* 3, &c.), the true God being *conditor*. *Soter* has similarly suffered through Gnostic use (*Tert. Adu. Val.*, *passim*); cf. Cyprian's rejection of *tinctio*.

³ Koffmane, p. 67, states that *condere* is used by Cyprian for *creare*. He does not give a reference, and I have noticed no instance, except *conditor* in *Ep.* 75 (824. 12).

⁴ *Lex* is used both generally for God's commandments and, in the Scriptural

true reading in 736. 11, and not Hartel's *perscriptio*; cf. 373. 17.

§ 3. Cyprian's characteristic words for God's bearing to men are *censura*, *dignatio*, *indulgentia*, *bonitas*, and *pietas*. *Bonitas* always and *pietas* almost always—perhaps 388. 12, 19 are the only exceptions—are used of Divine goodness, not of human.

Censura may imply either approval (252. 6, &c.) or condemnation, e. g. 670. 14, which is more usual. It is also often used in a general sense, meaning little more than majesty, as in 682. 14, 413. 22, in which it is coupled with *maiestas*, according to Cyprian's usual practice of combining synonyms¹. *Dignatio* is one of the most common of Cyprian's words, especially in the alliterative phrase *de Dei dignatione*. As a rule it is rather equivalent to favour than to grace, though it describes internal as well as external gifts, e. g. 275. 6, 656. 15, and 716. 23 *benigna et larga d. corda inluminat*. But more commonly it is used of some visible mark of favour, as the episcopate, 546. 19, 651. 9, 671. 20 and often, confessorship or martyrdom, 251. 16, 673. 14, 695. 6, or other Divine

sense, for the Old Testament. Beside many classical uses (271. 14, 293. 20, 302. 1, 304. 9, &c.), it is curiously employed, followed by a genitive, in such passages as 285. 11 *ad altare uenire cum simplici corde, cum lege iustitiae, cum concordiae pace*. The two last are paraphrased just afterwards by the simple *iustitia* and *pax*. So 232. 21 in *Dei timore, in lege iustitiae, in dilectione, in opere fides nulla est*, 336. 27 *Deo innocentiae lege deuoti*. In these and in many more passages *lex* seems simply superfluous. In 218. 25 *qui se praepositos sine ulla ordinationis lege constituunt* there is a very Cyprianic equivalent for *ordinatio legitima*. *Legitimus* in Cyprian has not only this meaning of lawful, but also that of appointed by law; 338. 11 *numerus legitimus et certus*, 292. 12 *legitima ad precem tempora*. It comes to mean genuine; 760. 16 *legitimi Christiani*, 762. 8 *legitima fides*, 708. 10 *legitima sanctificatio (sacrificii)*.

¹ *Censura*, which is very frequent, is used of Bishops and others in several senses. The most usual is that of judicial strictness, e. g. 668. 22; also of jurisdiction, or the right to judge, as 189. 20; of obedience to discipline, or loyalty, 625. 15, &c.; of reproof administered, as 623. 18, or sentence passed, as 758. 2. Once at least it is used in a bad sense, 639. 2 *uel duritiae uel censurae suae obstinatione*. In the sense of severity it is used by Tert., and is common in the Hist. Aug. except Vopiscus (Krebs, *Rhein. Mus.* 1892, p. 48).

help, 346. 5, 422. 13, 500. 9, 13, 801. 15. A partial converse is *diuina indignatio* 363. 19, 521. 16. The word is not used of human action. *Indulgentia* occurs constantly in the two senses, both found in Tertullian, of favour and goodness, e.g. 579. 3, 432. 14, in which it is often interchangeable with *dignatio*, as 656. 12 *plebs cui de diuina indulgentia praesumus*, and of forgiveness, e.g. 403. 5 *indulgentia criminis*, 249. 21, 628. 12, &c.

§ 4. *Sermo Dei* is constant, though Tertullian wavers between *Sermo* and *Verbum*. The rendering in Cyprian's version of the Bible seems always to have been *Sermo*. *Concernatio* occurs once, 60. 5; *incarnatio* never, though *incarnatus* is found in Novatian, *Trin.* 19. Koffmane, p. 42, only knows Hilary of Poitiers as using *concernatio* in this sense. It was perhaps an unsuccessful coinage of Cyprian. *In uno omnes ipse portauit*, 271. 13, describes the work of the Incarnation; so also 277. 2, 711. 12, 754. 8; cf. Is. 63. 9. Tertullian does not use the phrase; cf. p. 308. *Aduentus* is used both of the first and second Coming, 211. 8, 414. 21, &c. *Passio*¹ 471. 2, and *resurrectio*, are of course common. *Adscensus*, never *adscensio*, is used, 471. 17, &c.

Christus is much more common than *Dominus* or compound titles; the full *Dominus noster Iesus Christus* is very rare; *Dominus Iesus* only occurs in the solemn salutation at the end of the last letter, 842. 9. *Deus et Christus eius*, which occurs so often (see Hartel's *Index Verborum*, s. v. *ellipsis* and *is*, and add 838. 15), may have been misunderstood by Cyprian, as Hartel suggests, for an ellipse of *filius*².

*Saluare*³ is only used thrice, 790. 20, 809. 6, 12, *Saluator*

¹ *Passio* is often used of the martyrs, 578. 2, &c., and in the plural as well as in the singular, e.g. 662. 22, 833. 9.

² See a good article on this *eius* by F. Piper in *Zschr. für Kirchengesch.* 1890, p. 67. In Tertullian I have only noticed one instance, in *Bapt.* 9 (208. 19 Reiff.).

³ Cf. Wölfflin in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Munich Academy, 1893, p. 263 f. *Saluator* is used by the illiterate Celerinus, 529. 12. Tertullian rejects it, though it stood in his Bible, and is constant in Irenaeus. Cyprian never uses Tertullian's *salutificator*, for which add *Marc.* 5. 15 to Oehler's list.

once, 60. 12. These are passages in which Cyprian is making no attempt at style. In rhetorical passages he twice uses *sospitare*, 188. 25, 211. 9; see p. 196. *Servare* occurs 214. 19, 505. 15, and cf. 319. 20; *reservare* 373. 13, 640. 20, *conseruare* 279. 15, and *conseruator* 827. 17, as in Tert. *Res. Carn.* 58 *fin.*, *Cult. Fem.* 1. 3. *Saluus fieri* is used occasionally, e. g. 751. 16, 809. 11; *saluus adque incolumis* 367. 10; *Domino et Deo nostro Salutari* 614. 8, the only instance of this Biblical use (Rönsch, *It. V.* p. 100). Cyprian uses *Mediator* only in 60. 19. The Biblical *redemptio* and *Redemptor* are used, e. g. 188. 23, 639. 15, 713. 8, and also *redimere*, e. g. 370. 16; but the verb is commonly employed of human effort by alms, &c., as in 195. 24, 377. 9. Other expressions for the Saviour's work are *peccata portare* 401. 13, 711. 13¹, *remittere* constantly², *donare* 249. 21, &c.; *curare*, *emundare*, *purgare*, are used indifferently of Divine and human action. *Reparare* 370. 22, 394. 9, &c., *reconciliare Deo* 370. 17 also occur. *Advocatus* is frequent; *advocatus et deprecator* occurs twice, 499. 18, 637. 7³. *Iudicium* is rarely further described; *cognitio* is an occasional variant. The two are combined 659. 5. *Retributio*, as the

¹ From Is. 53. 4 (*Test.* 2. 13, p. 77, 20). The same reading is in Aug. *C. D.* 18. 29 (Dombart, ed. 2, ii. 295. 6).

² The corresponding substantive is *remissa* or *remissio*. The former occurs 19 times, I think, the latter 14 times, in Cyprian's own writing. The latter stood in the African Baptismal question (e. g. 756. 14), and it is usually when speaking directly of this formula that Cyprian uses it, yet not always; cf. 250. 3. The neuter pl. *remissa* (cf. Weyman in Wölfflin's *Archiv* 9. 138), though it has important MS. support, is not likely to be Cyprianic. In the *Sententiae* and in *Ep.* 73 *remissio* is the usual form. This differentiation of form, combined with the constant African use of *saeculum* for the *mundus* which still stood in the Baptismal Service, and was used, though rarely, by Cyprian, shows that Christianity must have been of some considerable antiquity in Africa when Cyprian wrote. These and other differences from the language of the parent Church in Italy must have required the lapse of several generations, especially since they arose between Churches only three days' journey apart.

³ Mr. H. J. White regards *deprecator* in these passages as equivalent to *propitiator*, since in 1 John 2. 2 (637. 11) *ἱλασμός* is translated by *deprecatio*, as is *ἐξίλασμός* in the Vulgate (i. e. O. L.) Sap. 18. 21; but it would be more in accordance with the style of Cyprian that the two words should be practically synonyms.

result of judgment, is reward, 344. 18, &c.; the only exception I have noted is 399. 15. *Vindicta* for punishment is common.

§ 5. There is no variant for *Spiritus Sanctus*. The *sanctus* is rarely omitted, 204. 10, 301. 17, &c., and rarely precedes, though this is contrary to Cyprian's custom. *Praedicare* and *praedicare* occur constantly, the latter as a substitute for *euangelizare*, which Cyprian never uses. There seems to be no clear instance of *praedicare* wrongly used for *praedicere*. *Denuntiare* is used in the same sense 217. 14. For the Divine fulfilment of Scripture the Biblical *adimplere* is used ¹.

Inspiratio and *reuelatio*, e. g. 787. 15, where both occur, are common; *adspirare* 841. 10. *Ostensio*, *ostendere* are used of the giving of visions, e. g. 497. 9, 498. 9, 651. 7. Where *ostendere* is used without the mode of revelation being named, as in 567. 21, it is safe to assume that a vision is implied ². *Visio* also is found, e. g. 734. 8. *In Spiritu* occurs 692. 10, &c.; *in ecstasi* only 520. 7 ³. *Canere* and *praeconare*, both from Tertullian, occur several times, e. g. 375. 19, 706. 13; *diuino spiritu et instinctu*, 359. 6, is used of prophetic inspiration. *Instinctus* ⁴ in this sense occurs again 255. 16; *instigare* 656. 15, 698. 22. *Spiritus confessionis* is read 338. 26, *spiritus diuinitatis* 339. 26.

§ 6. It will be most convenient here to deal with Cyprian's language concerning Scripture, which he so often attributes to the Holy Spirit ⁵. The singular *Scriptura* is much more

¹ Add to Hartel's list 225. 6; in different senses 255. 15, 256. 15, 776. 1.

² *Ostendere* is so used *Pass. Perp.* §§ 4, 7, 8.

³ *Pass. Perp.* 20 *adeo in spiritu et in extasi fuerat*. The word is used by Tertullian. In *Ep.* 75 (817. 4) *mulier in ecstasin constituta* it cannot be an ablative, as Koffmane (p. 36) would have it. It must be a rendering of *ἐκστασιν πεσοῦσα*, or something similar.

⁴ But *instinctus* is more often to evil; 421. 11, 588. 9, 645. 12. *Instinguere*, though used by Tertullian, never occurs in Cyprian.

⁵ Cyprian's mode of citation is very uniform. He almost always uses two synonymous verbs in his love of pleonasm; *Deus*, *Christus*, *Spiritus Sanctus*, *Apostolus* *loquitur et dicit*. In *Ep.* 68 occur the forms *docens et praecipiens*, *ponit et dicit*, *docens et ostendens* (twice), *loquens et dicens*, *mandauit et dixit*, *ostenditur et probatur*, *contestatur et dicit*, *probat et declarat*, *loquitur et dicit*,

common than *Scripturae*. The standing epithets are *sancta* and *diuina*; *sacra* does not occur. Variants are very rare; *caelestes Scripturae* 254. 9, *dominicae* 538. 5. The other names for Scripture in Cyprian are *disciplina*¹ (*d. caelestis* 287. 25), *lectio*, which clearly has this meaning in 270. 20, 318. 11, 430. 16 (*sit in manibus diuina lectio*), and elsewhere; *libri spiritalis* 36. 19; *Scripturae ueteres et nouae* 36. 18, 375. 17. *Testamentum* and *instrumentum* in this sense do not occur. More general terms are *praecepta* 101. 11, 238. 17, &c., and *magisteria*², which is very common, and probably derived from the Old Latin New Testament; cf. 193. 6, 522. 15, 738. 16, and especially 505. 15. These words are used with a great wealth of epithets, *diuinus*, *spiritalis*, *caelestis*, *sanctus*, *salutaris*, *uitalis*, *euangelicus*. The legal term *capitula* is used for verses or sections of Scripture, 36. 2, 220. 8, 318. 10, as in Tertullian, but Tertullian's *tituli* is absent.

In the Old Testament *Lex* is not only used alone, but once at least with the genitive of a part; *lex Exodi* 217. 9. Tertullian's *Arithmi* and *Critae* have disappeared, but in the *Testimonia* the true reading is *in Basilion primo*, &c., as against Hartel's *A*, which has almost always *Regnorum*. But elsewhere *Basilion* is not found in the writings of Cyprian; one among many evidences that that work was compiled before Cyprian had settled upon his vocabulary. He uses instead *Regnorum*, or else, and more often, avoids naming the book. Similarly in 142. 3, 329. 7, the only passages where they are named, we read *apud*, in *Paralipomenon*. The same

declarat dicens, addidit dicens, scribit et dicit. Cf. in *Ep.* 74. 3 *clamat et dicit, increpans et obiurgans ponit et dicit, commonet et instruit dicens*. In 425. 20 *Apostolus Paulus instruens et monens ut . . . scribit et dicit*. The instances are very rare where Cyprian is content with the simple *Scriptura dicit* or an equivalent.

¹ If Wölfflin in his *Archiv*, viii. p. 11, is right; cf. 468. 1, 230. 5. In all these instances the meaning might be the usual one, yet certainly in Firm. Mat. *De Err.* 19. 5 *quid nobis tradat euangelica disciplina* means Scripture.

² Cf. Rendel Harris, *Cod. Sangall.* p. 25. In that MS. *magisterium uel doctrina* occurs as the rendering of διδασκαλία. He compares Irenaeus, 3. 14. 3.

ellipse occurs 338. 8, and often in the *Testimonia*, with *Basilion* and *Regnorum*. In *Paroemiis* is the regular mode of citation for the book of Proverbs; in *Prooemiis*, 62. 3, can only be a *lapsus calami*. There is some little evidence for in *Parabolis*, 62. 3, 154. 4, though it is not likely to be Cyprian's. Very often the book is included with the other sapiential books, as in *Sapientia*, e. g. 128. 13, 156. 17. In 672. 22 the Minor Prophets are cited collectively; in *duodecim prophetis*. Cf. Tert. *adu. Marc.* 4. 13 *Naum ex duodecim*, and *Adu. Jud.* 5. The other names of books offer nothing noteworthy¹, unless it be that he has *Malachin* (nom. and acc.) twice, 293. 13, 413. 17, and perhaps also 94. 22, *Malachiel* twice at least, 68. 3, 138. 19, against *Malachias* thrice certainly (50. 7, 114. 16, 157. 15), and probably also in 97. 3.

*Euangelium*² is, with one exception, used in the singular, the Gospels being regarded as an undivided whole. Except in the *Testimonia* the form employed is *Dominus in Euangelio suo dicit*, &c., the personal agency of the Evangelists being ignored. In the *Testimonia*, where more exact citation had to be given, *Euangelium cata Matthaeum*, &c. is the description. The evidence for *secundum* is inadequate, and its use improbable³. Cyprian never follows Tertullian in speaking of *Euangelium Matthaei*, &c. *Evangelia quattuor*, the only example of the plural, occurs 785. 20. *Acta*, not *Actus*, *Apostolorum* is always used.

Cyprian is very careful not to cite Scripture without acknowledgement. He never allows himself, as does Tertullian, to fall into continuous Scripture language without giving

¹ Koffmane, p. 10, notes that *psalmus* is very often used in Cyprian for a verse of a psalm. But when Cyprian writes *psalmus dicit*, &c. he simply personifies the single Psalm, as he does when he writes *Apocalypsis dicit* 342. 21, 663. 5. He recognized them as separate compositions; in the *Testimonia* he gives the number, and his usual citation is in *Psalmis*.

² Beside this normal use of *euangelium*, *euangelicus*, it is also used for the Faith as a whole, and practically as an equivalent for *ecclesia*, e. g. 248. 26 *nec ecclesiae iungitur qui ab euangelio separatur*, 687. 3 *sacerdos Dei euangelium tenens*, cf. 544. 12.

³ Cf. Zahn, *Neutest. Kanon*, I. 164. n. 5.

notice of the fact. The only instances where short passages are quoted without warning are, so far as I have observed, 228. 23, 290. 21, 379. 21, 507. 7, 711. 2. Beside *Dominus &c. dicit*, *Scriptura* is frequently personified as the speaker. The impersonal *inquit* appears occasionally, e. g. 738. 18, 23; and similarly *quando occurrat dicens* 668. 23; for these cf. Miodoński's note to *De Aleatt.* p. 61.

§ 7. Cyprian had frequent occasion to show that the facts of the Christian Faith are foreshown in the Old Testament. For type he appears only once to use *mysterium* 86. 6; *typus* often, e. g. 269. 11, 386. 25, 704. 11, but, with his usual dislike of Greek words, more often *imago*, e. g. 189. 14, 367. 16, 702. 24, or *figura*, as 217. 10, 705. 2. Once *instar* occurs, 785. 17; *umbra et imago* 328. 4, 719. 25; *praefiguratio* 763. 14; *signum et sacramentum* 216. 13, 330. 19; *sacramentum* ¹

¹ As this is the first occasion on which I have to refer to this word, I will here try to classify its uses in Cyprian. This is not easy, as the various meanings often overlap, and the word in many instances was used with intentional vagueness. It is used twice of the military oath; 246. 12 *sacramenti mei memor deuotionis et fidei arma suscepi*; and 806. 4. Of loyalty to that oath, 491. 21 *spectaculum quam sublime . . . quam Dei oculis sacramento et deuotione militis eius acceptum*. In a very common sense it comes to mean a bond, however it may have attained the meaning; e. g. 754. 15 *inseparabile unitatis s.*, 215. 7 *unitas sacramentis caelestibus cohaerens*; ib. 11 *unitatis s.*, *uinculum concordiae*, which are identical phrases; so also 639. 5 *manente concordiae uinculo et perseuerante catholicae ecclesiae sacramento*; 668. 8 *copulati sacramento unanimitalis*. The action of heretics, &c. on this bond is described 241. 21 *as soluere*, 808. 22 *inpugnare*, 794. 10 *mutillare*, 227. 19 *disturbare*. Also a rule or law, as 600. 4 *s. semel traditum diuinae dispositionis et catholicae unitatis*, cf. 551. 8 (Novatian). A doctrine, sometimes with the connotation of mystery, e. g. 36. 13 *item libellus alius continet Christi s.*, *quod idem uenerit qui adnuntiatus est* sq., *Test.* 3. 50 *tit. s. fidei non esse profanandum*; ib. 2. 2 *tit. de sacramento concarnationis eius et passionis* sq.; 288. 1 *sic cum doceret quid sit uita aeterna s. uitae magna et diuina breuitate complexus est*; 710. 2, 713. 9, &c. Similarly in *Ep.* 77 (834. 7) Nemesianus says *dum non desinis occulta sacramenta nudare*. From this meaning it seems to be extended to that of lesson generally; 272. 8 *qualia sunt dominicae orationis sacramenta, quam magna* sq. From the meaning of mystery comes that of type, in which mysterious teaching is conveyed; this is very common, e. g. 292. 6, 13, 337. 27, 764. 8, 808. 23, &c.; of symbolical action in 83. 12 *sacramento unctionis Christum significans*; an instance or example 763. 13; cf. 702. 14 *Christus . . . qui scripturarum omnium sacramento ac testimonio*

alone very often. The verbs used are *typum*, *figuram*, &c. *exprimere* 702. 24, &c., which is the most common; *gerere* 386. 26; *portare* 269. 11; *praemonstrare* 704. 12; *ostendere* 702. 23. The type as representing its antitype is said *designare*; 752. 21 *qui agnus designabat Christum*; *praeformare* 217. 4¹, *exprimere* 338. 25, *praefigurare* 328. 5, *initiare* 403. 27, *Abel passionem Christi initians*, and 285. 13. *Veritas*, as in 367. 16, 702. 23, and *respondere*, as 593. 21, stand for the antitype.

§ 8. *Christiannus* is common, but less common than might have been expected. It is rare as an adjective, *Christianum nomen* 211. 15, *patientia* 404. 15, *unanimitas* 754. 4, and a few more. When used as a substantive it always seems to have the connotation of a good Christian, and to be reserved for somewhat emphatic passages. *Fidelis*, on the other hand, is a colourless term; cf. in *Test.* 3. the titles §§ 34, 37, 44, 57, 87. Caldonius can use it even of lapsed persons, 537. 4; Tertullian *Fug.* 1 includes renegades under the term, and *Jeiun.* 11 contrasts it with *Spiritualis*, i. e. Montanist. Similarly *fides* appears to be used simply for the fact of Baptism in *Test.* 3. 11 *tit. eum qui fidem consecutus est*, and *ib.* 97 *tit.*, as in Tertullian *Monog.* 11 *maritus a fide primus*, and *Pud.* 18².

praedicetur, i. e. witness both typical and direct. In 710. 23 it appears to mean not the type but the teaching which it conveys. The word is used frequently in the modern meaning of sacrament; e. g. *baptismi* s. 795. 24; s. *salutare* (i. e. Baptism) 761. 2; *si sacramento utroque nascentur* (i. e. Baptism and *manus impositio*) 775. 16, 795. 12, and *Sent.* 5 (439. 9). So of the Eucharist, 431. 17 *de sacramento crucis et cibum et potum sumis*; and even of the elements, 255. 19 *diaconus reluctanti licet de sacramento calicis infudit*, where *de* is partitive; 'poured some of the sacrament of the cup into the child's mouth.' It is used also of the Passover; *sacramentum Paschae* 217. 8, 752. 30; and of means of grace generally, 770. 19. In 370. 19 *hunc si fieri potest, sequamur omnes, huius sacramento et signo censeamur*, it seems to mean the sign of the Cross; cf. 664. 25. In *Sent.* 7 (440. 19) it is equivalent to *Symbolum*.

¹ Cf. *forma facti* = *τύποι γενόμενοι* in the Vg. of 1 Pet. 5. 3, and *deformare* in this sense in Tert. *Res. Carn.* 30.

² This distinction seems the best explanation of *Christiani fideles*, which occurs seven times in the probably Cyprianic *De Spect.*, *fidelis* being the substantive and of *Christiana fidelis*, Tert. *Ux.* 2. 8, i. e. a baptized person

Christians are often called simply *nostri*, 301. 7, 522. 14, &c. *Homo Dei* occurs six times, 365. 12, &c., *homo Dei et Christi* 297. 13; *servus Dei* is common. They are called *divinum genus* 366. 22, and are contrasted with *genus humanum* 301. 15¹. *Credentes* is very common, as is *fidentes* 510. 19, &c., probably invented by Cyprian as a stronger cognate term for the weak *fideles*; it does not appear to be used by Tertullian. *Creduli* is absent, though the negative is common².

§ 9. *Ecclesia*³ is often paraphrased by *domus Dei*, e.g. 477. 4, 674. 24, or *domus fidei* 300. 19, 777. 20, &c. *Ecclesia quae catholica una est* 733. 9, and fairly often, e.g. 597. 13. Cyprian does not use the elliptic *Catholica*, sc. *ecclesia*, of Cornelius (611. 16). The epithet *sancta*⁴, 767. 9, seems to have no variant, and is not very common. Cornelius writes (611. 8) *sanctissima catholica ecclesia*⁵. The Church is frequently said to be *aedificata* or *fundata super Petrum*. This occurs 194. 25, 212. 14 (the famous passage in *De Un.* 4), 338. 17, 403. 16,

worthy of the name of Christian; cf. A. 4. 17 *homo Christianus fidelis*, where both are epithets. In *De Rebapt.* 11 (A. 83. 5) *nihil interest utrum hic uerbum audiens an fidelis sit qui confitetur Dominum* the words simply mean unbaptized or baptized; cf. *fidei sacramentum* = Baptism in Tert. *De An.* 1 (299. 22 Reiff.).

¹ *Quoadusque isic in mundo sumus cum genere humano carnis aequalitate coniungimur, spiritu separamur*. It would add point to Tacitus' *odium generis humani* if it were a recognized term by which the Christians distinguished the heathen from themselves; and might seem consistent with the charge of magic brought against them under the same name; cf. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 236. Yet in 393. 26, 404. 26, 409. 15 *genus humanum* is used inclusively; in 306. 12 *sine ullo discrimine generis humani* it seems to be used of heathen not being selected for punishment in this world.

² *Credulitas* = *fides* is not employed by Cyprian, but by Nemesianus, 834. 8, which seems the earliest instance. Cyprian has it in a bad sense 210. 4, 731. 7. It recurs in Arnobius and Jerome for *fides*. *Incredulus, incredulitas, infidelis* are common.

³ The exact phrase *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*, often attributed to Cyprian, does not occur in his writings. The nearest approach to it is 795. 3 *salus extra ecclesiam non est*, and 477. 5.

⁴ Here may be noted the rarity of *sacer*: 688. 2 *cleri nostri sacer uenerandusque congestus* is almost the only instance; the word is avoided in an obvious antithesis 724. 12.

⁵ *Catholicus* is not used so widely as in Tertullian; *catholica regula* 767. 3, *fides* 538. 20, *catholicae institutionis unitas* 604. 11, and a few more.

594. 6¹, 674. 16, 732. 25, 769. 20, 773. 12, 783. 15. *Petra* is so used in *Ep.* 75 (820. 27, cf. 821. 16), but never by Cyprian. In 338. 17 Hartel has introduced it into the text on insufficient MS. authority, and in spite of Cyprian's constant use of *super Petrum*. For the description of faithful Christians as *super petram fundati*, see § 24. In connexion with the Church, Cyprian also often uses the words *matrix*, *radix*, *origo*, *caput*; e. g. 607. 9 *ut ecclesiae catholicae matricem et radicem agnoscerent ac tenerent*, 808. 2 *caput et origo*, 779. 19 *caput et radix*, 772. 23, &c. *ueritas et matrix*², 600. 2 *radix et mater*. How far *matrix* is equivalent to *mater* it is difficult to say; in 607. 9 the word was probably chosen for the rhyme; cf. 214. 14, 338. 15. *Ecclesia sponsa Christi* (*Test.* 2. 19 *tit.*) is carried out as a metaphor with great consistency, e. g. 804. 21 *apud solam sponsam Christi quae parere spiritaliter et generare filios Deo possit*, 243. 15 *ecclesiam matrem, patrem Deum*, and even more strongly 214. 17 ff. *Ecclesia mater* is of constant occurrence, 490. 5, 588. 13, &c. In 680. 23 *matris sinus* is opposed to *nouerca*. Heresy is *adulterium* 214. 17, 667. 2, &c. *Corrumpere*, *uiolare*, &c. were certainly used by Cyprian much more literally in this connexion than we, with our ways of thinking, should assume; cf. especially 593. 21. *Adunare* (usually the perfect participle) and *adunatio* are often used of the Church, 238. 10, 620. 3, 698. 21, &c. *Intus* and *foris* express membership and exclusion; *plebs intus posita* 687. 17, *foris esse* 745. 9; both together 732. 13 f. But the pleonastic *intus in ecclesia, foris extra ecclesiam* is much more common; 784. 20, 214. 25, &c. Except this last example, from *De Un.* 6, it is confined to the

¹ In this passage *una cathedra* is joined with *una ecclesia*; cf. 630. 2, 683. 10.

² The following list is, I think, a complete one of the passages in which one or more of these words occur in connexion with the Church; 188. 9, 212. 3, 213. 1, 214. 4, 14, 220. 24, 231. 11, 338. 15, 403. 26, 404. 2, 579. 9, 701. 22, 769. 20, 783. 14, 786. 23, in addition to those given above. In different contexts cf. 352. 15, 421. 4. In no instance can the use of *matrix* be that of *urbis primaria regionis alicuius* which Paucker in his *Addenda* gives from later writers. Tertullian makes a use of the word similar to Cyprian's, but wider.

Baptismal controversy, where it occurs at least fourteen times. *Foris seorsum* is used 672. 9, *foris positi et extra ecclesiam constituti* 778. 13; cf. 785. 17.

Ecclesia is of course used for the local as well as for the universal Church; *ecclesiae omnes* 627. 11, *ecclesia principalis* (Rome) 683. 10, &c., yet Cyprian does not often use the word in this sense.

The body of Christians is occasionally *secta*; 101. 8 *quaedam capitula* (of Scripture) *ad religiosam sectae nostrae disciplinam pertinentia*; 543. 8 *moderatus et cautus et humilitate ac timore sectae nostrae uerecundus*. In 397. 8 *uias quibus ad consequenda diuinitus praemia spei ac fidei nostrae secta dirigitur* there is a violent enallage (for many similar cf. Koziol, *Der Stil des L. Apuleius*, p. 223 f.). But this use of *secta* is much more common in Tertullian.

§ 10. Lay members of the Church are *laici* 632. 6, &c., but not very often; usually *plebs* or *populus*. Of these two *plebs* is the less common; *plebs cui praesumus* 656. 12, *ea plebs cui praepositus ordinatur* 739. 10; *stantium plebs* 526. 6, &c. *Plebs Domini, Christi* is an inclusive term for all Christians, 219. 6, 390. 5, &c. Once the plural occurs, 735. 9 *plebes consistentes ad Legionem et Asturicae*, of the lay members of the communities. *Populus*¹ *credentium, Christianorum, ecclesiae, noster* (211. 14, 363. 1, 414. 25, 730. 15, 732. 12, &c.) is very frequent. It also stands alone, e. g. 239. 16 *populi aliquando numerosi multiplex iactura*; cf. *Sent.* 33 (449. 1) *nec duobus populis salutarem aquam tribuere potest ille qui unius gregis pastor est*. *Populus*, but not *plebs*, is used of the heathen as well as of Christians, e. g. 390. 5, where *populus perditionis ac mortis* is opposed to *plebs Christi*, 711. 3, &c.

§ 11. The four terms, *episcopus, sacerdos, antistes, praepositus* are used for *Bishop*. The first three have only this one sense. *Episcopus* (*coepiscopus, pseudoepiscopus, episcopatus*) is not much

¹ Sittl, *Lokale Verschiedenheiten*, p. 108, is right in saying that *populi* in the vulgar sense is absent from Cyprian. In the sense of *multitudo* it occurs occasionally, 314. 1, 343. 6; 581. 4 *populus circumstans = circumstantes*.

more common than *sacerdos*. The latter (with *sacerdotium*, *consacerdos*, *sacerdotalis*), though no doubt it is often used because the name involved an argument and a claim, is employed so freely and so naturally that it must have been a current term of unmistakable import¹. *Antistes* used, like

¹ In Cyprian's writings there is no passage where *sacerdos* must, and not many where it can, be equivalent to *presbyter*. The numerous cases where *episcopi et sacerdotes* occurs are simply pieces of Cyprianic rhetoric, like *preces et orationes, aduersarius et inimicus = diabolus*, and many more, cf. p. 230. In *Ep.* 1 (466. 16) the decree of *episcopi antecessores nostri* is called in 467. 4 *sacerdotum decretum*. In *Ep.* 15. 1 (514. 3) *sacerdos Dei* is contrasted with *presbyteri*; cf. 522. 4. The Church of Carthage has only one *sacerdos*; 581. 12 *ut Domini misericordia plebsuæ sacerdotem reddat incolumem*. The bishop's seat is *cathedra sacerdotalis* 630. 2. Other passages where the same meaning is obvious are *Ep.* 3, throughout which *episcopus* and *sacerdos* are interchangeable, *Ep.* 55. 9, and *Ep.* 67. 2. There are, I think, only five passages where *presbyter* can be the meaning of *sacerdos*; (1) *singuli diuino sacerdotio honorati et in clerico ministerio constituti*, which includes all the clergy: *diuino* makes it likely that presbyters are embraced in the *sacerdotium*; cf. the reference to 629. 9 in my note, p. 260. (2) 586. 6 f. the *presbyter* Numidicus was all but slain in the persecution, and survived against his will; *remanet inuitus, sed remanenti, ut uidemus, haec fuit causa ut eum clero nostro Dominus adiungeret et desolatam per lapsum quorundam presbyterorum nostrorum copiam gloriosis sacerdotibus adornaret. et promouebitur quidem* sq. This might mean that Carthage, which has lost presbyters, shall be provided with fresh ones; but it is much more probable that the sense is that the Church which has lost mere presbyters shall have the honour of a bishop being elected from among its clergy. This explains *et promouebitur quidem*, which the other translation does not. (3) 697. 1 *et cum episcopo presbyteri sacerdotali honore coniuncti*; here *honor* must not be pressed. *Licentia* or *potestas* is never attributed to presbyters. It refers to the outward respect paid to them as in *Test.* 3. 85, 465. 5, 585. 14, 689. 13. (4) 738. 20 *nec hoc in episcoporum tantum et sacerdotum sed et in diaconorum ordinationibus obseruasse apostolos animaduertimus*. Here again the words are identical. There is no such formal record in the Book of Acts of the ordination of presbyters as there is of that of St. Matthias and of the Seven. (5) 777. 1 *oportet enim sacerdotes et ministros qui ultari et sacrificiis deseruiunt integros adque immaculatos esse*. Here O. Ritschl, *Cyprian u. d. Verfassung d. Kirche*, p. 231, would translate *presbyters and deacons*. But in *Laps.* 6 (240. 16) *sacerdotes* and *ministeria* (or perhaps *ministri*) include the whole clergy, and may do so here. Cyprian is always a careless writer, and it would not be well to press this single instance. He is no doubt referring directly to presbyters and deacons (776. 15), but has used the other terms as an argument *a fortiori*. O. Ritschl, *l. c.*, cites Huther as denying that *sacerdos* in Cyprian means *presbyter*. In Tertullian, Kolberg, *Verfassung, &c. d. Kirche nach d. Schr. Tertullians*, p. 41, fails to give a clear instance of *sacerdos = presbyter*; yet the argument of the famous passage

sacerdos, of the Priests of the Old Testament (*Zacharias antistes Dei* 687. 5, *Z. sacerdos* 337. 5) is used frequently of bishops, and of no others; 254. 4 *antistites et sacerdotes* pleonastic, like *episcopi et sacerdotes*, and so Min. Fel. 9. 4. *Praepositus* normally means a bishop; 729. 20 *omnes praepositos qui apostolis uicaria ordinatione succedunt*, 218. 25, 765. 24, &c.; *praepositi et sacerdotes* pleonastic, 730. 8. In 470. 5 Aaron is *sacerdos praepositus*. But in 514. 18 *praepositi* are the clergy in the absence of the bishop, as in the Roman *Ep.* 8 (486. 6) *praepositi et uice pastorum* during the vacancy of the see. In 475. 15 *praepositi et diaconi* are synonyms; cf. Tert. *Fug.* 11, where *praepositi* is used inclusively for the whole *clerus*. *Pastor*, e.g. *Test.* 1. 14 *tit.* and *gubernator*, e.g. 674. 1 are also frequently used, and of bishops only. In *Ep.* 66. 5 Cyprian describes himself by all these six titles, *episcopus, praepositus, pastor, gubernator, antistes, sacerdos* (730. 10). He uses *caput* in 600. 6; cf. 203. 6.

Bishops are *collegae* and form a *collegium*. There seems no reason to suppose that *antecessor* (466. 16, &c.) has any other sense in Cyprian than the temporal, cf. the common *successio*, though Koffmane, p. 58, suggests that it conveys the notion of authority as well, and is derived from the Jurists¹. The latter may well be the case. *Locus, gradus*, and *cathedra*, all of frequent occurrence, are used of the bishop's position. His authority is usually described as *licentia* or *potestas*, words only used of bishops.

§ 12. *Presbyter* (*presbyterium*, both collective and of the in *Exh. Cast.* 7 requires, or at least gains strength from, the identity in meaning of these terms. Ambrose in his *Epp.*, and the documents included in that collection, consistently use *sacerdos* = *episcopus*. Schepss in Wölflin's *Archiv*, 3. 323, notes the same of Priscillian; see also Miodoński's note to *De Aleutt.* p. 62, with his references. Jerome is the earliest writer to waver in the matter, often using *sacerdos* in both senses, as does Augustine, who states, *C. D.* 20. 10 (Dombart, ed. 2, ii. 433. 16) that the name belongs to both Orders. As late as Ps.-Ignatius, *Hero*, § 3, and Ps.-Pionius, *Vita Polyc.* § 21, *ιερεύς* is used without qualification for 'bishop.' Cyprian constantly calls presbyters his *conpresbyteri*, never his *consacerdotes* or *collegae*. He does not use Tertullian's *summus sacerdos* for 'bishop.'

¹ Cf. Kolberg, *op. cit.* p. 38, n. 12.

office, *compresbyter*) has no variant. In *Test.* 3. 76 *maiozem natu non temere accusandum* Cyprian is bound by his Biblical text (*Vg. presbyterum*). In *Ep.* 75 (814. 30) *maiores natu* is one among many strong evidences against Cyprian as the original translator, as is *seniores* in the same letter, 812. 22.

Diaconus (*diaconium*; for forms see p. 297) is also constant, though it is tempting in a few cases to regard *minister*, *administratio* as meaning 'deacon' and 'diaconate'¹. For *dia-*

¹ Cf. Koffmane, pp. 25, 150. *Minister* and its cognates are often used, and in various senses, by Cyprian. In 590. 15 the clergy other than the bishop are classed as *presbyteri, diaconi, cetera ministeria*; 465. 11 *singuli diuino sacerdotio honorati et in clerico ministerio constituti*, where *et* is disjunctive; cf. Tert. *Praescr.* 29 *tot sacerdotia, tot ministeria perperam functa; ministri ecclesiae* 571. 1 refers primarily to two subdeacons and an acolyte. In 240. 16 the term is inclusive, as also 466. 21. But 738. 25 *altaris ministerium* is 'the office of a deacon,' and the Levites, who are the counterpart to Cyprian of the deacon, are always *ministri* with a *ministerium*, 470. 3, 757. 1, &c.; 469. 10 *diaconus officii ac ministerii sui oblitus*. There is a clear example of *minister*=*clericus*, and probably *diaconus*, in *Ep.* 21 (Celerinus), 531. 12, where the true reading appears to be *et nunc super ipsos factum antistites Dei recognoui idem minister*, 'I, myself a minister, recognize you as raised above God's bishops.' By the common notion that orders were bestowed, *ipso facto*, on confessors, Celerinus in his modesty gives himself a lower and his friend a higher grade in the ministry; cf. *Hermas, Vis.* 3. 2, 1, Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* 1. 184 n., and the Roman *Ep.* 8 (488. 10), where the confessors precede the presbyters; also Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, vol. 3. 241. The evidence is stronger for *administratio*=*diaconatus*. In 2 Cor. 9. 12 *διακονία* is translated *administratio* in Cyprian's Bible (113. 20, 380. 23) instead of the Vulgate *ministerium*; 617. 1 *diaconio sanctae administrationis amisso* appears an identical genitive (cf. *preces orationis*, &c., and *apostolatus ducatus* in *De Aleatt.* 1); 590. 14 *diaconi ecclesiasticae administrationi deuoti*. But the word is used of Aaron's office 411. 10, and therefore also of bishops, 489. 3 *integritas administrationis*, 828. 19, &c., as is *administrare*; *sacerdotium Dei administrare* 735. 17, 770. 15, *Sent.* 1 (437. 5); cf. 510. 15, 608. 6. Both *administratio* and *ministerium* are used of the lower orders of the ministry in the twin passages, 581. 22, 588. 2. In 629. 9 *Cornelius . . . per omnia ecclesiastica officia promotus et in diuinis administrationibus Dominum saepe promeritus* implies, I think, that Cornelius had been a presbyter, for except in this one passage *diuinus* (which probably refers to the Eucharist) is confined to *sacerdotium*, *ecclesiasticus* being the only epithet given to the diaconate and lower grades. Tertullian in *Exh. Cast.* 10 seems to use *minister* of the celebrant at the altar. It is remarkable how little, no doubt intentionally, Cyprian refers to the presbyterate; cf. his avoidance of the word *sacerdos* in relation to it. In another sense *ministerium* occurs 548. 1 *scio . . . paucos (clericos) qui illic sunt uix ad m. cotidianum operis sufficere*, and 502. 12.

conium see p. 299, and cf. Koffmane, p. 25. *Diaconatus* does not occur.

Hypodiaconus is always used for the African subdeacon, not only by Cyprian, but by others, as in *Epp.* 77, 78, 79. It is also used in 572. 12 in a Roman letter, but of a Carthaginian officer. The only case of *subdiaconus* is in the Roman *Ep.* 8 (485. 20); a Carthaginian is spoken of, and this seems the earliest use of the word. No Roman subdeacon is named.

Lector, *lectio* have no variant; *lectionem dare alicui* 548. 6. *Acoluthus* also is invariable, as is *exorcista*, though Cyprian rejects the verb *exorcizare*. *Proximi clero* 548. 5 suggests the *proximi* of the Roman civil service¹. Cyprian mentions all orders of the ministry except the deaconess and the *ostiarium*.

For *religio*, *religiosus* in the sense of orders, clerical, see the note to § 24. *Clerus* as a collective noun is very common, e. g. 466. 10, 689. 13; as an abstract² it is absent. *Clericus* is common as a substantive, naturally for the most part in the plural; as an adjective it is rare, *cl. ministerium* 465. 11, *ordinatio* 466. 10, *epistula* 489. 18, &c. The collective *ordo* (e. g. 808. 17) is very rare, though common in Tertullian.

The words normally employed by Cyprian to describe the appointment of clergy are *constituere*, *ordinare*, *facere*. All are used of all ranks, e. g. a bishop *electus et constitutus* 608. 8; *Sent.* 78 *non olim sum episcopus constitutus*; of a lector 584. 21. *Ordinare*, *ordinatio* are the most common, e. g. *delectus diuina ordinatione episcopus* 696. 26; cf. Hartel's *Index Rerum*; it is used of a deacon 738. 21, of a lector 581. 5. *Facere* is not so common; 593. 8, 597. 12, &c. *Deferre episcopatum*

Nemesianus in *Ep.* 77 (835. 18) actually uses the word for concrete alms; *m. quod distribuendum misisti*. The work of the apostles is *ministerium salutis* in 755. 19. In *De Rebapt.* 5 (A. 75. 31) *integritas ministerii* = validity of the ministerial act, i. e. Baptism. Hartel need not have doubted the text.

¹ *Proximi memoriae*, a *memoria*, &c., holding a position between that of a procurator and of his subalterns. Cf. Hirschfeld, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 211, 215, 265, &c.

² In such senses as *De Rebapt.* 1 (A. 70. 26) *nullum in quocunque clero constitutum*; yet cf. 741. 9.

alicui occurs 739. 17; *cooptare* 678. 9 and *creare* 642. 22 are only used of heretical bishops. *Eligere* and *deligere* both occur several times. The voice of the laity is always *suffragium* 629. 24, 738. 15. *Manum inponere in episcopatum* 739. 17 and 610. 4 (Cornelius). Deposition from orders is twice described by *deponere*, 472. 6 and 739. 23. Usually he contents himself with the wider term *abstinere*, or such general expressions as *excitare de presbyterio*, *separare se a peccatore praeposito*, *indignos recusare* (619. 9, 737. 22, 738. 2), &c.

§ 13. Councils of different kinds are frequently mentioned, but Cyprian appears to avoid anything like technical language concerning their assembly or proceedings. Usually he describes their meeting as *in unum convenire* 627. 14, 779. 2, or *praesentes adesse* 465. 5, 581. 5; *concilium habere* occurs 628. 6, 677. 20; *concilium agere* 680. 10¹; *cogere et celebrare concilium* 775. 5. *Conventus* occurs 600. 22; cf. the *conventiculum* of heresy 220. 23, &c. It does not come within the scope of this paper to deal with the constitution of these Councils, for there is no distinction in Cyprian's language as to their meeting, their proceedings or their decisions, except that in 465. 4, *ego et collegae mei qui praesentes aderant et compresbyteri nostri qui nobis adsidebant*, some distinction might seem to be made as to the status of the different Orders. But in 771. 6 *quid nuper in concilio plurimi coepiscopi cum compresbyteris qui aderant censuerimus*, there seems to be no difference. For the debates of the Council Cyprian has a great wealth of language; *communicato et librato de omnium conlatione consilio* 626. 13, *librata consilii communis examinatione* 717. 16, *ponderare, examinare, pondus examinare, limare, tractare*², &c. The de-

¹ *Concilio frequenter acto*. This must mean frequently assembled, and not largely attended, as the Archbishop of Canterbury would have it in his article *Cyprian* in the *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* *Frequenter* is Cyprian's usual word for often; he only uses *saepe* for purposes of rhythm, and perhaps not more than twelve times in the whole of his writings. Did *frequenter* mean anything but 'often' in the third century?

² Of debates or modes of procedure during the session there is no account. In 627. 16 we read that at a Council of bishops *scripturis diu ex utraque parte*

cision of the council is *decernere, statuere* (*statuere et firmare* 774. 14), *indicare* or *censere*, all of frequent occurrence. The substantives used for the decisions are *sententia, decretum, placitum*, and once (466. 22) *forma*.

The assembly of the clergy at other times than at a council is *consessus* 586. 15, no doubt of the bishop and presbyters only, and *congestus* (unless this be, as is more probable, the dais on which they sat) 688. 2. So also 585. 2 *sessuri nobiscum* is a promise that a lector shall be advanced to the presbyterate. In 689. 13 *clerus tecum praesidens* includes the whole clergy, and refers to function rather than to dignity.

§ 14. The first stage towards Christianity is named *uenire*. Cyprian, with his dislike of Greek words, never used *proselytus*, though it occurs in Tertullian. In the letters of the Baptismal controversy *uenire, ueniens, ad Christum, ad ecclesiam, &c.* are constant. Occasionally he ventures on *ueniens* alone; 769. 18 *uenientem baptizare*. *Catecumenus* occurs twice, 106. 18, 795. 16 (i.e. in *Test.* and Baptismal *Epp.*, in which no attention is paid to style), and in the Roman *Ep.* 8 (488 2), *catechista* never, *catechizare* only in *Ep.* 75 (823. 17). *Audiens* is twice used for *catecumenus*, 524. 14, 548. 8¹, *doctor* for *catechista*; *presbyteri doctores* are mentioned 548. 6, and a *doctor*² *audientium* ib. 8, the latter being a lector; *doctor* without further description 780. 20. *Nouus, nouellus, rudis* seem merely descriptive epithets, and not substitutes for the absent *neophytus*, which has been deliberately avoided.

§ 15. Often as Cyprian has to speak about Baptism, he has no such wealth of synonyms as other writers. He does not

prolatis temperamentum salubri moderatione librauimus, which must mean a compromise. The use of Scripture suggests that in 523. 4 *ut . . . conuocatis coepiscopis secundum Domini disciplinam . . . martyrum litteras examinare possimus, disciplina* may mean 'Scripture,' as in certain other passages; cf. § 6.

¹ Cf. *uerbum audiens* in *De Rebapt.* 11, 14 (A 82. 31, 83. 5, 87. 10) = *catecumenus*. Cf. Kolberg, *op. cit.* p. 63.

² So Hartel in his *Ind. Rer. s. v. doctores*, though in his text he reads *doctorem*, and in the *Ind. Verb. doctores audientes*. It seems impossible to make sense if the traditional reading *doctorem* be abandoned.

go far beyond Biblical language. It is impossible to make a distinction of meaning between *baptismus* and *baptisma*. For forms see p. 297. *Tinguere*, *tinctio* are confined to heretical Baptism, except in two passages, 543. 12, 782. 5, where Cyprian is indirectly citing Scripture¹. The only use of *inluminare*=*φωτίζειν* in this sense seems to be 789. 12 *quomodo possunt tenebrae inluminare?* where the context suggests Baptism, though it may be only a general expression; cf. *Sent.* 22 (445. 10). *Abluere* occurs occasionally; 752. 6 *baptizandi adque abluendi hominis potestatem*; ib. 3 *ablui et purgari eius lauacro*; 219. 21. This no doubt is from 1 Cor. 6. 11 in Cyprian's Bible (168. 3, 275. 11) as well as the Vulgate. In all other instances it has an object in Cyprian, *crimen*, *sordes* or similar words². Christians are *recreati et renati* 294. 11, 365. 21, *reparati* 400. 27, &c., *expiati* 6. 4, 8. 5, 751. 16, *innouati* 204. 6, 769. 7, 803. 1; *reformatus in nouum hominem* occurs 803. 8, *redintegrare* 279. 15. *Purificare* 786. 24, &c. is rare; cf. 578. 26. *Regeneratio*, *sanctificatio*, *renasci* are common property of Christian writers. Baptism is *natiuitas secunda* 6. 6 and often, *iterata* 204. 7, *caelestis* 427. 28, &c. Other similar epithets are also used; cf. Koffmane, p. 78. It is *lauacrum salutare* 204. 6, &c., *uitale* 188. 14; *aqua uitalis*, *salutaris* 374. 8, 752. 5; in the rhetorical language of the *Ad Donatum*, 6. 3 *unda genitalis*. *Fons* in 785. 21, &c. is purely metaphorical³. For the use of *sacramentum* see the note to § 7, p. 253. Those who are duly baptized

¹ This contumelious use of a word which had been normal in the previous generation (Tertullian and the African Bible) must be an indirect attack on Montanism, to which Cyprian never alludes, though it undoubtedly existed in Carthage in his day. *Intinguere*, which also occurs in Tertullian, is used several times in the *Sententiae*, and *tinctio* survived till the sixth century. Paucker, *Subrelicta*, cites it both from Fulg. Rusp. and Fulg. Ferr. In other respects there is little difference between the language of Cyprian and Tertullian concerning Baptism and the Eucharist.

² See Wölfflin in his *Archiv*, 4. 569. His earliest instances of *abluere*=*baptizare* are Tert. *adu. Marc.* 1. 14, Iren. 4. 27. 1.

³ Yet Koffmane, p. 76, sees in it an allusion to a concrete sense of *fons* in Baptism.

become *legitimi Christiani* 760. 16; cf. *legitimi fideles* in *De Rebapt.* 14 (A 87. 12). The gift in Baptism is *gratia*¹, 719. 15, 760. 15, 273. 6, &c. The Baptismal questions are *interrogatio*², 756. 10, &c. *Symbolum*, 756. 7, according to Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* 1. 103 n., is the earliest use of the word.

Vestigium infantis for *pes*, 719. 13, in the ceremonial kissing of the foot which formed part of the Baptismal rite, is no doubt part of Cyprian's attempt to elevate Christian diction. It appears not to be Biblical. The word attained some currency. In the twenty-third sermon attributed to Fulgentius Ruspensis, *De pedibus lauandis*, it is constantly used of the feet.

Concerning *unctio* and *signum crucis* (*signaculum dominicum* 785. 5, *consignari* 751. 6, *signari* 783. 10, *signum et sacramentum* 370. 19, *signum Dei* 664. 25) nothing need be said. *Chrisma* occurs only 768. 14, and is there explained by *unctio*. *Manus inpositio*, after Baptism and penitence and in Ordination, is constant, though the simple *manus* occurs once at least (248. 22). That it is a single word, as Hartel suggests in his *Index Verborum*, seems clear, in spite of one or two rhetorical postpositions of *manus*³.

§ 16. The word *Eucharistia* is not very common. It is

¹ *Gratia* is less used by Cyprian than might have been expected. Besides this use for the gift in Baptism, which is much the most common, it is used for other gifts or favours, e.g. 293. 7 *aduentus Christi aeternae gratiam lucis praebiturus*, 365. 17 *gratia omnis et copia regni caelestis*, 380. 18 *beatus Paulus dominicae inspirationis gratia plenus*. It seems actually to mean 'reward' in several passages, e.g. 202. 18 *uirgines quarum ad gratiam merces secunda est*, 204. 3, 311. 1, 421. 14, &c. *Gratia Dei* = *bonitas* occurs occasionally, 272. 13, 275. 20, &c.; *gratia et indulgentia* together, 432. 14; 425. 10 *homo ad Dei gratiam pertinens* is a Cyprianic abstraction for *ad Deum*. The word is not often used in a general sense of 'spiritual power bestowed'; yet cf. 260. 12, 320. 20. In connexion with the Eucharist I have only noted the strange use, 256. 14 *gratia salutaris in cinerem mutatur* = *hostia*; cf. *ministerium* = *stips* 835. 18.

² Beside the question *Credis in remissionem* sq. which recurs so often, there are traces of the Baptismal formula in 406. 3, 508. 13, and in 192. 20, 281. 4, which contain the word *pompae*, used by Cyprian only in this connexion.

³ On which Koffmane, p. 78, lays stress. But the double genitive required in *manus inpositio episcopi*, which constantly occurs, is almost unknown in Cyprian's writings. I have only noted 262. 11, 665. 3.

absent, for instance, from *Ep.* 63, which is entirely devoted to the subject. Its sense is concrete; communicants are said *eucharistiam accipere*, *Test.* 3. 94 *tit.*, 280. 20, &c., and conversely, 519. 4 *ab episcopo . . . eucharistia datur*; 280. 11 *eucharistiam ad cibum cottidie sumimus*; *eucharistiam contingere, adtingere*, *ib.* 10, 19; *cf.* 407. 24. The word is used as a synonym for *potus sanctificatus* 255. 20. In 768. 19 is an obscurely expressed passage where *eucharistiam facere* stands for the usual *sacrificium celebrare*, as also in *Sent.* 1. *Sanctum Domini* occurs 248. 5, 256. 7, 10; 217. 12 the pleonastic *caro Christi et sanctum Domini*. This may be an ellipse for *sanctum Domini corpus* 514. 12; *corpus Domini* occurs alone 665. 3, &c. Once also, as already mentioned in the note on *gratia* to the last section, *gratia salutaris* is used in relation to *sanctum Domini*, 256. 14 *quando gratia salutaris in cinerem sancto fugiente muletur*, where *sancto* must either stand for *Christo* or be a neuter abstract¹. The usual title for the Eucharistic service is *sacrificium*, either alone as in 256. 9, 697. 23, or more often *s. diuinum* or *dominicum*. The elliptic *dominicum* occurs 384. 20, 714. 13, 14, the last instance being plural. *Hostia dominica* is opposed to *falsa sacrificia* 226. 9, and must be equivalent to *sacrificium*; *cf.* *uictima* for σφαγή in the O. L. of Is. 53. 7². *Sollemnia* is used for the Eucharistic service, 255. 14 *sollemnibus adimpletis*, and 649. 26; in the latter passage also *sollemnitas*³. In 713. 22 the whole service seems to be called *oblatio*. For the use of *sacramentum* in connexion with the Eucharist, see note to § 7. The most remarkable example is *sacramentum crucis* 431. 17. *Celebrare* is the most usual verb with *sacrificium*, *Test.* 1. 16. *tit.*, 256. 9, 466. 19, &c.; 830. 16

¹ *Fug.* 25 (25. 18 Reiff.) *ex ore, quo Amen in sanctum protuleris* seems to be the only similar case in Tertullian. Can it mean to say the response after the *Ter sanctus*?

² Rönsch, *Italia u. Vulgata*, p. 327, and Cyprian 80. 8, 414. 11, 507. 7. Perhaps also in 402. 21 *cum ad uictimam Christi confundantur sidera* is the true reading.

³ Joh. 13. 1 in Tert. *Prax.* 23 has *sollemnitas Paschae* (Vulg. *dies festus*). *Sollemnia* and *sollemnitas* are constantly used by Tertullian of Christian and heathen rites.

*facultas offerendi et celebrandi sacrificia divina*¹. *Sacrificare* occurs 255. 10, but was no doubt avoided through its painful suggestion of the lapsed *sacrificati*. *Sanctificare calicem*, &c., e. g. 255. 21, 701. 17; *sacrificium dominicum legitima sanctificatione celebrare* 708. 10. Beside the use of *offerre sacrificia* already named, 736. 23, 830. 16, it is employed absolutely 479. 15 *offerre apud confessores*, and with *pro* of persons either dead or living (for the latter see § 26) 465. 19, 514. 12. 583. 11. *Oblationem facere pro dormitione* 467. 2 is equivalent to *sacrificium celebrare pro dormitione* 466. 19. *Offerre oblationes eorum* occurs 568. 14; *calix qui offertur*, sc. *Deo* 702. 9; *celebrare oblationes et sacrificia* 503. 21, cf. the use above mentioned of *oblatio* 713. 22. The Eucharist is a *commemoratio* both of Christ 702. 9, cf. 713. 13, and of the martyrs 503. 14, 504. 1, 583. 12. It will be seen that the name of a part of the Eucharistic service is often put for the whole; cf. especially 713. 21 *sic enim incipit et a passione Christi in persecutionibus fraternitas retardari dum in oblationibus discit de sanguine eius et cruore confundi*, i. e. from fear of being detected through the smell of wine².

Some of these terms are used of the worshippers as well as

¹ *Celebrare* is a favourite verb of Cyprian's. Besides this use of *celebrare sacrificia* = *sacrificare*, used also of heathen sacrifice, 673. 16, there are also *celebrare orationes* = *orare* 274. 7, 292. 4; *celebrare diuinas lectiones* 580. 24; *lauacra cottidie* = *lauari* 259. 6; *tot martyria iustorum saepe celebrata* = *perpetrata* 337. 8; *benedictionem celebrare circa Abraham* = *benedicere* 704. 7; (*patrimonium*) *unde opus ceeleste celebratur*, i. e. charity, 380. 11; *acies adhuc geritur et agon cottidie celebratur* 526. 15, and similarly 389. 20 *quale munus est cuius editio celebratur = quod editur*; *sic spiritalibus meritis et caelestibus praeemiis temporum uicissitudo celebratur* = the confessors pass their time, 578. 5. In this vague sense the word is very common in the more rhetorical parts of Cyprian's writings. Compare *De Rebapt.* 2 (A. 71. 21) *notissima omnibus praedicatio celebrata atque coepta a Iohanne Baptista. Celebrare resurrectionem Domini* occurs 292. 25, 714. 20 = commemorate, and so 583. 12 *martyrum dies anniuersaria commemoratione*, and 503. 15. In 193. 12 a passage of Scripture is introduced by *scriptum est . . . et in exemplum nostri ecclesiae ore celebratur* = is proclaimed; 763. 13 *cuius aequalitatis sacramentum* (type) *uidemus in Exodo esse celebratum. Cogere et celebrare concilium* 775. 5.

² Cf. Hieron. *Ep.* 114. 2 *sacrosque calices et sancta uelamina et cetera quae ad cultum dominicae pertinent passionis*.

of the celebrant. *Sacrificium* in 384. 22 is used of their offering; they are called *sacrificantes* 255. 27, though this is rendered uncertain by comparison with l. 10; cf. 269. 2 *quando in unum cum fratribus conuenimus et sacrificia diuina cum Dei sacerdote celebramus.*

Altare is constant in Cyprian of the Christian altar. In 688. 2, 722. 4 he contrasts heathen *arae* with *Dei altare*; cf. 360. 4. Once a heathen altar is called *diaboli altare* 679. 23 (so Tert. *De Pallio* 4 *altaria bustuaria*), but he never speaks of *ara Dei*¹; in his most violent attacks upon schism he always speaks of *altaria profana*, never of *arae*. *Nidor altarium*, of heathen worship, 24. 14, is one of many strong evidences that *Quod Id.* is not by Cyprian.

*Communicatio*², and sometimes the full form *ius communicationis* is common; *communicationem tribuere* 249. 9, *ius communicationis accipere* 518. 20, *laxare* 247. 28, &c. The verb *communicare* is equally common; *cum aliquo* 467. 18, 732. 6, &c., being used of the recipient, *alicui* of the celebrant, 568. 13, 632. 9, &c. But there are a few exceptions, as 519. 21, 624. 8,

¹ Yet in the O. L. *ara* was certainly frequent, perhaps constant, in a good sense. In *Apoc.* 6. 9 Cyprian reads it three times, 130. 14, 250. 8, 413. 7. In this verse Tertullian has twice (*Res. Carn.* 25, *De An.* 9) turned it into *sub altari*, but he is paraphrasing the passage. Elsewhere he uses the words indifferently; cf. Kolberg, p. 212 f. Primasius retains *ara*. It occurs in this sense in *Clarom.* in Heb. 7. 13, and in *Jf.* in Jac. 2. 21. In the Vulgate it is only found in the Apocryphal books, which were not revised by Jerome. Arnobius uses the words indifferently, and often in combination, of the heathen altar; Lactantius, I think, does the same. Ammianus, 22. 11. 9, uses *ara* of the Christian altar, perhaps in insult. In the Index to the first part of *C. I. L.* viii. (the African volume) *ara* occurs thirty-five times of the heathen altar, *altare* only once. The Christian altar is not named. The second part of *C. I. L.* viii. is unindexed, but in reading it through I did not notice anything inconsistent with the view that in ordinary language the words were thoroughly differentiated. In Virgil, *Ecl.* 5. 65 *en quattuor aras, Ecce duas tibi, Daphni, duas altaria Phoebos*, the word *altare* seems more dignified than *ara*. It is certainly also rare in Augustan prose. Being stately and uncommon it was well adapted to the Christian need.

² *Communio* is rare, and only used in general senses, as 789. 11 *nullam communionem lumini et tenebris* 758. 4, 10, &c. Cf. the curious use, 545. 15 *cum martyribus in honore communis est = particeps*. Yet in the Roman *Ep.* 8 (487. 20) *communio = communicatio*, and also in *Ep.* 75 (825. 18).

800. 2, where *communicare cum aliquo* is used of the celebrant. The verb is used absolutely, in the sense of *communicationem accipere* 588. 18, 740. 17; similarly *non communicantes* for *abstenti* 262. 1¹. It may be mentioned here that the *Sursum corda* is entitled a *praefatio*, 289. 15.

§ 17. Prayer is usually *prex* or *oratio*. When the word stands alone, *prex*, not *preces*, is almost constant; in the compounds favoured by Cyprian *prex* seldom occurs. *Preces et orationes* in pleonasm is common, 272. 10, 465. 12, 578. 25, 596. 1 (twice), 688. 22; *prex et oratio* 267. 18, 276. 10; *petitiones et preces* 287. 6; *preces orationis* 500. 15; *postulationum preces* 319. 12. *Petitio* is fairly common; *precatio*, 268. 3, is rare. The most common verb is *rogare*; *orare* is also frequent, as is *petere*; *precari* and *postulare* (five times in *Dom. Or.*) not so common. *Deprecari* is used for *orare* 275. 3, 287. 10, 288. 15, 841. 16, as well as in its usual sense; cf. Thielmann in Wölfflin's *Archiv*, 1892, p. 253. Elaborate phrases, such as 501. 7 *oratione communi et concordî prece orantes*, are of course numerous. *Adorare*, *adorator* (e.g. 267. 20, from Joh. 4. 23) are confined to indirect citations from Scripture. The Lord's Prayer is *prex cottidiana*, as in Aug. *C. D.* 21. 27 (Dombart, ed. 2, ii. 548. 30).

For thanksgiving the language is not remarkable, except in the use of *uotum*, e.g. 504. 18 *quid enim uel maius in uotis meis potest esse uel melius quam cum uideo confessionis uestrae honore inluminatum gregem Christi?* i.e. 'for what can I be more thankful?' It is often practically equivalent to, and used with, *gaudium*; 728. 13 *uenientes... cum uoto et gaudio suscipio*, 614. 11 *uoti communis amplissimum gaudium excepiimus*, 641. 11 (*filium*) *cum uoto paternae exultationis amplectitur*, 510. 22, 619. 12, &c.; so in other writers 557. 17, 620. 8, and Quint. 12. 5. 6².

¹ In a badly worded phrase of Stephanus, cited 799. 18, 814. 8, he seems to use *communicare aliquem* for *alicui*. Cyprian takes evident pleasure in pointing out that his opponent's diction is on a level with his arguments; *quae inperite atque inprouide scripsit* 799. 14.

² *Votum* is also often used in the classical sense of desire, e.g. 308. 23

There is not much that is noteworthy concerning watching, literal or metaphorical, and fasting. *In frequentanda oratione nocte uigilare* 288. 22, *inuigilare et incumbere ad preces* 289. 11, *uigilare in satisfactione Dei* 522. 17, and the like are frequent. *Ieiunium*, 377. 13, &c. is common.

§ 18. *Ecclesia*, as the body of Christians,—*ecclesia id est plebs in ecclesia constituta* 711. 18—has already been considered. In *Test.* 3. 46 *tit. mulierem in ecclesia tacere debere* he is borrowing Scriptural language; but 508. 20 *ad ecclesiam reuerti* may mean the place of assembly. This is more probable in 686. 3, where Cyprian speaks of Felicissimus and his companions as not having the courage *ad ecclesiae limen accedere*. But there are no instances so clear as some in Tertullian of this sense of the word. *Statio* is used 598. 9, and also by Cornelius, 612. 7. The only furniture of the Church mentioned beside the altar is the *pulpitum*, from which the lector read the Scripture. The *pulpitum* in 583. 24 is *tribunal ecclesiae*, and the lector *loci altioris celsitate subnixus*. In 581. 1 the exchange by the confessor Aurelius of the *catasta* for the *pulpitum*, on his ordination to the lectorship, gains the more in point the greater the resemblance between the two. In *Pass. Perp.* 19 Saturninus is exposed upon a *pulpitum* at his martyrdom. In *Pass. Perp.* 5, 6 the prisoners' station in court is *catasta*, rendered in the Greek by *βήμα*. Rutilius Namatianus (1. 393) in the fifth century describes Christian sermons as *mendacis deliramenta catastae*. Thus it had come to be equivalent to pulpit. The two words must have been identical in meaning; a platform affording a full view of the person reading, on sale (Pers. 6. 77, &c.), or under trial or torture.

It is remarkable that Cyprian seems to avoid giving a definite name to the Christian meeting. He is contented with vague language, like *colligi* 222. 4 (cf. 659. 15; never the vulgar *colligere* of Tertullian and others; Koffmane, p. 47,

maiora desideria et uota potiora, 351. 15 *studio magis contradicendi quam uoto discendi*, 510. 1, 656. 7, 686. 17, &c.

Rönsch, *It. V.* p. 353), where, however, *extra ecclesiam* may be local; *in unum co.uenire* 269. 1. Perhaps, indeed, there was no permanent church in Carthage. A comparison of 600. 22 *considentibus Dei sacerdotibus et altari posito* at a Council, with 688. 1 *recedentibus sacerdotibus ac Domini altare remouentibus*, suggests that the place of meeting was not permanently devoted to its purpose. Had there been a church the Council would no doubt have met there. But the *cleri nostri sacer uenerandusque congestus* of the latter passage was in all probability a dais, and must have been cumbrous for removal. There is no such use of the word in Georges' Dictionary, and it may possibly, as already suggested, be equivalent to *consensus*, but cf. Apul. *De Deo Socr.* 4 (p. 9. 14 Goldbacher), *usque ad regni nutabilem suggestum et pendulum tribunal euectus*. And when in 688. 1 we read *ut ecclesia Capitolio cedat* it seems as though each were a building, and each perhaps single of its kind.

§ 19. Beside the acts of worship already mentioned there remains the sermon of the bishop. No one else is named by Cyprian as addressing the people. In 527. 20 he speaks of *adlocutio et persuasio*. This was by letter, but Cyprian's letters addressed to the people were really speeches, some of them of the most rhetorical character, written to be delivered for him in the assembly. Though *adlocutio* was a recognized term (Tert., Novatian in *Ep.* 30 and later writers; see Matzinger on *De Bono Pud.* p. 14) Cyprian never uses it again. Instead he constantly uses *tractatus*; *tractatio* never. *Tractare*, in the sense of preaching, occurs in the Preface to the *Testimonia*, 36. 3, where Cyprian states that his object in writing is *non tam tractasse quam tractantibus materiam prae-buisse*. He repeats this, as he usually does with what seem to him happy phrases, in the Preface to the *Ad Fortunatum*, 318. 11 *ut non tam tractatum meum uidear tibi misisse quam materiam tractantibus prae-buisse*. As *tractantes* in the second clause of both certainly means preachers, the word must have the same meaning in the first. The verb recurs in the same sense 633. 17, 659. 15, 842. 1, the noun 219. 3, 383. 7, and in

Ep. 77 by Nemesianus, 834. 7 *non desinis in tractatibus tuis sacramenta occulta nudare*¹.

§ 20. There is not much variety in the mode of address by the clergy to one another and to the laity. *Frater* is normal in both cases, the laity are *fratres et sorores* 473. 8, cf. the common *fraternitas*; *lector frater noster* 565. 14. In directly addressing his correspondents the word rarely stands alone; in the hostile *Ep.* 66 to Florentius always, and also often in the friendly *Ep.* 59 to Cornelius. Elsewhere in that letter the usual *frater carissime* is used. A bishop is called *filius* in 469. 4, and Quirinus of the *Testimonia*, addressed as *fili carissime*, may have been a bishop also, and certainly belonged to the clergy, as the *Magnus filius* of *Ep.* 74, and others so styled by Cyprian may also have done. The only epithets used, except the neutral *desiderantissimus* of the final salutations, are *carissimus* and *dilectissimus*. Of these the former is used for the most part in addressing clergy, the latter in addressing laity, though there are sundry exceptions². *Dilectissimus* is constantly employed in *Ep.* 58, to the *plebs* of Thibaris, in which the Bishop and Clergy of that place, who must have been at variance with Cyprian, are ignored. It is also usual in the treatises, e.g. *de Un.*, *B. Pat.*, *Dom. Or.* *Carissimus* is used more irregularly. Its common use is to the clergy, clergy jointly with laity, or the confessors. Yet in *Ep.* 43, addressed to the *plebs* only, they are *carissimi* four times, *dilectissimi* thrice. But bishops also are called *dilectissimi*, e.g. 435. 11, 806. 15, and in *Ep.* 67, addressed to clergy

¹ From *De Bono Pud.* 1 (A. 13. 5) *cotidianis euangeliorum tractatibus* the sermon seems to have been part of the daily Eucharistic service, cf. ib. 14. 1. Matzinger, *Des hl. Cypr. Tractat de B. Pud.*, Nürnberg, 1892, has shown strong grounds for regarding this treatise as Cyprian's; cf. p. 194. Cyprian uses the noun twice (623. 14, 632. 3), the verb four times (510. 3, 525. 7, 565. 19, 570. 7) of proceedings in Council, where the speeches no doubt had some resemblance to sermons. *Tractatus* appears to be used several times in the *De Rebapt.* in the sense of argument. *Praeconium* (add to Hartel's list 237. 14, 363. 9) is never used in this sense by Cyprian, as Koffmane, p. 97, asserts.

² See Wölflin's most instructive article in his *Archiv*, 1892, p. 19. Nothing can be learned from the recent papers of Bahl and Engelbrecht on this subject.

as well as laity, *dilectissimus* is constant, except in the final salutation, where *carissimi* stands; but the genuineness of this salutation is doubtful.

Dominus is never used by Cyprian. He is so addressed by other bishops, 836. 3, and the word is used several times in the *Epp.* by persons of different classes to their equals and superiors, much as it is in Apul. *Metam.* *Papa, Papas* is confined to Novatian and other Roman writers in their addresses to Cyprian. Cornelius never uses it. *Benedictus* (used in the Rom. *Ep.* 8, 485. 19, *Pass. Perp.* 3, Tert. *Prae-cr.* 30, &c.) is never used by Cyprian either of the living or of the dead. *Beatus* is constantly used for confessors and martyrs; *beatissimus* more rarely, both of the living and dead, e. g. 492. 15, 828. 13.

In addressing others Cyprian often speaks modestly of *mediocritas nostra* (101. 15, 297. 11, 317. 8, 435. 12, 527. 15, 22, 576. 18, 623. 20, 749. 5, 760. 19, 799. 1; *parua nostra mediocritas* 765. 22), for *ego*, an expression apparently first used by Velleius, 2, 111. 3. Elsewhere he uses the word as an abstract in similar passages; e. g. 4. 7, 568. 6, 656. 10, 702. 1, 798. 9. Other examples of self-depreciation are 189. 19 *extremi et minimi et humilitatis nostrae admodum conscii*, 309. 16 *minimus et extremus*, 500. 8 *minimus famulus*. The two last are justified by being used of himself as favoured with a vision. There is no formal system of abstraction, *sanctitas tua*, &c. in Cyprian (cf. Wölfflin in his *Archiv*, 1892, p. 3), yet there is a certain approximation to it; e. g. 495. 13 *admoneo religiosam sollicitudinem uestram*, 588. 3 *diligentia uestra*, 504. 15, 676. 13, 775. 7, &c.

It is worthy of notice that Christians in Cyprian's *Epp.* invariably have only one name, in spite of the obvious inconvenience of this in a country so ill-provided as Africa. The only exceptions are in *Ep.* 66, where Cyprian follows the example of his opponent Puppianus in giving himself two names, coupled, in the manner usual in the African inscriptions, by *qui et*¹, and the two Geminii of *Ep.* 1. The same is

¹ E. g. in the unindexed supplement to *C. I. L.* 8, 12499, 14513, 14936, VOL. IV.

the case in the very numerous monumental inscriptions found in the ruins of the great church of Carthage.

§ 21. The payment of the clergy by the laity is rarely mentioned by Cyprian. In 724. 4 he mentions *stipes, oblationes, lucra*; the second is used again, 838. 12, in a passage which shows that it does not necessarily mean Eucharistic oblations. In three other passages he gives what are evidently definite technical terms; 466. 12 *in honore sportulantium fratrum tamquam decimas ex fructibus accipientes ab altari et sacrificiis non recedant*, 571. 1 *interea se a diuisione mensurna tantum contineant*, 585. 1 *ut et sportulis idem cum presbyteris honorentur et diuisiones mensurnas aequatis quantitatis partiantur*. There are thus three sources of income: (1) the *stips*, which is the *stips menstrua* of the Church in its organization as a guild, and forms the *diuisio mensurna*¹. This must also be the *stipendia ecclesiae episcopo dispensante* of 588. 14. (2) *Oblationes*, which can only have been an irregular source of income. (3) *Sportula* and *honor*, with *sportulare* and *honorare*. *Honor, honorare* must have a definite sense, like the *honor medici*², and *sportula* must have the same sense as in the guilds, where periodical distributions were made to the members from the interest of legacies, gifts of the rich, or a general subscription; cf. Schiess *op. cit.* p. 103. The *sportulae* differed in amount according to the rank of the members in the society; cf. Tert. *Ieiun.* 17 (297. 2 Reiff.). Thus in 585. 1 the ordained confessors are to have the same *sportula* as the presbyters; i. e. probably less than the deacons received. Cyprian says nothing about the days chosen instead of the heathen festivals, imperial birthdays, &c., on which the *sportulae* were distributed in ordinary guilds. It is curious,

16608, and once (cf. Hoffmann, *Index Grammaticus ad Africae titulos*, p. 112) *Caecilia Festina qui et Leda*, 16919.

¹ Cf. Schiess, *Die röm. Collegia Funeraticia*, p. 75. The contributions must have been heavy, since they had to provide stipends, as well as to meet the usual expenses of a burial club.

² Perhaps *Relatio Symmachii*, § 15 *cum religionum ministros honor publicus pasceret* has the same meaning. Symmachus is pleading against the abolition of the endowments of the temples.

though probably nothing more, that under the Empire there should have grown up a system of *sportulae* for the maintenance of the Roman worship : cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii. 63.

§ 22. Of Christian virtues the one most commonly inculcated is *disciplina*. Of *disciplina* one sense, in which it represents *διδασκαλία*, has already been mentioned in § 6. It stands more often for loyalty or obedience to the law of God, and of conduct resulting from such obedience, e. g. 268. 18 *precatio cum disciplina quietem continens et pudorem*, where *cum disciplina* is adverbial, 269. 3 *uerecundiae et disciplinae memores*, both of the conduct of worshippers; 429. 15 *ad patrem Deum deifica disciplina respondeat*, 618. 22 *nec remanere in ecclesia Dei possunt qui deificam et ecclesiasticam disciplinam nec actus sui conuersatione nec morum pace tenuerunt*¹; 584. 16, *ut magisterium caeteris praebeat disciplinae*, 742. 21, 527. 7², &c. It is not always easy to distinguish cases in which the thought is that of military discipline from those in which it is of religious teaching. Practically identical with *disciplina*, in its sense of 'loyal obedience,' are sometimes *censura* (see note to § 3) and often *uigor*, though it is more often used of the bishop in his capacity of judge than of other Christians, loyal under pressure³. *Integer, integritas*, also in the sense of 'loyalty,' are common.

¹ In these two passages *deifica disciplina* is simply equivalent to *disciplina dominica* 505. 21. See § 1.

² *Disciplina* is often used with, or in the same sense as, *censura*, e. g. 666. 12 *litteras . . . et ecclesiasticae disciplinae et sacerdotalis censurae plenas*, 625. 14, &c. In 592. 24 *disciplina* is contrasted with *miseriordia*. Closely connected with its use of the teaching of Scripture is that of *disciplina euangelica*, the law of the Gospel, 592. 19, 709. 23, 713. 18, &c. It stands for a lesson learnt, 303. 16 *hanc apostoli disciplinam de Domini lege tenuerunt non mussitare in aduersis*, 802. 12; of proficiency in what has been taught, 9. 5 *disciplina est ut perimere quis possit*. The contrast between the *disciplina* of public and the *conuersatio* of private life, which Kolberg (p. 164 n.) traces in Tertullian, cannot be established for Cyprian. In other respects the two use the word in the same senses and with equal frequency.

³ *Vigor* has a wide and vague use. It is most common as equivalent to *censura*, in the sense named above; 199. 17, 730. 20, &c. *Censura uigoris* 744. 16, and *censurae uigor* 284. 14, are identical pleonastic terms. It is also used for 'severity,' 326. 4, 608. 11, &c.; cf. in the Roman *Ep.* 36 *uigor tuus et*

Caritas and *dilectio* (once, in *Test.* 3. 3 *tit. agape et dilectio*) are equally common. *Adfectio* seems only once (232. 1) to be used of the virtue; elsewhere it is of personal feeling. *Concordia* (*concordia pacis* 217. 23, 220. 17 and *concordiae pax* 285. 11). *Pax* (*pax morum* 618. 23, cf. 621. 17; the adjectives corresponding to it are *pacatus* once, 221. 5 *simplices et pacati*, *pacificus* constantly¹), *quies*, *uerecundia*, *continentia* in the patristic sense, and *humilitas*² are constantly mentioned. The right feeling of man towards God is usually *timor*, e.g. 526. 7 (*timere* 302. 27, and often, *timidus* 501. 10, *timide ac religiose* 716. 7), more rarely *metus* 392. 26, &c., with *metuere* 737. 21, &c. *Trementes ac metuentes Deum* occurs 567. 10; *humilem et quietum et trementem sermones suos* 506. 2. *Obsequium* and *obseruatio* are very common, 392. 29, 741. 23, &c. *Deuotio* is not very common; 631. 5 *deuotio et timor*; 660. 9 *deuotionis fides* equivalent to *fidelis deuotio* 786. 10; *deuote et fortiter* 513. 9, *deuota uirtus* 663. 23, &c., *fidelissimus ac deuotissimus frater* 503. 16. The meaning is always that of loyalty. *Dicatus Deo* (see Hartel's *Index*), according to Bünemann on *Lact. Epit.* 71. 8, first occurs in Cyprian. *Iustus* is fairly common as equivalent to 'righteous,' e.g. 681. 4 *confessores et uirgines et iustos quosque fidei laude praecipuos*; so also *iustitia*, 431. 7, includes all the virtues previously

... *seueritas* (572. 18), and 551. 16, also Roman. It means also the right to jurisdiction, 469. 13 *pro episcopatus uigore et cathedrae auctoritate*, 667. 14, &c. In all these cases it is exactly equal to *disciplina*. It is also often used quite classically for 'power' or 'energy'; 6. 18, 361. 6, 725. 10, &c. *Vigor fidei* is very common, 339. 25, 630. 24, &c.; *uigor continentiae* 638. 16. *Vigor*, *disciplina*, *censura*, *robur*, *tenor* (*tenorem tenere* 621. 17, 725. 9, *tenore custoditae fidei uigere* 828. 17, *si tenor fidei praeualet apud uos* 806. 15, &c.) are all used separately and in combination without any definite difference of meaning.

¹ *Pax* is also frequently contrasted with *turbo*, *tempestas*, *procella* of persecution or heresy.

² *Humilis*, *humilitas* are almost always used in the Christian sense; cf. 507. 16 *humiles et quieti et taciturni* (unmurmuring), and in the Roman *Ep.* 31 (563. 1) *humilitas et subiectio*. In 730. 24 the *humilitas* of brigands to their chief; in 189. 19, 689. 4 it means 'lowly position.' *Humiliare* (373. 7) is rare, except in Scriptural reminiscences.

mentioned. Similar uses are 7. 1, 223. 20, 623. 10¹. *Fides*, as the Christian Faith and in relation to Baptism, has been already mentioned. As a virtue of the individual Christian it is also used in the Scriptural way: e.g. 672. 17 *fides qua uiuimus*. There seems to be nothing peculiar about the manner of its employment. The uses of *credere* are sufficiently given in Hartel's *Index*².

§ 23. Charity and alms are often described as *eleemosynae*. The singular perhaps only occurs in *Test.* 3. 1 (III. 12) *nemini negandam eleemosynam* and 377. 10. The plural seems always to mean 'acts of mercy,' *eleemosynas facere* being the most common use 379. 23, &c., from Acts 10. 2, &c.; cf. 290. 21; there is nothing like *eleemosynas dare*. *Misericordia*, according to Koffmane, p. 30, was first introduced by Cyprian as a translation of *eleemosyna*³. In *Test.* 3. 1 *tit. de bono operis et misericordiae* becomes in § 2 *tit. in opere et eleemosynis*. These are, as is usual in Cyprian, simple pleonasms. *Misericordia* is very common in *Op. El.*, e.g. 374. 22 *addidit eleemosynas esse faciendas*; *misericos monet misericordiam fieri*, which are identical phrases; 375. 18 *misericordiae opera*; 376. 17 *operationibus iustis Deo satisfieri, misericordiae meritis peccata purgari*, and many more. *Miserationes pauperum* = 'acts of mercy to the poor,' occurs 379. 24, from Dan. 4. 24 (377. 6). But the common word for acts of charity is *operatio*, often with the epithet *iusta* (see note to the last §) as in 374. 9, 384. 11, but also without, 382. 27, 503. 18, &c.⁴ *Opus* in the

¹ The word is often also used in the sense of 'adequate'; *paenitentia plena et iusta* 636. 14, *datur opera ne satisfactionibus et lamentationibus iustis delicta redimantur* 680. 21, &c. It is difficult to see the exact meaning in 651. 18 *obtemperandum est ostensionibus adque admonitionibus iustis*; in the Roman *Ep.* 31 (561. 22) *de tuis laboribus iustis* is from the LXX of Prov. 3. 9. For *iustitia* as a rendering of the Biblical *δικαιοσύνη* in the sense of 'alms' see the next section, and J. B. Mayor's valuable note on Jac. 5. 20 on the theological use of *δικαιοσύνη*.

² For *credere Christo*, &c. add 362. 26, 404. 2, 422. 18, 596. 10, 729. 16; for *credere aliquem*, *Sent.* 14 and A. 72. 11; *credere contra aliquem* 734. 10.

³ Yet Tert. *Adv. Marc.* 4. 37 has *misericordiae opera*, and cf. *Fug.* 13 in.

⁴ In other senses the word is rare; 7. 1 *operatio iusta* seems used generally of a righteous life; 466. 8 *Leuitica tribus... qui operationibus diuinis insistebant*.

singular is not very common in this sense, *Test.* 3. 1, 2, 26 *tit.*, 385. 10, &c., though the plural constantly occurs. *Opera* singular is absent, and the plural *operæ* is only used by the illiterate Celerinus, 531. 4. *Operari* is also common, e. g. *Test.* 3. 40 *tit. non iactanter nec tumultuose operandum.* *Operans* occurs as an adjective 394. 3, and 407. 1 *iusti et operantes*, and also *operarius* 379. 17, o. *et fructuosus* 380. 3¹. The last, with its contrary *sterilis*, is often used. *Iustitia* is often used for 'charity.' The word is no doubt derived from δικαιοσύνη, regarded as an exact equivalent for ἐλεημοσύνη, in such Biblical passages as Matt. 6. 1. There is no rendering of this verse in Cyprian, but the Vulgate has *iustitiam*, and probably Cyprian had the same, though *k* reads *elemosinam*. At any rate there are many other Biblical passages from which he might have borrowed the word; cf. Meyer's *Commentary* on Matt. 6. 1. The word is thoroughly adopted and used freely and naturally by Cyprian; *iustitiae opera* 314. 5, *iustitiae ac misericordiae nostrae opera* 392. 19, and *iusta operatio* often in *Op. El.*; *iusti et operantes*, synonymous, 407. 1; cf. 307. 5. As has been already stated, *pius*, *pietas* are not used by Cyprian in this sense. 'To distribute alms' is commonly *dispensare* 393. 12, 588. 14, 700. 19, &c.²

§ 24. The distinctively Christian *conuersatio*, for 'manner of life,' is not much more common than *actus*. Their strict meanings seem to be reversed in 739. 13 *episcopus deligatur plebe praesente quae . . . uniuscuiusque actum de eius conuersatione perspexit*, where *actus* must mean 'character' and *conuersatio* 'conduct.' Elsewhere the words seem to be used

¹ *Opus*, *operari* occur in several senses; *opera saecularia, funesta* 633. 6, 636. 3, &c. In 837. 20 Nemesianus strangely writes *sacrificium ex omni opere mundo. Operari in aliquem* = 'to relieve,' 386. 8, 'to injure,' 483. 8; *operari ad bonos usus, necessitates*, &c., 195. 23, 479. 4, 700. 28; *circa fructum salutis operantes* = 'to win,' 390. 2; *magis ac magis intellectus cordis operabitur scrutanti scripturas* 36. 18; *operatur per improbas mentes virus* 12. 3; *clauo funibus uelis ut fabricetur et armetur nauis operare* 647. 1. The verb is transitive in 11. 6.

² *Expungere* in the very hastily written *Ep.* 41 (587. 13, 588. 5) cannot be regarded as an ecclesiastical term.

indifferently. *Conuersari* is very rare in this sense; e. g. 274. 13 and in *Ep.* 75 (817. 21).

Religio has a wide use, though such phrases as *religio christiana* do not occur¹. It is often employed of the religious frame of mind as in 204. 19 *iustitiam cum religione retinentes, stabiles in fide* sq., which, in Cyprian's language, is probably equivalent to *religiose*, 303. 2 *circa timorem Dei stabilis et firmus et ad omnem tolerantiam passionis fide religionis armatus*, 742. 9 *permanet apud plurimos sincera mens et religio integra*, 743. 17 f. *integritatis et fidei uestrae religiosam sollicitudinem laudamus et adhortamur ne . . . sed integram et sinceram fidei uestrae firmitatem religioso timore seruetis*, *Test.* 3. 3 *tit. agapem et dilectionem religiose et firmiter exercendam* 193. 28, 250. 17, &c. It will be seen that the word is used in passages where there is the notion of steadiness and of awe. The preceding passages have referred to the laity only or to all Christians; but the word is also specially used of the debates and decisions of Bishops and Councils, as 466. 16 *episcopi antecessores nostri religiose considerantes et salubriter providentes*, 716. 7 *sollicite et timide ac religiose*, ib. 25 *religioni nostrae congruit et timori et ipsi loco adque officio sacerdotii nostri*, 736. 20, 805. 9, &c. The connotation of *inreligiosus* is the same, 415. 12 *inreligiosa et inuerecunda festinatio*, 741. 12 *nec uos moueat . . . si apud quosdam aut lubrica fides nutat aut Dei timor inreligiosus uacillat*².

¹ Yet cf. 741. 25 *Iudaeis deficientibus et a religione diuina recedentibus*, 369. 24 *uerae religionis candida lux* contrasted with *tenebrosa superstitio*.

² Beside this general use of *religio* it appears to have definitely that of 'Orders' in two passages; 586. 10 *et promouebitur quidem (Numidicus presbyter) ad ampliorem gradum religionis suae, i. e. sacerdotium*, 629. 11 (*Cornelius*) *per omnia ecclesiastica officia promotus . . . ad sacerdotii sublime fastigium cunctis religionis gradibus ascendit*. So also 510. 15 *administratio religiosa* stands for the usual *ecclesiastica*. But in 478. 14, though a similar passage, *religio* has quite a general sense, as also probably in 600. 22 *in tanto fratrum religiosoque conuentu, i. e. tam religioso* (cf. 609. 2 *tanta laetitia adfecti sumus et Deo . . . gratias agimus, sc. tantas*. Such omissions of a particle through the same preceding are common in Cyprian; see p. 198 n.). The word comes to mean rule, 465. 18 *cuius ordinationis et religionis formam Leuitae prius in lege tenuerunt*, where there are three synonyms; in 686. 18,

Christians are thrice described as *fundati super petram* 210. 16, 579. 9, 625. 4; cf. 188. 10. *Christus qui est petra* occurs 706. 19¹. Progress in Christian life is expressed by *proficere*, which is constantly used in all possible constructions². The result is *promereri Deum*, used by Cyprian at least twenty-three times³; *merita* means almost as often 'punishment' as 'reward,' 359. 8, 496. 19, &c. The metaphor of *agon, palma*, &c. is used of a good life as well as of confessorship, 394. 21 ff., and elsewhere.

§ 25. Sin⁴ is *peccatum* or *delictum*, the former being the more usual. *Peccator*, both as a substantive and as an attribute (*sacerdos sacrilegus et peccator* 769. 2, &c.), is common; *delictor* only occurs 720. 17. *Delinquere*⁵ is somewhat 713. 18 it seems equivalent to *disciplina* and *censura*. In one passage, 698. 20 f., it seems used of a bond, according to the old etymology; *et non tantum dilectio sed et religio instigare nos debeat ad fratrum corpora redimenda*. Here *religio* refers to the *adunatio*, *dilectio* to *fratres* preceding. There remain the three passages 467. 4 *sacerdotum decretum religiose et necessarie factum*, 605. 13 *et religiosum vobis et necessarium existimaui . . . ad confessores litteras facere*, 701. 19 *religiosum pariter ac necessarium duxi de hoc ad vos litteras facere*. The third of these shows that in the second *vobis* cannot be construed with *litteras facere*; and Cyprian never has *litteras facere alicui*. *Vobis* must be equivalent to *erga vos* and *religiosum, religiose* taken in a general sense in all three cases.

¹ The word *petra* is used literally once, 667. 24.

² Hartel's list of these constructions is by no means complete. The word is very sparingly used by Tertullian; it is constantly used by Seneca of moral progress, and very possibly is a part of Cyprian's debt to him.

³ To Hartel's instances add 392. 28, 483. 11, 494. 19, 511. 5, 525. 11, 539. 7, 629. 10, 831. 8, *Vita*, c. 3. All have *Deum* or *Dominum* as direct object, except 494. 19 *coronam de eo promerendam*. The word is not used by the other writers in Cyprian's *Epp.*, and rarely by Tertullian. It is used twice at least by Seneca instead of his usual *demereri*; *Dial.* 7. 24. 1, *Ben.* 2. 2. 1. Apuleius uses it thrice in *Met.* 5. 25, 6. 10, 11. 6 (93. 23, 103. 8, 209. 6 Eyse.). The first and third have *Cupidinem, numen* as objects. The word did not hold its own in later theological literature; Ambr. *Ep.* 63. 112, Hier. *Ep.* 120. 10, Aug. *C. D.* 19. 16, 21. 27 are, I think, the only instances in those writings.

⁴ Much of the language dealt with in this section, though generally applicable, is used by Cyprian only in relation to heresy or lapse, because he rarely has occasion to mention other sins. For the sake of convenience I have dealt with the whole here, instead of placing part in the later sections which deal with those subjects.

⁵ *Delinquere magna* 262. 18 (cf. *peccare gravia* 228. 1), *delinquere in Deum* 717. 10, *delinquentes = delictores* 743. 4.

rare; *peccare* occurs on almost every page. *Mortale crimen* only occurs once, 407. 21¹, *mortalia docere* 469. 3, i. e. the art of acting. Heresy is *falsa et mortalis seductio* 725. 16, and lapse *summum delictum* 518. 2. *Vulnus*, especially in *Op. El.*, is very common for 'sin'². The metaphor is carried out with great consistency; *vulnerati, sauciati, medella, cicatricem obducere, mortuus*, &c. are frequent; cf. 635. 17 ff. Almost as common is the metaphor of disease, *morbus, morbidus* (always, I think, active, as it is in Lucretius' description of the plague, 6. 957, &c.), *contagium*, &c. The Biblical *transgredi* and *transgressio*³ do not occur in the plain sense of 'sin.' The only other common metaphor is that of *labe* 428. 10, &c., *sordes* 374. 17, &c. (singular, *Test.* 3. 54 *tit.*). There is nothing noteworthy about the names of particular sins; *zelus* with *zelare* (in *Z. L.* and elsewhere, as 603. 24) is common; *moechus* 638. 11, &c., is rare.

The duty of man in relation to sin is *paenitere*⁴, or *paenitentiam agere*. *Plangere delicta* 261. 10, &c. (also intransitive 641. 17, 649. 12), and many similar words are used in this connexion. It may be said that much of the language which is used of Baptism as taking away sin, and most of that which is used of Christ's work, is repeated of human effort; cf. such passages as 375. 2, 646. 12. The result of righteousness is *redimere delicta* 195. 24, 387. 16, &c., *tergere peccata* once, 387. 25, *propitiari Deum* 376. 16 (cf. 366. 1), *placare Dominum* 249. 25. *Deponere* (641. 8, &c.), and *exponere* (e. g. 423. 26) *peccata* are used occasionally. Beside *paenitentia* the normal language concerning penitents includes *deprecatio, satisfactio* and *exhomologesis*; 227. 10 *in paenitentia criminis*

¹ *Adulterium, fraus, homicidium* are the crimes so defined. Cp. p. 299 n., and Harnack, *De Aleatt.* pp. 27, 84 ff.

² Cf. Miodoński's note to *De Aleatt.* p. 83.

³ *Vulnera transgressionis* is used by Novatian 551. 21; *transgressio praecepti* occurs 409. 17, *loci sui ministerium transgressi* 757. 2, *transgressor legis* 404. 27. These are the only instances of the word in relation to sin: it never has the absolute meaning of *peccatum*, &c.

⁴ As a personal verb it occurs 526. 16, 647. 13, the first followed by a genitive, the second alone.

constituti Deum plenīs satisfactionibus deprecantur. *Deprecatio*, singular and plural, is common, 377. 14, &c., *satisfactio*, *satisfactiones*, *satisfacere*, *satisfieri* constantly occur; 247. 9, 472. 14, 516. 11, 522. 17, 680. 18, &c. *Exhomologesis* is the regular word for 'confession'; it occurs in the plural 524. 5¹. *Confessio* is only used twice in this sense; 258. 18 where it is explained by *confiteantur* preceding, and 615. 13 in the sense of return from schism². *Exhomologesin facere* is not so common as *confiteri*, or *confiteri peccata*. Cyprian's favourite metaphor for such penitent conduct is *pulsare ad ecclesiam* 682. 18, &c.³ The reward of penitence and confession is *manus inpositio* 514. 11, &c. It is strange, however, though in all probability an accident, that the substantive is never used in this connexion; there is always a periphrasis; *manu eis a vobis in paenitentiam inposita* 525. 18, and the like. *Remissa*, &c. have already been treated of under the head of Baptism. *Absolutio* and its cognates (cf. Tert. *Adu. Marc.* 1. 28) are entirely absent.

The punishment of the impenitents (*contumaces* 248. 16, &c. is common, but hardly precise) is *abstinere*; *abstinere* transitive occurs, 475. 20, &c., ten times in all, *abstentus* also frequently⁴. The full form *abstinere a communicatione*, 590. 4, is not often used. *Colibere a communicatione*, 597. 15, and *prohibere*, 280. 13, do not recur. The opposite to *abstinere* is *admittere* 636. 7, &c., or *pacem dare*, *concedere*, &c., e.g. 717. 15.

¹ The evidence is strongly in favour of *exhomologesis* instead of Hartel's *exhomologesin*; cf. the plural *haeresis* 781. 16, 800. 1, &c., which is the true reading, not *haereses*.

² Probably also 647. 12, though there it may have its usual sense. It was very natural that Cyprian should avoid it, since he has so much occasion to speak of confession in the other sense. But it is almost as rare in Tertullian; perhaps only *Adu. Marc.* ii. 24 *paenitentiae confessio*, *Apol.* 24, *Paen.* 3, 8, *Carn. Xti* 8.

³ It is impossible to reconstruct from Cyprian the ceremony of penitence and readmission. But from *Ep.* 59. 15 it is clear that the account given by Tertullian in *Pud.* 13, though hostile, is not inaccurate. Tertullian's language in relation to sin, penitence, &c., is much the same as Cyprian's.

⁴ For the construction of *abstinere* see Weinhold in Wölfflin's *Archiv*, 6. 509 ff.

§ 26. Human responsibility is recognized as *arbitrium liberum*¹; *Test.* 3. 52 *tit.*, 204. 1, 218. 16, 674. 15; cf. the common saving clause concerning bishops, e.g. 778. 5 *quando habeat in ecclesiae administratione uoluntatis suae arbitrium liberum unusquisque praepositus*. Man's mind and conscience is usually *conscientia*; the word has a wide extension of meaning².

§ 27. Human life is transitory (for *consistens* implying this see p. 311), and its end a summons or departure. *Mors*, *mori* are therefore usually paraphrased, and not often used of Christians without some qualification.

There is a great variety of language concerning death. *Arcessire*, *arcessitio*, from the Old Latin of such passages as *Joh.* 14. 3 (v. Rönisch, *It. V.* 284, and Wölfflin in his *Archiv*, 1893, p. 286), occur respectively twice and five times³. The

¹ So in Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* ii. 5 *liberum et sui arbitrii et suae potestatis inuenio hominem a Deo institutum*, and elsewhere.

² In the sense of 'mind,' e.g. 832. 24 *conscientiae uictoris uigor*, 494. 14 *uoluntas integra et conscientia gloriosa*, 258. 12 *hoc eo proficit ut sit minor culpa, non ut innocens conscientia*, 253. 13, 387. 17, &c. So also *conscientia* is often contrasted with *manus*, mental action with bodily; 256. 24 *manus contaminare, conscientiam miscere*, 634. 5 *manus pura, conscientia polluta*, 528. 2, &c. *Ne quid conscientiam uestram lateret* 547. 12, and similar phrases are very common; 500. 17, 777. 24, &c. Hence the word comes to have the exact meaning of 'knowledge'; 346. 8 (*Paulus*) *qui id quod et didicit et uidit maioris conscientiae ueritate profitetur*, i.e. truth gained by fuller knowledge; of knowledge involving consent, 717. 14 *sine petitu et conscientia plebis*, 727. 4 *sine conscientia et permissu Dei*, cf. 738. 13, &c. This knowledge may be that possessed by others of a person's character; 619. 8 *hanc conscientiam criminum iam pridem timebat*, i.e. public knowledge; so 398. 20 *uirtutum conscientia* is contrasted with *iactantia*; the good character of Christians is well known, though they do not parade it as do the philosophers; so also 10. 26 and probably 631. 11 *qui conscientiae suae luce clarescunt*. *Conscientia sua* seems to mean the general knowledge of Cornelius' merit, not his own conscious innocence. The word also means the sense of innocence or of guilt, more often the latter than the former; so 11. 4, 591. 14, 618. 21, 727. 22. In 634. 10 *tolerabilis conscientia* = a not unbearable sense of sin. Hence the meaning of actual innocence or guilt; 347. 17 *in persecutione militia, in pace conscientia coronatur*, 734. 17, &c.; 256. 5 *inpunitum diu non fuit . . . dissimulae conscientiae crimen*, 283. 17 *admonemur quod peccatores sumus . . . ut conscientiae suae animus recordetur*, 474. 11, 739. 19, &c. *Bene sibi conscius* occurs 260. 5, 549. 4; *male sibi conscius* 678. 8, 683. 7.

³ The verb in 308. 15, 730. 14 in addition to Hartel's instance from *Ep.* 22 (Lucianus).

Scriptural *dormire* is fairly common; *dormitio* is only used for peace after death, 466. 19, 467. 2. But usually words are chosen which simply convey the thought of departure; *abscedere* 636. 12, *decedere* 654. 3, *excedere* 304. 13, 466. 17, and often, and *recedere* 309. 20, &c., are all used absolutely¹; *excedere a* or *de mundo, istinc, &c.* is also common; *de mundo recedentes* occurs 319. 9. *Exire* 730. 14 *exire de saeculo, &c.*, 300. 21, 26, 308. 18, &c.²; *perire*, of a Christian's death, perhaps only 307. 11; *transire ad immortalitatem* 503. 21. *Proficisci ad Dominum* 731. 21, cf. 339. 6, *transgredi ad immortalitatem* 310. 22, seem not to be repeated. The corresponding nouns are *excessus* and *exitus*, with and without *de saeculo, &c.* Of these the latter is the more common, though *excedere* is much more frequent than *exire*. *Transitus* and *transgressus* stand together, 310. 24, 25 (cf. 192. 21 *transgressus* of the entry upon a new life in Baptism); *profectio* 833. 6, *profectio et translatio* 311. 14, borrowed from the Biblical *transferri* used of Enoch, *ib.* 16, 20; *reditio* occurs 394. 26³. The curious *excidium*, which has almost a literature to itself, is used 312. 22; see p. 299. To die before another is *praecedere* 695. 6, 828. 7, *antese mittere* 585. 16, *praemittere* 586. 6: cf. 282. 13. *Resurgere* is used of man in the Scriptural manner; *corpore redeunte* 16. 3. Concerning burial there is no noteworthy language; *cimiterium* is used of a Roman place of burial, 840. 9, cf. *Acta*, § 1 (cxi. 9); in 740. 20 *apud profana sepulcra depositos* is the language of a letter from Spain, not that of Cyprian.

The dead are commemorated at the altar; the *oblatio* is made for them, including the martyrs, and the Sacrifice

¹ So *cedere* in the Roman *Ep.* 8 (486. 18); *recedente spiritu* 559. 6, also Roman; *recessit* absolute on a tomb, *C. I. L.* 8. 2010, for *obiit*. There is a valuable collection of terms for death, Christian and heathen, in A. Kübler's article on the Latinity of African Inscriptions in Wölfflin's *Archiv*, 8. 183, which shows that these forms of speech were by no means exclusively Christian. I have found this article a valuable supplement to my own reading of *C. I. L.* 8.

² *Exire* occurs in *Pass. Perp.* 11 (twice) and 13 in this sense; it seems to be absent in Tertullian.

³ Cf. *reditio episcopi urbei* in the heading given by most MSS. to *Ep.* 9.

offered, 466. 19, 467. 2, 503. 14, 583. 10. At the altar the name of the deceased is pronounced 466. 20; the *anniversaria commemoratio* of martyrs in 583. 12 no doubt took the same form. *Deprecatio* on behalf of the deceased is also mentioned 467. 3, but it is not clear whether this is distinct from the naming at the altar; the *aut* need not be disjunctive. But *frequentetur* would appear to indicate that there was, for a Christian who died a natural death, one funeral celebration of the Eucharist, and afterward for some time a mention of his name in the usual service. *Deprecatio* is not spoken of in the case of the martyrs.

The true life is *vita*; 370. 4 *hic vita aut amittitur aut tenetur*, 288. 1, 526. 5, and often. *Vitalis* in the sense of 'life-giving' is also frequent; *aqua vitalis* 188. 14, 219. 20, &c., *remedia* 254. 9, *praecepta* 189. 24, *fontes* 786. 12, &c.; so also *vivere*, *Deo vivere*, *in Deo vivere* 187. 4, 283. 11, 370. 2, 753. 5, &c.; *vividus cultus* = *aeternus* 16. 1; *viventes episcopi* 726. 4. *Vivificare* in the senses both of 'giving life,' as 370. 17, and 'restoring to life,' as 275. 17, is common; *vivificatio* 394. 9, &c. *Caelum* is varied once, at least, by the Biblical *caeli* 658. 27, and by *caelestia*, also Biblical, 204. 4. Neither of these is in a Scriptural context. *Regnum caelorum* is common, and *regnum* also without definition, e. g. 432. 15; see Hartel's *Index Verborum*: *regna caelorum* 394. 10; *superna*, at least four times, 362. 19, 392. 27, 428. 19, 579. 2¹. *Paradisus* occurs 390. 10, 829. 19, and in a few other passages. *Refrigerium*, also Biblical, is used occasionally, e. g. 829. 26; but Cyprian never employs Tertullian's *refrigerare*. *Consummare*, *consummatio* are frequent, 379. 5, 489. 3, &c.; *Consummator* (sc. *Christus*) only 242. 6.

§ 28. It remains to speak of the enemies of the Church, *diabolus*, *saeculum*, *haeretici*, &c. *Diabolus*, of course, is common, but Cyprian, with his usual dislike of Greek words, more often paraphrases the name. *Aduersarius* is the most

¹ *Superna*, I think, occurs only once in Tert.; *Scorp.* 10 (167. 8 Reiff.). His words for heaven are the same as Cyprian's, but *paradisus* is much more common.

common substitute ; 289. 18, 580. 7, &c., *Inimicus* somewhat less frequent, e. g. 211. 9 ; *Aduersarius et Inimicus*, together by pleonasm, 667. 20 ; *Aduersarius uetus et hostis antiquus* 317. 20. Both are used as actual substantives, and with attributes ; *expugnator Inimicus* 201. 18 ; cf. 249. 10, &c. *Malus* = δ *πονηρός* is used 286. 6, 287. 13, &c., but less often than by Tertullian. *Malignus* is not used by Cyprian. It has been already mentioned that he never has *Satan* or *Satanas*. *Immundus spiritus* (cf. *Pass. Perp.* 21) is opposed to *Spiritus Sanctus* 645. 12, and is elsewhere used for *diabolus*, but more commonly is in the plural. *Serpens* occurs several times, 210. 1, 373. 15, &c., but *draco* is absent. Cyprian is apparently the inventor of the adjective *serpentinus* 431. 15, 806. 9. Evil spirits are *immundi spiritus* often, *immundi et erratici spiritus* 7. 16 (cf. *spiritu erroris abreptus* 211. 2), *spiritus nequam* 765. 1 and in *Ep.* 75 (817. 10), *peccatores et apostatae angeli* 197. 26. *Daemonia* seems to occur only 645. 11, *daemon* not at all¹. For the ejection of these spirits Cyprian never uses *exorcizare* ; he leaves it to the speakers in the *Sententiae*, though he is obliged to use the recognized *exorcista*. He gives instead rhetorical descriptions of the exorcist's work, *flagellare, urere, torquere*², &c., without any word for the actual command to depart. *Aliurare* occurs only once, 361. 18, and in *Quod Id.* 25. 3. Diabolical action is described with much variety, *conflictatio, infestatio, incursatio, laqueus, labes, uenenum, funus, adulator, ueterator, praeuaricator, feralis, funestus, letalis, circumuenire, grassari, deicere, auertere. euertere*, &c. *Inferi* is the normal name for hell, 362. 19, 636. 8, 647. 12, &c. ; *gehenna* occurs several times, the only Hebrew word used by Cyprian which he could have avoided, e. g. 483. 8, 689. 9. But he prefers

¹ In *Quod Id.* both are found, 23. 15, 16 and 24. 4 ; *daemon* also in *Ep.* 75 (817. 8), and *daemoniacus* in *Sent.* 1 (436. 16). Tertullian uses *daemon* and *daemonium* indifferently, but avoids the forms *daemoniorum* and *daemonibus*. I have only noticed these four times and once respectively.

² Cf. *C. I. L.* 8. 2756 *carminibus defixa iacuit . . . ut eius spiritus ui extorqueretur quam naturae redderetur*. Here *extorquere* must stand for *eiicere*. It is a heathen monument to a wife. The conduct of the demon is described in language very like that in which Cyprian speaks of the exorcist, e. g. 361. 18, 764. 15.

to paraphrase ; *poenalis flamma* 665. 8, *ardens semper gehenna et uiuacibus flammis uorax poena* 368. 16¹, &c. He does not use *tartarus*, though it is employed by Tertullian and by Novatian in *Ep.* 30 (555. 19).

§ 29. *Saeculum* is the usual word for the world, in the theological sense, as translating κόσμος, but there are a number of exceptions, where *mundus* appears ; 363. 22, 365. 21, 397. 16, &c. ; *saeculum et mundus* pleonastic 250. 1, 312. 4. If Haussleiter² is right in making *saeculum* in this sense distinctively African, Cyprian's use of *mundus* may be derived from the Baptismal formula, which no doubt was used exactly as it had been brought from Italy ; 406. 3 *qui diabolo et mundo renuntiauimus* appears to be a clear allusion to it. *Terra* is used once only in this sense, 501. 5 ; cf. the argument of *Dom. Or.* § 17. The adjective *saecularis* constantly occurs, with *saeculariter* (103. 22, &c.) ; *terrenus* also often, *terrestris* at least twice, 7. 7, 244. 22, and cf. 411. 8 ; *mundanus* never.

The people of the world are, as already mentioned in § 8, *genus humanum* as contrasted with the *diuinum genus*. In the *Testimonia* they are called simply *gentes*, and also in *Ep.* 63 (704. 2, 711. 3, 6³). *Exterae gentes* occurs only 740. 20, and is not Cyprian's own, but the language of the Spanish letter whose contents he is reciting. Is it the case that the remoter churches used archaic language through their isolation, when terms had changed in the more central ? We have seen that *hypodiaconus* only was used at Carthage, while *subdiaconus* has been introduced at Rome⁴. *Allophyli* occurs once in the *Testimonia* (83. 19) ; *alienigena* four times ; once in the

¹ Cf. *uermium edax poena* 410. 9.

² In *Acta Sem. Erlang.* iii. p. 432, on the Palatine version of Hermas. *Mundus* is even rarer in Tertullian than in Cyprian.

³ An additional evidence, if one were needed, for its being among the earliest of Cyprian's writings, composed before his style was formed.

⁴ According to Haussleiter's article, cited above, in the older and, as he says, African version of Hermas, *gentes* or *exterae gentes* is almost constant. We see that Cyprian only uses *gentes* in his earliest writings, and *exterae gentes* never. *Nationes* also is avoided, though it stood in Cyprian's Bible ; see Koffmane, p. 23.

Testimonia (83. 25), once in this reproduction of the Spanish letter, 740. 21, and twice in indirect citation of Scripture, 342. 2, 366. 22. It is thrice cited from Malachi 4. 1. It is to be noticed that, though *alienigena* occurs sparingly in the Vulgate as revised by Jerome, it is very common in the books where the old version has been left untouched. None of these words, then, are used by Cyprian after he had formed his style. He confined himself to *ethnicus* (775. 21, &c.) and *gentilis*. The change that was passing over the language of the Church may be seen in the rarity of *ethnicus*, though that seems the most common word in Tertullian for 'heathen' ¹. Even in the titles to the *Testimonia*, where Cyprian has used so many archaic words, only *gentilis* is found. There seems to be no other synonym in Cyprian; *profanus* is only descriptive. Though the word is Biblical, yet it is not common either in Scripture or in Tertullian, and Cyprian in all probability borrowed it from his knowledge of classical literature. He usually reserves it for heretics, but *profanus arbiter*, *templa*, *dei* are found 3. 11, 399. 4, 411. 7, and the word 366. 4, 23 of heathens.

Idolum is constantly used, and also, though less commonly, *simulacrum*; *figmentum* occurs thrice (362. 15, 399. 5, 411. 8), as in Novatian, *Trin.* 3, and Tertullian, *Jud.* 1; it was perhaps frequent in the Old Latin; it still stands in Vulg. Sap. 14. 16. *Idolatra* occurs 645. 19, *idolatria* often ². *Ara* is used 242. 24, &c., *altare*, for the sake of variety, of a heathen altar, 243. 1, but never again. For these words see § 16. There is nothing remarkable about the words used for heathen worship; *sacrificia celebrare* 673. 15, *sacrificare idolis* 242. 13, *sacrificantes* 238. 5, &c. *Adscendere* stands alone 242. 11, *ad-*

¹ *Gentilis* is rare in Tertullian except in *Ad Ux.* and *Cult. Fem.*, where he uses it freely. He constantly uses *nationes*, very rarely *gentes*. *Allophylus* and *extraneus* are occasional variants for his normal *ethnicus*.

² So these forms are certainly to be spelt; see especially 325. 22, and 740. 12, 22; in these two last instances Hartel's MSS. have no variant. Cf. Wölfflin in his *Archiv*, 5. 496 and 8. 6, Miodoński on *De Aleatt.* 5. 3, and Koffmane, p. 37. Tertullian uses the full form (yet cf. 368. 4 Reiff.), and in Lucifer also (see Hartel's Article in Wölfflin's *Archiv*, 3. 23), the MS. has *idololatria*, &c. more often than the syncopeated form.

ascendere Capitolium 254. 16 ; cf. 242. 19, 531. 19. This would seem to have become a synonym for the offering of sacrifice. A worshipper of idols is often called *sacrilegus*¹, usually in rhetorical contrast to *sacerdos*, *sacrificium*, &c. 253. 22, 399. 5, &c.

§ 30. The trouble caused by the heathen to the Church is *persecutio*, *tribulatio* or *pressura*. The two last are renderings of *θλίψις* from Scripture. *Pressura*², though its use is not always precise, is more definitely connected with persecution than *tribulatio*. The descriptions of confessorship and martyrdom as *aliud baptisma* (i. e. *alterum*) or *sanguinis baptisma* (319. 4, 796. 1, cf. *Pass. Perp.* 18. 21, &c.), *purificatio confessionis* 578. 26 (cf. 786. 24 of Baptism), *tormenta quae martyras Dei consecrant et ipsa passionis probatione sanctificant* 481. 12, and the like, belong rather to Theology than to the study of language. That which is confessed is *nomen* or *nomen Christi*; usually the former, e. g. 103. 23, 278. 3, 795. 18, &c. The language used concerning modes of torture, &c. does not belong to this subject; it is naturally often rhetorical. Prison, for instance, is rarely *carcer*; *hospitium carceris* 494. 2, 577. 22, *poenalis locus* 577. 12, *poenale receptaculum* 578. 15, and other paraphrases take its place. There is a great variety of language for the martyrs' reward, in such *Epp.* as 28, 37, 38, 39, 76, which need not be given here. The characteristic word is *palma* 402. 15, 493. 20, 831. 24, &c., which takes the place of the *brauium* of Tertullian. Cyprian read it, and not *brauium*, in 1 Cor. 9. 24 (141. 5, according to the true text, 330. 1, 493. 7).

All who stand firm under persecution are *stantes*; those

¹ Cf. *De Aleatt.* 7, with Harnack's note, p. 23, who says that *sacrilegium* = *idololatria* is common in Sulpicius Severus.

² This word, which Jerome has almost banished from the Vulgate, where it now stands in only seven passages—six in the N. T., which Jerome probably overlooked, one in the Apocrypha, and none in the O. T.—must have been as common in the Old Latin as *tribulatio*. In Cyprian its common use is of persecution, e. g. 241. 23, 833. 14, of want, less often, as 291. 26, 479. 4, and also of trouble generally. It is used literally of overcrowding, 534. 13, by Lucianus. The Roman Christians still used *thlibomeni*, 487. 21, as in Cornelius' letter in Eus. *H. E.* 6. 43. 11, and *Canon. Apost.* 22.

who suffer, whether fatally or not, are *confessores* (*confitentes* once, 615. 5) or *martyres*. *Testis* (cf. *Vita, init. Cyprianus . . . testis Dei gloriosus*) does not seem to be used. *Confessor* and *martyr* are used equally often, and quite indifferently¹; the pleonastic *martyres et confessores* 513. 5, 520. 17, &c. *Confiteri, confessio* stand both alone and with *Christum, Christi* dependent. *Confessio nominis* 653. 22, &c. *Martyrium* or *martyria facere* occurs several times, perhaps on the analogy of *stipendia facere*; *martyria edere* once, 742. 3; *martyrium tollere* 653. 12. In 698. 3 is the otiose *confessionis martyria*, and 260. 7 *uirtutum martyria*². *Passio* and *passiones* are frequent.

The *uirtutes, laudes, gloriae*, all meaning meritorious actions, of the confessors are often mentioned, e.g. 547. 3, 577. 1, 578. 12³. But the characteristic virtue of the confessor is *tolerantia* 204. 20, 415. 14, &c. The wealth of epithets for the confessors is great; *gloriosus, inlibatus, immaculatus, inconcussus, inmotus*, &c. *Beatus*, used in addressing them, has already been mentioned; cf. 576. 22 *beatum facit prima et una confessio*. Was it a recognized title?

Exile, either voluntarily endured to escape death, or inflicted as a punishment, is often mentioned. The sufferer is always *extorris*⁴, *profugus*, &c. being only used for variety, and *exul*, I think, never. Bishops are sentenced to *relegatio*; Lucius of Rome, for instance, 695. 19. If this instance stood alone it would be a strong confirmation of the statement of

¹ Cf. Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers*, ii. p. 26 f. 'The Decian persecution would seem to have been instrumental in fixing this distinction between martyrs and confessors.' The traces of it in Cyprian are very slight; 627. 8 *Moyse tunc adhuc confessore nunc iam martyre*, and Nemesianus' description in *Ep.* 77 (834. 15) of martyrdom as *magna confessio*. *Confessor* and *confessio* are very rare in Tertullian; they were perhaps only just coming into use when he wrote, through a popular dislike of the Greek equivalents.

² While *confessio* has almost lost the sense of 'confession of sin,' *exhomologesis* has lost that of 'confessing,' in the sense of recognizing, God's glory. Yet it must have had it in Cyprian's Bible (260. 10, cf. *Test.* 3. 114), though he preferred to take it in the meaning which he always gives to the word.

³ *Laus* in this sense also occurs in the singular, e.g. 621. 8. Cyprian may have remembered Virgil, *Aen.* 5. 355 *primam merui qui laude coronam*.

⁴ There is some evidence, e.g. 507. 2, 616. 16, 633. 11, for Cyprian's having used the vulgar form *extorrens*.

the Felician catalogue that Lucius was born *patre purpureo*, since *relegatio* affected only the higher classes. Yet both in the *Vita* and in the *Acta* Cyprian is sentenced not to *relegatio* but to *exilium*, while we read in 731. 21 of a large number of bishops *in exilium relegati*. If the episcopate could be desired for worldly reasons, as Cyprian says in *Laps.* 6 and *Ep.* 65. 3, they could hardly be among the *tenuiore*s of Roman law, and subject to the heavier punishments of such¹. Voluntary exile is *cedere*, 244. 13, *secedere*, 244. 10, 14, and often, *recedere* still more commonly, 570. 15, 659. 20, &c.

In connexion with confessorship Cyprian uses many metaphors, especially those of sacrifice, of warfare, of the arena and the race. Martyrs are *victimae* 698. 4, *hostiae* 830. 23, *hostiae et victimae* 652. 24; cf. 561. 18 in the Roman *Ep.* 31. The Church is *castra Christi*, *caelestia*, &c., often certainly, perhaps always, in the sense of army, not of camp; e. g. 363. 12, 693. 11, 806. 5; yet cf. 490. 16. Confession is constantly *proelium* (492. 8 *proelatores et adsertores sui nominis*), *certamen*, e. g. 545. 7 ff., &c. Christians are *commilitones* 686. 15; *militare Deo* occurs 297. 15, *militia* for the Christian warfare, campaign, conduct in battle, is frequent, 649. 13, 658. 28, &c.² *Commeatus* of respite from martyrdom occurs thrice, 494. 22, 581. 20, 632. 24³.

The Christian conflict is also compared to that of the gladiator. In 498. 12 the devil is seen in vision as a *retiarius*.

¹ Probably, therefore, the possibilities of suffering for Cornelius mentioned in *Ep.* 55. 6 (630. 21 ff.) are only rhetoric. In the hostile *Ep.* 8 (486. 1) the Roman clergy call Cyprian a *persona insignis*. They seem to be magnifying his fault in retiring by alluding to his position in society, which would have saved him, at the worst, from such punishment as humble Christians endured. Yet in *Ep.* 76 (829. 13, 17) we find bishops suffering from *infamia vincula*, *infamia*. This is the only use of the legal term *infamia* in connexion with this persecution. Some of the bishops may have been of humble position, but legality was not considered in Valerian's persecution. Clergy of all orders were being treated as convicts in the mines.

² *Militia* is equivalent to *exercitus* in 545. 8 *caelestis militiae signa mouistis*, and 657. 24. *Miles* is collective 491. 21.

³ It is used in the meaning of recovery from sickness, 309. 1, 14; so also in *Sen. Ep.* 54. 1.

In 664. 23 the *galea* is described, covering the whole head, and seems to be that of a gladiator. The very term *stantes* is identical with, if not borrowed from, the gladiatorial name for the victor¹. The gladiator's food is used as an illustration in the Roman *Ep.* 31 (557. 18) *ita illas (litteras) uoto esuriente suscepimus ut ad certamen inimici ex illis nos satis pastos et saginatos gaudeamus*; literally, of a gladiator in *Ad Don.* 9. 1. Further passages, such as 15. 20 *cum semel pectus caelestis sagina saturauerit*, 401. 17 *diebus quadraginta iciunat per quem ceteri saginantur*, Tert. *Res. Carn.* 8 *caro corpore et sanguine Christi uescitur, ut et anima de Deo saginetur*, suggest that there may have been in the Old Latin Bible a use of *saginare* as meaning to strengthen or satisfy, in such passages, for instance, as Matt. 5. 6. But there seems to be no evidence of any such use; there is certainly none in Tertullian or Cyprian. It seems therefore more probable that the word, even in these cases, comes from the same metaphor². Apart from this use the word is employed by Cyprian in its usual classical sense of gluttony, 259. 6, 468. 20. The *agon*³ or *certamen* which was the object of the *spectaculum* (all these words are equally common) was often athletic, but sometimes clearly gladiatorial; e.g. 526. 15 *acies adhuc geritur et agon cottidie celebratur*, 578. 13 *agon unus sed multiplici proeliorum numerositate congestus*. In the latter the confessor has to meet a succession of fresh opponents, like the *ter fortis* of Quint. *Decl.* 271. Indeed Cyprian's use of *fortis* seems generally to be the technical one of Quintilian's *Declamations*, in which it is common, as also in Quint. *Inst.* 7. 7, not merely meaning brave, but implying that the courage has been shown in action, and the reward earned⁴. The

¹ See the examples from inscriptions collected by Friedländer, *Darstellungen*, ii. 363, 518.

² For the gladiatorial use cf. Apul. *Met.* 4. 14, where the robbers are described as *pulpis saginantes* (intransitive) in preparation for their *instans militia*; Quint. *Decl.* 9. 5 (cited by Mayor on Juv. 11. 20) *alebat deuotum corpus grauior omni fame sagina*. For the word cf. Koffmane, p. 99.

³ Cf. Is. 7. 13 in 74. 4, 492. 21, and for the subject Origen, *Protrep.* 18.

⁴ The use of so unchristian an illustration as that of the gladiator, if it did

general language of training, running, receiving a crown, &c. in such passages as 317. 19, 493. 3, 663. 18, &c. is, of course, in the main Pauline, but has been much developed. In 580. 4 there is an allusion to some arrangement of the games. The confessor passes through a *geminus agon*; first *cursus* and then a *certamen fortius*. Is this wrestling?

There are several notices of the reverence paid to Martyrs. The date of their death is recorded, 503. 14, though Cyprian never calls it their *natalis*, and *commemorationes* or *memoriae* (the words are probably synonymous, *memoria* not having the later sense of 'tomb') held for them, 503. 15, 583. 12. Sacrifice is offered for them as for others who are deceased; cf. pp. 267, 284, and not simply in memory of their victory.

For martyrdom as a *baptisma sanguinis* see especially *Ep.* 73. 21, 22, and p. 319. 5 ff. The thought is common both in Cyprian and Tertullian, e. g. *Scorp.* 12, *Bapt.* 16 (174. 6, 214. 14 Reiff.).

The opposite to *confessio*, *confiteri* is *professio* 256. 25 (cf. Novatian, 550. 24), *profiteri* 238. 25, and perhaps 842. 5. Though *lapsus* is constant for a fallen Christian, *labi* does not occur except in compound tenses, as 541. 7, 650. 18, &c. *Apostolare* is used only 652. 10; it is, no doubt, simply an accident that *apostata* refers only to heretics, 632. 10, 647. 16; cf. 197. 26, 825. 18. The downfall itself is *lapsus* 648. 15, &c., but more often *ruina* 239. 18, 501. 16, 721. 17, &c. Metaphors from death, disease, shipwreck, &c. are common. Many have been given already in § 25; much of this language is also used in reference to schism: see the next section. The kinds of *lapsi* mentioned are *libellatici*¹, of whose crime

not arise from the circumstances of common life, must have come from the Stoics. Friedländer, *Darstellungen*, ii. 400 n., cites from De Rossi a Christian vessel found at Tunis with the figure of a victorious *thrax* or *retiarius* upon it. De Rossi says that it is a symbol of the triumphant soul; Friedländer would have it to be a charioteer. Whatever archaeological reasons he may have, no weight can be attached to his further argument that Christians would never have used such a symbol. Cyprian, we have seen, had no such scruple. For his relation to Seneca see p. 202, and cf. *Tert. Mart.* 1.

¹ *Libellus* is used by Cyprian for his own treatises, 36. 7, 623. 16, 798. 19,

a variety is that of those *qui accepta fecissent* 551. 3 (Novatian), whatever the exact meaning of that may be; *turificati* and *sacrificati*. These names are perfectly definite in their employment and belong to history rather than to a study of language.

§ 31. *Haeresis* and *schisma* are identical terms in Cyprian, though constantly used, after his pleonastic fashion, together¹. *Haereticus*² and *schismaticus* are equally constant and identical in meaning. *Haeresin, schisma facere* are also normal, 746. 6, 754. 17, &c. Cyprian tried several Latin substitutes, but apparently was not satisfied with any; *discretio et separatio* 603. 2, *discessio* 619. 15, *schisma et discidium* 666. 20, *discidium conpaginis, fraternitatis, unitatis* 231. 10, 604. 16, 672. 8, *discordia* (not moral, but actual schism) 222. 7, 642. 24³; cf. *diuortium* 215. 8. The authors of such division are *diuersa pars* 600. 1, i. e. hostile, cf. *conuenticula diuersa* 220. 24; *discrepans*⁴ *factio* 602. 7; *discordes* often, though *dis-*

&c.; of a letter from the lapsed, claiming communion, in *Ep.* 33 (568. 3), but there is some doubt of the genuineness of this *Ep.*; of the letters of the confessors readmitting the *lapsi* to communion, 523. 19, &c., which are also called *litterae*, 541. 6, 9; finally, of these certificates given by the magistrate that a Christian had sacrificed, 341. 19, &c. The use in *Ep.* 33 resembles the Egyptian *libellus* lately discovered; see Harnack in *Theol. Litztg.* 1894, p. 38. The thing existed in Tertullian's time, though he does not name it; cf. Kolberg p. 146.

¹ Cf. 598. 16, 746. 6, where *haeresis* clearly means schism. The very fact that they are used together is in Cyprian's style an evidence that they are identical; cf. *sauciati et vulnerati, preces et orationes*, and so many more. The only passages where there seems to be a distinction of meaning are a few in which they are joined by *uel—uel*, instead of *et—et*, but there are so many instances in Cyprian in which *uel* is not disjunctive that no argument can be drawn from these; besides them there are only 614. 14 *schismaticus immo haereticus furor*, and 805. 1 *cum uero nulla omnino haeresis sed neque aliquod schisma habere salutaris baptismi sanctificationem foris possit*, neither of which is more than rhetoric.

² Cornelius seems to use *haereticus* 611. 13, 612. 14, which Cyprian rejects.

³ Jerome, *Ep.* 94. 2, ventures on *scissura*; cf. Vulgate, 1 Cor. 11. 18; Cyprian and Tertullian do not cite this text. Cyprian only has the word from 3 Reg. 11. 31, in 216. 2. In *Sent.* 5 (440. 1) occurs *qui diuisionem faciunt, hoc est schismaticos et haereticos*. The Echterbach Gospels stand alone in reading *discisio* for *σχίσμα* in Joh. 7. 43; Vulgate *dissenso*. There was clearly a strong desire for a Latin word.

⁴ The verb is used absolutely 497. 14, 529. 2.

cordans and *discordiosus* are not found in the special sense. Their work is constantly *scindere ecclesiam*, *unitatem*, &c. 224. 11, 605. 6, &c., *rescindere* 642. 24, *discerpere* 231. 11, 604. 14, *distrahere scindere laniare* 598. 20. *Abscedere* 631. 21, *discedere* 733. 2, &c., and especially *recedere* 777. 21, &c., are common, as are *segregare se* 214. 20, 745. 5, &c., *foras egredi* 757. 16, *exire*, *derelinquere ecclesiam* and similar phrases. *Rebellio* is frequent; *rebellare contra pacem*, &c., 472. 4, 592. 25, and often. *Conspiratio*, *seditio*, *factio*, *seductio* (725. 16), are also common. Beside these Cyprian uses *aemuli*, *aemulantes*, *aemulatio discissa*¹ 222. 3, 598. 14, 604. 14, &c.; *praeuaricatio* 213. 17, *praeuaricator*² 742. 6, 759. 3, 786. 13, in all cases combined with *proditor*. Generally speaking all the language used or suitable for evil spirits or heathens, traitors or madmen, is bestowed upon heretics; perhaps the most common terms are *profanus*, *adulter*³ and *sacrilegus*; the three are combined, 745. 12. *Praesumptio* (add to Hartel's list 747. 24, 801. 16, 807. 12, and in another sense 459. 14), *pertinacia*⁴ 600. 2, *tumor*, *stupor*, *furor*, *uenenum* are characteristic terms. *Maligni*⁵ *et detrahentes* 629. 3, *perditi*, *perditio*, *perdere et perire* are very common, as are the metaphors of *parricidium* and *naufragium*.

For the meeting of heretics Cyprian avoids *synagoga* (twice in *Ep.* 75, 819. 24, 820. 25). He twice uses *conuenticulum* instead; *conuenticula diuersa* 220. 23, *conuenticulum perditae factionis* 683. 6.

§ 32. That Cyprian's list of Greek words is short, and that

¹ For *aemulus* = *hostis* see Rönsch, *It.* V. p. 338. *Discissa aemulatio* must be for *aemulatio schismatica*; so *error scissus* 599. 1 = *schismatis*.

² These words, with *praeuaricari*, are used several times, generally of the effect of a bad life, 198. 23, 309. 27, 388. 17, 423. 7, 427. 7; *praeuaricatio ueritatis* = *lapsus* 592. 13; *praeuaricatio* = *haeresis* is used by Cornelius also, 612. 15.

³ See § 9, and cf. *utiare* 614. 10.

⁴ Does this mean cruelty, in deserting their mother? For *pertinax* in this sense see p. 305.

⁵ This is an indirect evidence that in Cyprian's time *malignus* = *diabolus* was in use; cf. 425. 2.

there are few for which he has not attempted to provide a substitute, has already been said on p. 195. There is only one Greek ecclesiastical term, *symbolum*, which appears to occur for the first time in him (756. 7, cf. 818. 10), and he only uses it once. It is no doubt a mere accident that no earlier instance has survived. Cyprian's object was not to introduce, but to banish, Greek words. In the preceding pages the ecclesiastical words have been set out in detail. It may suffice here to set them together without further comment.

Those for which Cyprian provides no substitute are *acoluthus*, *angelus*, *angelicus*, *apostolus* (also of messengers of evil 642. 17), *blasphemus*, *blasphemia*, *blasphemare*, *cathedra*, *catholicus*, *clerus*, *clericus*, *ecclesia*, *ecclesiasticus*, *ecstasis*, *euangelium*, *euangelicus*, *exorcismus*, *exorcista* (never *exorcizare*), *hypodiaconus* (leaving *subdiaconus* to Rome), *idolatra*, *idolatria*, *laicus*, *presbyter*, *presbyterium*, *compresbyter*, *propheta*, *propheticus*, *pseudochristus*, *pseudoepiscopus* (*pseudoapostolus* and *pseudopropheta* are words of Stephanus, not of Cyprian), *zelus* and *zelare* (never the deponent). There are only two other Greek words of Christian sense which he freely uses, *agon* (with *agonisticus*), and *petra* (see pp. 292, 280). A few Biblical words, as *botruus* 578. 1, 705. 20, 754. 9, *grabatus* 762. 16, *lepra* 226. 25, *leprosus* 671. 3, &c., *moechus* 638. 11, *patriarcha* 308. 9, &c., *zizania* 622. 15, 16, a few more which had been thoroughly adopted in Latin, classical or post-classical, as *aphronitra* pl. = 'cakes of soap' 761. 4 (cf. Treb. Poll. Gall. 6. 5), *authenticus* 489. 16 ('Tert., Jet.), *catasta* 581. 1 (see p. 270), *chorus* 313. 27, *collyrium* 384. 15, *conchylium* (= *murex*) 197. 18, *cynocephalus* 360. 6, *stibium* 384. 15; *tropaeum*, *tyrannicus*, &c., need not be noticed. *Plasmare* 805. 15, *plastica* 198. 7, *protoplastus* 190. 15 (also in Novatian, *Trin.* 8) are reminiscences of Tertullian; *plasma* 468. 12, not used by Tertullian, probably comes direct from Irenaeus.

Cyprian twice shows that he had some knowledge of Greek. In 762. 9 he ridicules his opponents who used the word

clinici, and in 765. 18 adopts the humorous *peripatetici* in contrast; similarly in 694. 3 he contrasts *sophia dominica* with *saecularis philosophia*.

But the most important group of Greek words are those of Church use for which Cyprian employs, more or less frequently, a Latin substitute. These are:—

agape only *Test.* 3. 3 *tit.*, coupled with the synonymous *dilectio*¹.

allophyli only 83. 19 (*Test.* 3. 16). See p. 287.

apostata, *apostatatare*, see p. 293. Much less common than *desertor* and other Latin terms.

baptismus, *baptisma*, *baptismum*; see § 15. Cyprian's normal use is *baptisma* nom. acc., with oblique cases from *baptismus*, and plural *baptismata*. No other plural forms are found. But 781. 20 *baptismatis* without variant, and 787. 22 *baptismate*, though there is much evidence for *baptismo*. There is no instance of nom. *baptismus*, and only, I think, 775. 15, 776. 7 for *baptismum* acc.; in the latter it is neuter, if the text may be trusted. In the *Sentt.* there is one clear instance of the masc., two clearly neuter, twenty-six doubtful, twenty of *baptisma*. Tertullian wavers between these forms as much as Cyprian. *Baptisma*, abl., ought to be read 788. 8 and 796. 13, as in *Ep.* 75 (815. 11); cf. Koffmane, p. 36. *Baptizare* and *rebaptizare* are used without variant except in paraphrase. It has been already suggested that *tinctio*, *tinguere* are avoided, as Montanist words, and only used as descriptions of the heretical rite.

catecumenus 106. 18, 488. 2, 795. 16 (*catechizare* in *Ep.* 75 (823. 17)); *audiens* twice.

chrisma once only 768. 14, and there explained by *unctio*.

christianus, see p. 254; emphatic and comparatively rare.

daemon, *daemonium*; see p. 286. Almost always *immundi spiritus*, &c.

diabolus often, yet more frequently *inimicus*, &c.; see p. 285.

*diaconus*², *diaconium*; for these and for *minister*, *administratio* as probably equivalent, see p. 260.

¹ But there is strong evidence for *agape* having stood in Cyprian's Bible. It is used 114. 1, 115. 13, 116. 17, 133. 8 in Lord Crawford's MS. (8th cent.), as well as in the best of those cited by Hartel.

² With the exception of abl. *baptisma*, *diaconus* is the only Greek word with the form of which Cyprian took liberties; *diaconem* should perhaps be read in 618. 12; *diacones* 565. 11 (doubtful *ib.* 5), 839. 16, 840. 10; *diaconi*

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episcopus, episcopatus, coepiscopus; see p. 258. *Antistes* and *sacerdos* constantly. *Coepiscopus* seems to be a coinage of Cyprian's.

ethnicus rarely for *gentilis*; see p. 288.

eucharistia comparatively rare; see p. 266.

exhomologesis always except 258. 18, where *confessio* is used; see p. 282.

haeresis, haereticus constantly; for Latin synonyms see p. 294.

idolum is varied by *figmentum* and *simulacrum*; see p. 288.

martyr, martyrium indiscriminately with *confessor, &c.*; see p. 290. *prophetare* 223. 17, 339. 26, elsewhere *praedicere, &c.*

scandalum (add to Hartel's list 474. 19, 508. 3) five times, *scandalizare* thrice; *offendiculum* perhaps only 304. 14.

schisma, schismaticus constantly; for variants see p. 294.

synagoga only *Test.* 1. 20 *tit.* In the sense of 'heretical assembly' *conuenticulum* takes its place 220. 23, 683. 6.

typus often, yet more often *imago, &c.*; see § 7.

Noteworthy Greek words used by other writers in the *Epp.* and *Sententiae* are—*catechizare* 823. 17, *cimiterium* (of a Roman burial-place) 840. 9¹, *daemoniacus* 436. 16, *exorcizare* 436. 16, &c. (confined to *Sentt.*), *petrarium* (a conjecture) 534. 18, *pseudobaptizatus* 438. 4, *tartarus* 555. 19, *thlibomeni* 487. 21, *zelotypus* 533. 13.

§ 33. The length of this paper makes it impossible to do more than select out of Cyprian's general vocabulary a few of the most remarkable words; and especially those which appear for the first time in his writings. Beside the ordinary stock of words of a writer of the third century, common to Apuleius, Tertullian², Justin, the Old Latin Bible, &c., there

bus usually in the addresses (*diaconis, Epp.* 14, 39). See Rönisch, *It. V.* p. 262. *Διάκων* is found in third-century Greek Inscriptions, Pagan and Christian (Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 442; Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, 1. 501). Conversely *πάρων* in Theoph. *Ad Autol.* 3. 27 and often in inscriptions.

¹ Cited from a despatch from Rome; in the *Acta* of Cyprian § 1 it is used by the proconsul Paternus. Koffmane p. 31 has overlooked it in *Tert. de An.* 51 (383. 16 Reiff.), perhaps the earliest instance.

² Oehler's Index to Tertullian is very imperfect. He omits, among others, these words for which Cyprian has been in several cases cited as the earliest authority;—*adhuc usque, Jud.* 7 (Cyprian 495. 18, 679. 13, the first instances according to Thielmann in Wölflin's *Archiv*, 6, p. 69); *deponere* = 'depose,'

are many borrowed from classical poetry, of which some examples have already been given, and many found in Plautus and other early writers, which do not recur till the third century. All these classes of words are, with few exceptions, omitted here, as are those which have been previously discussed. Words which seem to be new in form are marked with an asterisk, those which are new in meaning with an obelus.

The most noteworthy substantives, arranged alphabetically according to declension, are:—

†*culturae* 646. 19. This may mean works of agriculture, though for the pl. in this sense Georges only cites Lucr. 5. 1448, whom Cyprian does not seem to have read. But his love for parallelism makes it more likely that it corresponds with the preceding clause, and means fields. In this sense Georges only cites Salvian, *Gub. Dei*, 7. 2 (157. 20 Pauly).

†*exultantia*=*gaudium* 832. 25. In Georges only in the sense of attack, and first in Gellius.

fauentia 576. 17=*fauor*. Only cited from Accius, tr. 510.

**inaudientia* 569. 22, invented by Cyprian for alliteration.

**lupana*=*meretrix* 196. 14, 699. 25; also in *De Spect.* 5 (A. 8. 5).

Cf. Wölfflin, in his *Archiv*, 1892, p. 8, and Haussleiter, *ib.* p. 145.

**commentarii*=*commentarienses* 841. 3. The latter is common enough, but Cyprian's form does not seem to occur again. But there is some manuscript evidence for *frumentarii*, which is read by Rigault and Fell.

**diaconium* 617. 1; cf. p. 260, and Koffmane, p. 25¹.

**excidium*=*mors* 312. 22, apparently an ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, derived from *excidere*; cf. *C. I. L.* 8. 9513 (from Caesarea Mauret.)
xlv annis uobis uixi, in xlv excidi quando datum est.

Fug. 1 (Cypr. 472. 6, 739. 23); *deuotio*=‘loyalty,’ *Scorp.* 5 (Cypr. 631. 5, 660. 9); *mortalis*=‘deadly,’ *Pud.* 19 *fin.* twice (Cypr. 407. 21, 469. 3, 725. 16 and *de Aleatt.* 6. 11; cf. Hilgenfeld's edition, p. 73, and Rönsch *Beitr.* 2. 32); *numerositas Monog.* 4 (Cypr. 214. 5, &c.); *quandiu*=*donec*, *Idol.* 15, *Natt.* 1. 7, &c. (Cypr. 496. 15, 649. 21, 679. 3).

¹ If Hartel's almost certain conjecture in *De Aleatt.* 3. 2 (improved by Miodowski in *Comment. Woelfflin*, p. 373 ff. to *in episcopium idem*) for *episcopi idem* be accepted, the parallel form is brought back from the age of Hilary, Aug. and *xii Abus.* almost to that of Cyprian.

Georges in the *Jahresbericht*, vol. 40, p. 126 gives the word this derivation, citing Prud. *Apoth.* 607 for the sense of 'sun-set.' But Thielmann (Wölfflin's *Archiv*, 1. p. 76) makes it a vulgar derivative from *excidere* for *excedere*, in the sense of *excessus*. He gives some of Rönsch's (*It. V.* p. 356) examples of *decidere*=*decedere* (i. e. *mori*), and adds others of his own; but this seems a less probable account. It would be more likely that the word is formed on the analogy of *discidium*, which often enough means no more than 'departure' ¹.

†*fomentum*=*fomes* 10. 7, 194. 12, 591. 18, all pl. Arnob. 2. 62 (98. 3 Reiff.).

**impiamentum* 724. 13. Cf. Min. Fel. 28. 5 *impiatis sacris*.

†*oblectamenta et inlecebrae*, certainly synonyms, 501. 4. For *oblectare* in this sense see Koffmane, p. 95.

†*traversaria* 829. 21; omitted by Georges in the sense of 'fetters' or rather, perhaps, 'stocks.' Ducange cites Greg. Tur. *De Vita Patrum*, 7, Forcellini-De Vit only this passage.

uultum 259. 22 *nelecto capillo, uulto nubilo*. Hartel cites no variant, and this may therefore be a mere misprint. But in Apul. *Met.* 4. 25 (71. 30 Eyss.) *sauiore uulto* is read without variant in Eyssenhardt's MSS.; and it is quite possible that Cyprian has chosen the rare form for uniformity of termination. Cf. Georges, *Lex. d. lat. Wortformen* ².

Of the third declension the only class in which Cyprian displays much invention is that of verbal nouns in *-tio*.

**acerbatio* (pl.) 600. 21; the only example in Georges. Rönsch, *It. V.* p. 79 cites Gloss. Cyrill.

†*adfectatio mali*= 'infliction' 685. 1. Georges only cites *Cod. Theod.* for this use.

**adunatio*; add 712. 1 to Hartel's instances. Paucker, *Suppl.* cites Cassiod. and Boethius. Cyprian is the first Christian

¹ Cf. *exitium*, which in the third and fourth centuries had been weakened to a synonym of *exitus*=*mors*. Apul. *Met.* 5. 27 (95. 4 Eyss.) *mortis exitium* means no more than Cyprian's *mortis exitus* (502. 17, 632. 19). So also in Firm. Mat. *Err.* 2. 7 and 28. 13 *animaduersionis exitium* is exactly equivalent to *diuinæ animaduersionis exitus* in 18. 4. Cf. Oehler's note to Tert. i. 518.

² Cf. *amictum*, Novatian, *Trin.* 21 (16), which Georges, *Lex. d. lat. Wortformen* only cites from Isidore; and *sepultum fecit*=*sepulcrum*, C. I. L. 8. 9798 (Safar, Numidia), though this might be from *sepultus*. Georges has not the word.

writer to use the verb freely, though it occurs in Tert. *Pud.* 5 and is Biblical.

**arcessitio* = *mors*, see p. 283; *arcessitio dominica* 309. 19.

It is curious that this word, which Cyprian uses five times, and Lucianus (534. 5) once, should not have been adopted by later writers.

†*auulsio* 304. 13 *de excedentibus caris funebris et tristis auulsio*.

Paucker, *Subindenda*, cites from Paulin. *Nol. Ep.* 13. 8, and it is used by Tert. *Carn. Xti* 20 of physical separation.

calcatio 705. 19 *torcularis calcatio et pressura* from Old Latin, Es. 63. 2 (*ib.* l. 13). This word is omitted by Georges, and by Rönsch in *It. V.*, *Beitr.*, and *Collect.*, but noticed by Paucker in his *Suppl.*

†*concernatio*, *Test.* 2. 2 *tit.*; see p. 248. Though *incarnatus* is used by Novatian, *Trin.* 19, Cyprian has no such form. *Concernatio* is used in another sense (from Mt. 19. 5) by Tert. *Monog.* 9.

†*conceptio perniciosa* 307. 29; sense invented to carry on the preceding *conceptum*.

corroboratio 386. 1. Not in Vulg. or Tert. Paucker, *Suppl.* gives 2 Pet. 3. 17 from Aug. (without reference) *ne decidatis . . . a corroboracione uestra* (Vulg. *firmitate*)¹.

†*detractatio* = calumny 689. 19. Paucker, *Suppl.* only cites Cassian, *Coll.* 9. 3.

†*dissimulatio* = delay 358. 23 *praedandi dissimulatio nulla, nulla cunctatio*. Since it is Cyprian's constant habit to say the same thing twice, there can be no reasonable doubt of the meaning. Cf. *dissimulare* in Virg. *Aen.* 4. 368, and Rönsch, *It. V.* p. 523.

†*examinatio* (metaphorical) 500. 4. Arnob., Ulpian, &c.; cf. Paucker, *Suppl.* The verb is so used 218. 18, 409. 22, 686. 18.

†*factio* = 'factiousness' 602. 21, 618. 12. Georges only cites Cassian, *Coll.* 22. 6.

¹ Other resemblances of Cyprian to 2 Pet. (i. e. words first found in both, and not again till much later), which suggest the thought that the Vulgate of this Epistle is the Old Latin, as in some other of the Catholic Epp., are *cognitio* (*Patris et Filii*) 790. 20, which in this connexion is found in the Vulgate only in 2 Pet., *inaccessibilis* 793. 10 and 2 Pet. 2. 14 (it recurs in Hieron. *Ep.* 16. 2); but *indessinens* 394. 13 is the alternative reading in 2 Pet. 2. 14 of *Cod. Tolet.* (Rönsch, *It. V.* p. 226), and also first recurs in Cyprian.

**incursatio* 364. 2. Nonius, Heges.

**interminatio* 476. 2. See Rönisch, *Collect.* p. 37, and Paucker, *Suppl.*

†*tensio*=*uisio* 651. 7, 17, 734. 2, all pl.; see p. 250.

palpatio = 'flattery' 569. 17. Plantus, Cassian, *Inst.* 10. 17, Interp. Orig. in Mt. 6. 4 (Paucker, *Kl. Beitr.*).

**ploratio* 369. 17; only cited from Aug. *Serm.*, but omitted by Regnier.

†*pullulatio* (metaphorical) 352. 16; cf. *pullulare* 224. 14, 806. 10. Paucker, *Subrelicta*, only cites this and Praedestinatus in this sense.

†*seminatio* (metaphorical) 642. 24, 689. 17, 788. 19; cf. *seminare* 352. 15, 577. 19, 618. 8.

†*inctio*= 'heretical Baptism,' 772. 8, 800. 7, and in *Ep.* 75 (815. 20); see p. 264.

**celstas* 583. 25; omitted by Georges, and even by Paucker.

†*mortalitas* = *pestis* 301. 12, &c., in *De Mort.* Cited by Georges only from the Chronologer of 354.

†*rusticitas*= 'agriculture' 646. 18. Cited in this sense only from Palladius, and in Cyprian no doubt used for epiploce with *rusticum* preceding. The word occurs in *Quod Id.* 2 (20. 7).

Beside these the following deserve mention :—

acceptor 692. 23; Wölfflin, in *Archiv*, 8. 123, cited only from Lucilius, the Old Latin Levit. 11. 13, 16 (Vulg. *accipiter*), and this; see also Rönisch, *It. V.* p. 521.

†*nigror* (concrete) 198. 1, 384. 18, equivalent to *pulvis niger* 198. 8, 259. 19; cf. the classical *rubor* 198. 1, 8.

**putramen*, 247. 20 *putraminibus amputatis*, 684. 22 *neque enim sic putramina quaedam colliganda sunt ut sq.*¹

**seruitudo* 328. 10. Only one doubtful passage of Livy is cited earlier.

¹ In 684. 22 the change from *colligenda* to *colliganda* is as easy as Hartel's (*Index*) suggestion of *putamina*, and gives better sense. It is the converse of *aperiendum vulnus est* in the other passage (247. 19), and an allusion to Cyprian's favourite metaphor of the falsely healed wound, though here the whole body of the Church, and not the individual Christian, is wounded. If *putamina* be read, how could the gathering up of branches already lopped inflict further damage upon the tree?

Verbal nouns in *-tor* are :—

†*adulator* = 'deceiver' 745. 17. This, and not flatterer, must be the sense, and so probably also in 618. 1 *semper adulator ut fallat*; pleonasm is to be expected in Cyprian. Georges has this sense for *adulatio* from Quint. and Amm. Marc., but not for *adulator*. It occurs as the equivalent of *ὑποκριτής* in the fragmentary Latin translation of the Didache; see the Prolegomena to Harnack's edition, p. 278.

**delictor* 720. 17, Paucker, *Suppl.* cites Commod. *Instr.* 53 (ii. 11. 5 Dombart), Hieron., Aug.

**impugnator* 615. 6, 689. 4. Cf. Paucker, *Nachträge*, p. 21.

**munerator* 345. 1. Omitted by Georges; Salvian, Paul. Nol. (Paucker, *Subrelicta*).

occisor 734. 13. Plautus and Petilian (Georges).

palpator 13. 10. Plautus and Cassian, *Coll.* 10. 13 (Paucker, *Kl. Beitr.*).

Of the fourth and fifth declensions there are few words to be noticed. Cyprian has no such devotion to the fourth as has, for instance, Gellius.

†*congestus* 688. 2, see p. 271. Probably the dais on which were the altar and the seats for the clergy, but perhaps the assembly of clergy. No similar use seems to be cited.

†*ductus temporis longus* 576. 21. Nothing similar seems to be cited.

†*potentatus improbus* = 'exercise of power,' 'tyranny,' 588. 5. Another strange use is 340. 21.

primatus (pl.) = 'birthright' 411. 3, 798. 7. This must be the Old Latin reading of Gen. 25. 31, &c., cf. Tert. *De Ieiun.* 17, Ambr. *Ep.* 63. 99. The Vulgate has *primogenita*. It is not noticed by Rösensch or Georges.

§ 34. Adjectives, strange in form, or strangely used, are common :—

†*abhorrens* = 'repulsive' 569. 20; not in Georges, and no other example given in Wölfflin's *Archiv*, 4. 285.

†*alienus sensus* = 'insane' 681. 12. Georges only cites Firm. *Math.* 3. 6.

**balabundus* 602. 20. There can be no doubt of the reading, though the word occurs nowhere else. Cornelius (611. 3)

alludes to the passage, and corrects to *palabundus*, which Cyprian, with his love of synonyms, no doubt meant to write¹.
 †*centenus fructus* = *centuplex* 832. 19. Georges only has Ven. Fort. 3. 9. 105 *centenus reditus*².

**cruciabundus* 670. 7, apparently another ἀπαξ λεγόμενον.

†*discissa aemulatio* 604. 14 = *schismatica*: cf. *scissus error* 599. 1. Both must be attempts to provide a Latin equivalent for a Greek adjective.

**elucidus* 598. 3. Not in Georges; but the reading is not quite certain.

†*expensa moderatio* 570. 20; cf. *pensius consilium* 649. 24.

**fluctuabundus* 255. 12. Ambr., Aug. (Georges)³.

**indocibilis* 253. 2, if this be the true reading. Wrongly cited by Rönsch *It. V.* from Iren. 4. 28; it is in neither Stieren's nor Harvey's index to Irenaeus.

**inlapsa firmitas* 7. 3. Omitted by Georges.

†*inmerens* 256. 13 = 'guilty,' 'unworthy of reward'; not in Georges.
inpetrabilis et efficax sermo 271. 21. Plautus and Amm. Marc. Can this be an allusion to Jac. 5. 16 or Heb. 4. 12?

†*laudabilis* = 'laudatory'; 506. 8 *Nomen Dei laudabili testimonio praedicatur*, 598. 13 *delecti et ordinati et laudabili multorum sententia conprobat*, and similarly 629. 7, 20⁴.
Laudabile testimonium is simply for *laus*. No one seems to have noticed this sense.

**mensurnus* 571. 2, 585. 2. Novatian. *Trin.* 1, but apparently not earlier.

¹ Cf. Fronto, *Ad M. Caes.* 2. 12 (written by Marcus) *ovēs . . . palantes balantesque oberrant*. *Palabundus* also is very rare. In *Quod Id.* 10 (27. 14) it is borrowed from Tert. *Apol.* 21.

² Cf. 202. 15 *fructus cum centeno*, from which agricultural formula *centenus fructus* is derived; Cic. *Verr.* 3. 47 *ager efficit cum octauo, bene ut agatur, uerum, ut omnes dii adiuent, cum decumo* (cited from Roby, *Latin Gr.* § 1883). In 763. 25 Cyprian uses *tricesimus*, *sexagesimus*, *centesimus* in the same sense, as in the *Vulg.* Mt. 13. 8; and in 202. 15, 832. 19 *sexagenarius fructus*.

³ Beside the three *-bundus* forms given above, Cyprian has *gaudibundus* 831. 16 (Apul.) and *nutabundus* 5. 2 (literal in Apul., but not cited in Cyprian's metaphorical sense before Lact.); also the common forms *cunctabundus* 829. 22, *errabundus* 773. 1, *furibundus* 617. 20, *gratulabundus* 621. 9. The last is equivalent to *luctus*, as *gratulari* 691. 13 and often, *gratulatio* 615. 15 to *gaudere*, *gaudium*, for which cf. Rönsch, *It. V.* p. 367, *Beitr.* 1. p. 35

⁴ Cf. Apul. *Flor.* 1. 9. 38 *utinam possem . . . praedicabili testimonio tuo ad omnem nostram Camenam frui*, i. e. *laude*.

pertinax = *crudelis*, 637. 20. Georges only cites for this sense Capit. *Macr.* 13. 3, but it also occurs in Sen. *Ep.* 104. 29 *M. Catonem recentiorem cum quo et infestius fortuna egit et pertinacius*. Cf. *pertinacia* 600. 2.

**semitonsus* 830. 6, and copied by Nemesianus 835. 15. For the subject cf. Friedländer's *Drst.* 3. 518, who only refers to this and Artemidorus, *Oneirocr.* 1. 21; Apul. *Met.* 9. 12 (162. 13 Eyss.) *capillum semirasi*.

separ 750. 4 *specialim separe posuit*. Apparently the first example in prose; previously in the Silver poets only. Solinus and Priscian (Georges).

**septiformis* 53. 17, 338. 3. Aug., Ambr., &c.

**serpentinus* 431. 15, 806. 9; *De Aleatt.* 6 (A 98. 4). Aug., &c. Cf. Rönsch, *Collect.* 181, where is an instance, apparently literal, which may be earlier.

subtristis 498. 11. Ter., Amm. Marc., Hieron. (Georges).

**tuirginalis continentia* (of Cornelius, in the sense of Apoc. 14. 4) 629. 15. This seems the earliest example.

unanimis (never *unanimus*) 431. 5, 570. 6, 628. 21, 777. 13. In these Hartel gives no variant, but in 694. 16 and 754. 3 (the latter Biblical) the evidence is strong for *unianimis*, and the critical note to the latter passage leads to the suspicion that this may be the true reading elsewhere. For *unianimis* Georges has nothing earlier than the Scholia to Juvenal (5. 134), nor for *unanimis* than the Old Latin and Claudian; cf. Rönsch, *Collect.* p. 106. Cyprian has *semianimis* 595. 11 and 635. 19, and it is therefore more than probable that *exanime* should be read in 378. 1, not *exanimae*. Otherwise his constant adherence to *-animis* forms would be broken.

For adjectives used as substantives see p. 216. A few more may be given, and especially the names of the seasons, *hibernum*, *uernum*, *autumnum* 577. 14, 353. 1, 2¹, *magnalia* and *mirabilia* for miracles (see Hartel's *Index* and p. 245), *accidentia* 363. 21, cited only from Quint. *Decl.* and Amm.

¹ All these occur in Tertullian; see Oehler's *Index*. Amid all that has been written about them the Carthaginian mosaic *C. I. L.* 8. 12558, giving the names *autumnus*, *aestas*, *iemns*, *uernus*, does not seem to have been noticed. Nowhere else does *uernus* masc. occur. For the neuter cf. *diurna* (pl.) = *dies*, Cael. Aur. *Acut.* 2. 39. 228 (Georges). I have already suggested that 577. 14 may be a reminiscence of Virg. *Aen.* 1. 266.

Marc., *populares* = 'commons' 673. 16, which the dictionaries only cite from *Hist. Aug.*, Amm. Marc., and later Jct., though it already occurs in Tert. *Spect.* 3, *masculus*, always a substantive in Cyprian, 190. 13, 16, 203. 6, 468. 10, 473. 3, 22, 476. 2¹. For the elliptical *dominicus* (*dies*), and *dominicum* and *sanctum* (*sacrificium*), see pp. 245, 266. A curious ellipse is 36. 20 *de diuinis fontibus inpleuimus modicum*.

§ 35. Of the pronouns little can be said without touching upon syntax. Generally speaking it may be said that his use of them is that of his age. *Hic* for *is*, *iste* (in Roman as well as in African writing) for *hic*, *ipse* for *idem* (cf. Sittl, *Lok. Verschiedenheiten* 115, Rönsch, *Beitr.* 2. 26), *alius* for *alter*, *quis* for *uter* were to be expected². The rarity of *-met* forms (e.g. 226. 1 and 477. 16, where *semet* should surely be read instead of *se et*) is noticeable; *esse* is never used. Indefinite *quis* is widely and often strangely used; *Test.* 3. 25 *tit.*, 8. 5, 263. 3, 807. 12, &c. *Quidam* (cf. Petschenig in Wölfflin's *Archiv*, 6. 268 for the use in Amm. Marc.) is constantly used for *sunt qui*, *nonnulli*; 297. 7, 616. 18, 722. 1, &c. *Quisque* and *quicumque* are often used for *quiuvis* (see Hartel's *Index*, and for *quicumque* add 799. 15 (Stephanus) and 809. 16), but the chief use of *quisque* is of course for *quicumque*, which, in the classical use, is rare. *Quidquid*, however, is always used, and never *quidque* in this sense. *Quisquis* is rare (add 12. 11, *Sent.* 18). *Quispiam*, *quiuvis*, *quilibet* are, I think, never used. *Singuli*, with and without *quique*, is a favourite substitute for *omnes*; *unusquisque* also is common. *Eiusmodi* stands alone for *talis*, and more rarely as an attribute; 219. 5, 225. 15, 241. 4, 468. 4, 694. 15, &c., but is not frequent. *Huiusmodi* is very rare, perhaps only in 226. 1. Kalb, *Roms Juristen*, p. 108, notes that *huiusmodi* does not prevail till after Papinian in legal Latin.

To express reciprocation Cyprian uses *inuicem*, I think, nineteen times; with an accusative *Test.* 3. 9 *tit.*, 408. 13,

¹ *Mares* only 10. 10. It had probably died out of the spoken language.

² Hartel's *Index* is by no means complete in these respects.

427. 17, 643. 6, 668. 8; a genitive 695. 3; dative 217. 22, 240. 24, 243. 8 (706. 2 shows that this is dative), 501. 9, 689. 12, 712. 1, 733. 10; ablative (*separare, recedere ab inuicem*) 364. 18, 475. 23, 476. 9, 711. 18. The only other prepositions so used are *aduersum* 278. 13, and *cum* 650. 16. *Utrubique* (for which Haussleiter in Wölfflin's *Archiv*, 5. 565 suggests *utrumque*), 695. 4, *mutuo* 677. 2 (cf. 689. 12), and *in unum* 678. 9 are isolated instances; *alterutrum* 799. 17 is a citation from Stephanus. Reflexive pronouns alone are used for reciprocation 240. 24, 712. 4, and similarly a personal pronoun 508. 17. Beside these may be mentioned 645. 21 *alius pro altero*, 699. 17 *unusquisque pro altero*¹.

§ 36. Cyprian is more bold in the use of verbs than in that of nouns, and the number of new and rare forms is somewhat large. But it is in their syntax, with which this paper is not concerned, that he is most original and inventive.

abalienari = 'wander in mind' 289. 23. Haussleiter in Wölfflin's *Archiv*, 1. 870 cites only this and two isolated Biblical readings, Jerem. 23. 7 (Wirceb.) and Mc. 4. 19 (Colbert.).

**abigere* 773. 1. Though *abigeator* and *abigeatus* (n.) occur, this verb does not seem to recur even in glosses.

**amoenare* 4. 1. Cassiod., Salvian, &c.

circumcursare 683. 22. Plant., Ter., Lucr., Lact., &c.

†*clarificare* 679. 4 *clarificato die*. There seems to be nothing like this.

†*coagulare* (metaphorical) 226. 18 *coagulati cum isdem simul ad audaciam*.

contestari = *declarare*; in citations of Scripture as 192. 22 *contestans ait*, 758. 14, &c.; with acc. inf. often 309. 18, 360. 26, 588. 11 (double acc.), 740. 23, &c., and with *quod* 634. 8; with acc. 270. 1 *contestari peccata*, 692. 10 *merita*, 222. 13, &c.; with acc. also in the Roman *Epp.* 551. 2, 559. 15. It

¹ No grammatical paper could be more admirable than Thielmann's on this subject in the *Archiv*, 7. 343 ff. He says that *inuicem* occurs about twenty times in Cyprian, the classical *inter se* once. This is an oversight, for it actually occurs in the Roman *Ep.* 36 (575. 6), if it be the true reading. Other noteworthy instances of reciprocation not written by Cyprian are 335. 16, 530. 11, 554. 5, 575. 8, 637. 1, 810. 6, 811. 1. 814. 7, 836. 1.

is Biblical with acc. inf. (e. g. 1 Pet. 5. 12), but does not occur in the Vulgate with an acc. of the thing attested, nor in Cyprian with a personal object (*contestor uos*) as is usual in the Vulgate. Jerome seems the first writer after Cyprian freely to use the word as he does. Aug. and Ambr. appear to avoid it. In the strange *contestantes ei* 731. 18 both case and pronoun seem to be chosen simply for rhyme.

dilucidare: 589. 2 *dilucidata ueritate*. This must be the reading, as in Tert. *Marc.* 3. 23 *init.*; cf. Paucker's *Ergänzungen I. euirare* (literal) 10. 10. Varro, Catullus, Arnob. 5. 42 (211. 23 Reiff.).

gratulari=*laetari*; add 8. 16, 545. 6, 588. 12, 641. 10, 740. 17, cf. Rönsch, *It. V.* p. 367, and Dante, *Parad.* 24. 149. *Gratulatio* 615. 15. *gratulabundus* 621. 9, in the same sense; cf. *gratulanter* in Paucker, *Addenda*.

†*laxare* (*pacem*, &c. *alicui*), add 625. 16, 637. 21, 638. 8, 16. I can find no parallel.

leuare; 630. 18 *cum multo patientius et tolerabilius audiret* (Decius) *leuari aduersum se aemulum principem quam constitui Romae Dei sacerdotem*. The only resemblance seems to be 2 Esdr. 6. 6 *et leuare te uelis super eos regem*.

†*limare*, see Hurtel's *Index*. The meaning seems to be to form a decision, not to enquire into a proposal; e. g. 596. 25, where otherwise would be an awkward ἵσταναι πρότερον.

lucrari=*effugere* (*manus carnificis*, &c.) 306. 23, 342. 3, 619. 12; cf. *lucrum* 312. 27. Apul. *Met.* 8. 12 (142. 12 Eyss.), Amm. *Marc.* 19. 4. 3, Victor Vit. 3. 26 (84. 22 Petsch.); so *lucri facere* in Bell. *Hisp.* 36. 1, Tert. *Res. Carn.* 42, &c., and *lucratio* Tert. *Test. An.* 4 (139. 17 Reiff.).

†*portare*; (1) *Christum hominem portabat* of the Incarnation; see p. 248. This phrase is Cyprian's own; it is not in Tertullian or Irenaeus, and does not seem to be adopted by later writers¹. (2) *Portare typum, figuram*, &c., see p. 254;

¹ Cf. *baiulare* in Iren. 5. 19. 1 *sua propria eum (Dominum) baiulante conditione, quae baiulatur ab ipso*, though the sense is different. Father Puller, S. S. J. E., has pointed out to me the use of *portare* in Iren. 5. 18. 1 *Pater conditionem simul et Verbum suum portans*, and that it is only another step (though Irenaeus does not seem to take it) to speak of the Church being borne by the Word. Irenaeus prefers *recapitulare* in this connexion, as in 5. 20. 2. Tertullian has *specie hominis quam erat gestaturus* in *Adv. Marc.* 4. 22, and *gestare* also *ib.* 34 and *Carn. Xti* 10, &c. *Gestabat* for *portabat* is the

this again seems peculiar to Cyprian. (3) *Portare peccata*, in the usual Christian sense.

†*praeformare* = *praefigurare* 217. 4. Nothing like it is cited.

†*propagare* = *crescere* 7. 19 *immundos spiritus . . . incremento poenae propagantis extendere*, copied in *Quod Id.* (25. 7). It seems to be intransitive, and synonymous with *incremento*; so Léonard, who gives no parallel¹.

**quaestionare* 732. 2. Absent in the Vatican Fragments of Jurisprudence, from which Georges cites it.

†*recalcitrare* = *rebellare* 423. 14. Bibl. (only Deut. 32. 15), Amm. Marc.

†*trecreare* (of Baptism), see p. 264. Cyprian is the first to use it in this sense.

†*reparare* (*aliquem*) 273. 6, 362. 27, 373. 5, 394. 9, 400. 27 and (in *Ep.* 75) 821. 31. Cf. Min. Fel. 34. 12 (49. 24 Halm). Cyprian is the first to use this verb also of Baptism, and almost the first to use it with a personal object.

†*repraesentare* = *reddere* 542. 15, 596. 21, 808. 12; cf. Hartel's *Index* to Lucifer. Another strange use is 502. 13 *officium meum uestra diligentia repraesentet*, for which Greg. M. *Ep.* 1. 1 *nostra per eum repraesentetur auctoritas* (Lewis and Short) is the only parallel cited; yet cf. O. Ritschl, *Cyprian v. Carthago*, p. 11 ff. In ordinary senses the verb is very common, as it is in Seneca. Perhaps this is one of Cyprian's debts to him.

†*reseruare* = *saluare*, see p. 249. Also = *obseruare* (*legem*, &c.) 284. 2, 513. 10, 713. 19.

†*satiare* = *abundanter addere* (Hartel) 755. 15. This and the similar passages from the *Vita* 8 and *Sing. Cler.* 8 seem to stand alone, while the sense of *adiuuare*, 377. 16, is quite isolated.

†*siccare* intrans. 808. 8. Lact. 7. 3. 8, where Bünnemann's instances from Apicius are copied by Georges.

†*solidare* (*fidem*, &c.) 494. 6, 579. 8. In other remarkable senses 304. 23, 318. 11, 675. 1, 712. 6, and in *Ep.* 75 (820. 27). Cyprian is not only the first but the boldest employer of this word in metaphorical senses. Lact., *Epit.* 66. 8, *Opif.*

reading of the Oxford MS. Bodl. Add. C. 15, of the beginning of the tenth century, in 711. 12. *Induere* in this sense is confined to *Quod Id.*, 28. 9, 31. 3.

¹ But could it be synonymous with *extendere*, describing further the use of the *oculus*?

10. 9, imitates him. The passage in *Ep.* 75 is one of many signs that Cyprian had a hand in that letter.

**sordidare*; add 201. 5, 219. 21, 374. 24, 830. 3 (literal), and *Sent.* 42. Lact., Hieron. (*Ep.* 54. 16 as well as 107. 10, which is cited by Georges), Firm. *Math.*, &c.

†*sospitare* = *saluare* 188. 25, 211. 9. Enn., Pacuv., Plaut., Catull., Liv., &c., but very rare. This attempt of Cyprian's to enrich theological diction was unsuccessful; see p. 249.

**sportulare* 466. 12; ἀπ. λεγ.; see p. 274. It must mean to give, and not to receive, the *sportula*, as the dictionaries would have it.

subitare = 'take by surprise' 693. 15. The only other instances seem to be the *Vita*, § 15 (cvi. 17), and Apoc. 3. 3 (Primasius) *ueniam et subitabo aduentum meum*. Cf. *subitatio* in Sap. 5. 2, and *desubitare* Firm. *Math.* 3. 4. 6 (cited in Paucker, *Addenda*). See Wölfflin's *Archiv*, 3. 255 and 4. 586.

taxare = *indicare* 705. 19. So Tert. *Praescr.* 6, *Adu. Marc.* 4. 20, 27, though usually in Tert. it means to blame. This is its only occurrence in Cyprian, and is a sign that when *Ep.* 63 was written he was still under Tertullian's influence; cf. p. 199.

**turificare*: only the perf. part. *turificati* is used 624. 19. Cf. Paucker's *Ergänzungen II*.

†*uentilare honorem* 340. 9; cf. Juv. 1. 28; in the opposite sense 598. 14; *uentilare mendacia* 678. 12, as in Min. Fel. 28. 2, Tert., &c.; to spread a rumour 628. 18, 839. 14; add to Hartel's list 211. 3 (literal).

Beside these there are two possible readings which should be mentioned:—

dereputare 253. 12 *delicta nostra dereputemus* (S¹). The alliteration makes it the more probable.

exabundare, almost certainly in 353. 15, 411. 23; see Hartel's critical notes, and Quicherat's *Addenda*.

It is probable also that in 727. 21 there is a verb *gloriare* = *glorificare*, see p. 223.

augere intrans. 643. 2. Rönsch, *Beitr.* 3. 9 only cites Jerem. 22. 30 in Iren. 3. 29 and a gloss.

**coniacere* 475. 5. Cf. Paucker, *Ergänzungen I*¹.

¹ The other verbs of this form in Cyprian are *condolere* 521. 11, *congaudere*

manere = κομᾶσθαι 473. 3, 475. 21; = *habitare* 370. 8, 410. 22 (the latter pleonastic *habitare et manere*); see Rönsch, *Beitr.* 3. 57 f. for both senses.

animadvertere aliquem; add 839. 16 to Hartel's list, perhaps the earliest instances with a direct personal object; Fronto, p. 207 Naber, cited by Hartel, *peruerse facta animaduertit* is not to the point.

†*concludere* = 'choke' 256. 2, 357. 18; cf. 373. 17. Cited by Georges only from Palladius.

†*concludere* intrans. 215. 8, and in the Roman *Ep.* 36 (573. 21). S. Brandt in Wölfflin's *Archiv*, 8, p. 130 cites Lact. *Inst.* 2. 8. 31, *De Ira* 10. 25.

consistere (see Hartel's *Index*) in the present part. is constantly used in the Christian sense of sojourning, as in the newly-discovered translation of Clement, § 1, παρικοῶν. This is not a Biblical usage¹. Unless (as Harnack asserts) Clement was a translation of the second century, these instances in Cyprian may be the earliest. *Consistens* is also twice used for Cyprian's favourite *constitutus*; in *Ep.* 17 tit (521. 2) *fratribus in plebe consistentibus*, and 749. 13 *extra ecclesiam consistens*².
†*depromere* = 'publish,' 'proclaim' 239. 21, 309. 26, 400. 13, 427. 20, 727. 13. Nothing like this seems to be cited except Nazarius, *Pan.* 8.

dirigere litteras ad aliquem 514. 5, 516. 13, 519. 14, 600. 12, 606. 9, 715. 9, 731. 17. Cf. Wölfflin in his *Archiv*, 4. 100, who knows no example between the Muratorian canon (p. 10 b., 9 *epistulae autem Pauli quae a quo loco uel qua ex causa directae sint* sq.) and Jerome.

†*distribuere*; 277. 4 *exemplum discipulis suis distribuens* = *dans*; probably only chosen for the alliteration with *dis*, without

620. 9, *conluetari* 431. 23, *conmori* 341. 15, *conpati* 521. 10, *consepultus* 740. 21, and the Biblical *consurgere* 429. 5 (see 428. 22). All of these are used earlier than Cyprian; cf. Rönsch, *Collect.* 245.

¹ The use in the *Acta* of Cyprian by the proconsul Paternus (cx. 28) is the usual one; cf. Mayor's Appendix to his Juvenal, p. 390, on 3. 296.

² *Constitutus in, inter, &c.* = καθιστός, &c., has been so fully and so well discussed by Kalb and others that there is no need to dwell upon it here. It is, of course, by no means peculiar to Cyprian. I may refer to a note which I have contributed to the edition of the Vulgate by Wordsworth and White on Joh. 5. 13.

thought of the appropriateness of the word; cf. 394. 6 *contribuens pro terrenis caelestia*, which also simply means giving. †*incurrere supplicia, incommoda* 342. 4, 364. 24. Lact., Arnob., &c.: see Bünemann on Lact. 2. 7. 23.

†*obtendere* 254. 8 *quid caeci oculi paenitentiae iter non vident quod obtendimus?* This must be in the sense of *ostendere*, for which perhaps it is only an error. Nothing like it seems to occur elsewhere.

†*offerre: oblati praefectis* 840. 12, and *Acta* § 3 (cxii. 12).

praeligere 577. 1. This very rare word is only cited from Apul. *Met.* 7. 11 (123. 25 Eyss.), and Tert. *Ad Nat.* 1. 14 (a false reference in Oehler). But can it be discriminated from *praeligere*? Cf. Rönsch, *It. V.* 210, Paucker, *Ergänzungen II*, and Engelbrecht in *Sitzungsber.* of the Vienna Academy, vol. 110, on Claud. Mamertus.

†*proponere = edicere* 284. 15, and cf. 682. 16; *proponere edictum* Novatian in *Ep.* 30 (551. 10), Tert. *Pud.* 1.

statuere = sistere 249. 13, 355. 25, 424. 3. Arnob. 1. 50 (34. 16 Reiff.), where Hildebrand only cites Cyprian; but cf. Rönsch, *Beitr.* 3. 77 for Plautus and Propertius.

struere = instruere 598. 5; cf. Rönsch, *It. V.* 380, and *Beitr.* 3. 78, where he cites from Haupt an inscription given in *Spicil. Solesm.* which copies 249. 13 (*v. s.*) with *struatur* for *statuatur*¹. If this reading be accepted, Cyprian's will be the earliest instance in the sense of *obstruere*.

†*transpungere: transpunctae mentis alienatione dementes* 261. 17. In this metaphorical sense of stricken, synonymous with *alienatio* and *demens*, Cyprian seems to be the first to use the verb, which is cited also from Cael. Aur., though *transpunctio* 261. 12, is biblical.

**exambire* 528. 2, 630. 11, 739. 22, with different constructions. Arnob. 3. 24, 7. 15, onwards.

ignire (literal) 339. 1. This was probably in Cyprian's Bible in 2 Macc. 7. 3 (Vulg. *succendi*); *aurum ignitum* 384. 10 is Biblical; see *ib.* 6 and Rönsch, *It. V.* p. 156.

¹ This reading, and in 238. 8 *quam res laetos excipit* from the same source (Haupt, *Opusc.* 3. p. 202) are very tempting; but *de oc mundo* for *de proelio* show that the latter at any rate is only a paraphrase. The change, of course, was necessary in the case of a natural death, but when one change was made another might easily be admitted.

The only impersonal verb which appears first in Cyprian is:—

**horret* 781. 18 *nec delectat id dicere quod aut horret aut pudet nosse*. This does not seem to be cited elsewhere; was it improvised by Cyprian for uniformity with *pudet*?¹

Present participles used as substantives are not common: *aemulantes* = *adversarii* 598. 14, *audientes* (see p. 263), *blandiens* = quack 570. 1, *commeantes* 746. 14, *confitentes* 615. 5, *credentes* (see p. 255), *delinquentes* 743. 4, *uenientes* = προσήλυτοι (see p. 263). *Discens* for *discipulus* seems to be absent.

§ 37. Adverbs are used in extraordinary abundance, but not many seem to be new:—

**devote* = 'loyally' 513. 9. Lact., &c.

**plane* = *certe*, *nimirum*, *utique*, but never, I think, for *perspicue*, *aperte*, as Hartel would have it in some instances. Add to his instances 338. 15, 748. 22, 776. 14².

Cyprian, like Apuleius, delights in adverbs in *-im*:—³

glomeratim 479. 10. *Aetna* 199, Macr. Sat. 6. 4. 3 (where Jan has no note) onwards.

**speciatim* 750. 4; seven times in the *Hist. Aug.*, see Rönsch, *It. V.* p. 149, and Paucker, *Nachträge*, p. 24.

¹ *Oportet* in Cyprian is always, except perhaps in 385. 12, used in the stronger sense of *necesse est*; the usual meaning being supplied by *conuenit*, &c.

² Cyprian also uses the rare forms *consulte* 475. 20, *exerte* 420. 11 (meaning clearly, not energetically; a sense omitted by Georges, though used also by Tertullian), *inlicite* 643. 2, 757. 6, *secrete* 268. 23. He has no new forms in *-o*; for *festinato*, *iterato*, *uero* = *uere*, see Hartel's *Index*.

³ *Statim* in 229. 26, 250. 21, and 811. 6 (*Ep.* 75) is used in the sense of 'necessarily,' as in Sen. *Ep.* 45. 10. *Interim* must mean 'at once' in 475. 24, 636. 7, 647. 14; it usually has the sense of 'for the present,' or 'for a time,' as 244. 13, 659. 18. The other adverbs of this form used by Cyprian are *confestim* 542. 15, *gregatim* 541. 3, *nominatim* 516. 3, 12, *oppidatim* and *ostiatim* 598. 21, 22, *passim* often (in the sense of 'indiscriminately,' 269. 4), *priuatim* 271. 5, 512. 19, and in *Ep.* 75 (816. 21), *singillatim* 271. 4. Beside these *saltim* or *saltē* is used with *nec* or *non* instead of *ne* . . . *quidem* (cf. Sittl in *Jahresber.* 1892, p. 235) in 241. 14, 242. 11, 360. 9, 402. 25, 826. 8; without a negative, only 14. 12 and 604. 15.

The following in *-ter* are noteworthy :—

granditer five times ; see Hartel's *Index*. Only two earlier instances of this adverb are cited from Ovid, and 1 Esdr. 9. 7 from *Cod. Tolet.* (Rönsch, *It. V.* p. 150.)

**inseparabiliter* 215. 11, 22, 278. 2. Lact., Hieron., Aug.

**saeculariter* *Test.* 3. 36 *tit.* Aug., Prosper.

†*subtiliter fallens* 289. 20 ; cf. *subtilitas* in Rönsch, *Beitr.* 1. 68 ; in the usual sense 782. 21.

Derived from present participles are :—

†*exultanter* 614. 11, 691. 9.

**gubernanter* 608. 10. Omitted by Georges.

ignoranter 701. 16, 715. 3 ; only Vulg. (Old Latin) *Ecclus.* 14. 7 ; Rufinus, Aug.

indesinenter 733. 20. Vulg. only Heb. 10. 1. Lucifer, Hieron., &c.

**urgerter* 676. 14 and in the Roman *Ep.* 36 (573. 4). Aug.

Of temporal adverbs and conjunctions the rarity of *saepe* has already been noticed on p. 220. The same has been noted by Wölfflin in Cassius Felix ; but Cyprian never uses the comparative or superlative of *frequenter* ; *saepius* and *saepissime* are always used. *Iugiter*, also as in Cassius Felix, alternates with *semper*. *Mox* is never used ; its place is taken by *cito* or *uelociter*¹. The strange use of *retro* for 'in future' occurs in 366. 13. *Tunc* is always used, and never *tum*.

There is less to be said about local words. *Exinde*, rare in this sense, occurs 841. 13, 15 ; *istic*, *istinc* always mean 'here' and 'hence,' and with *illic*, *illinc* are constantly used of Carthage and Rome². *Istic* for *istuc* 616. 11, but *illuc* 725. 15. *Nusquam* is put strangely for *nequaquam* in 394. 26, and the curious form of question *ubi erit quod . . . ?* occurs several times, as 601. 10 *ubi erit quod discimus ?*, 634. 20, 793. 12, 15 ; so in *Ep.* 75 (824. 17) and in Roman *Epp.* 551. 22, 562. 15, 564. 6.

¹ *Mox* in the Vulgate is confined to six examples, five of which are in books not revised by Jerome.

² For the pleonastic *illinc ab urbe*, &c., see p. 238. Here may be mentioned the attributive use of *illic*, *istic*, and *quondam*, indexed by Hartel ; add to these *postmodum* 375. 14, *semper* 241. 23, and perhaps *statim* 505. 14. In *Ep.* 75 occur *retro* 816. 25, and *foris* 822. 11.

Fortasse (239. 6, 307. 18), *fortassis* (475. 8 and in the Roman *Ep.* 31, 558. 7) and *forsitan* (254. 2 and fairly often), are all used, as in Apuleius; cf. Becker, *Stud. Apul.* p. 11.

Among negatives *haud* is absent, though common in the artificial style of Arnobius. *Neue* is also absent, being replaced by *neque*, *et* or *aut*; once *ne . . . uel ne* 500. 14, and twice probably *ne . . . ne* in co-ordinate clauses, 588. 3¹, 688. 16. *Non* forming one notion with the word connected, adjective, adverb, &c. is characteristic of Cyprian; *non salubriter* 195. 16, *non de eius sententia ordinati = contra* 672. 16, *de non colentibus* 361. 11, &c. *Necdum* and *neque enim* have quite taken the place of *nondum*, *non enim*; hence *et necdum*, *necdum quoque* 593. 8, 801. 4, *neque enim et* 688. 10. But irregular negatives are countless.

Of irregularly used copulative conjunctions some examples have been given on pp. 230, 239. It may be stated as a general rule that *et* connects clauses, *ac* words. *Item* is excessively common. *Aut . . . aut* is used for *et . . . et* or *tam . . . quam* in 240. 14, 548. 5, 673. 20, and often, though *uel . . . uel* is normal in this sense, 356. 19, &c. The comparative particles are *tantum . . . quantum* or *in tantum . . . in quantum*; *tam . . . quam*, *hoc . . . quo* and *tanto . . . quanto* are rarer². But the most noteworthy and almost the most common of Cyprian's usages are those of *et* for *sed* or *tamen* either at the beginning or in the middle of a sentence. Only once is it used between words, not clauses, 283. 2, unless *et* be read in 586. 2; but such expressions as 263. 11 *distribuendum per apostolos totum* (all they had) *dabant et non talia delicta redimebant* and 366. 12 are of constant occurrence. Conversely *sed et* in similar positions, well, though not completely, indexed by Hartel, is frequently used for *et*.

¹ Hartel once, 588. 3, reads *neue*, but the text is doubtful, and it seems better to read *ne . . . ne* as suggested above.

² *Quam amplior . . . tam maior* 14. 21. *Quantum . . . tantum* with positive adj. 262. 16, 584. 10. Other instances are 490. 8, 505. 2, 546. 22. For *in tantum . . . in quantum* and variants see Hartel s.vv. *in* and *quantus*. *Quanto* with *tanto* omitted 189. 17.

Of adversative conjunctions, *immo*, in various positions, is very common¹. *Porro* also is frequent, always initial and usually with *autem*². *At* (*at enim* 301. 7, *at nero* 651. 24) appears to be almost extinct. For *sed enim* see Hartel's *Index*. *Ceterum* is very common at the beginning of periods in a strongly adversative sense. *Certe* is always initial (227. 16, 601. 8, &c.), and used not for restriction, but for assertion. *Ergo* is apparently used for *tamen* in a conversational passage, 307. 18, as it is in *Sent.* 4 (438. 3).

Nisi si is constantly used with the indicative in a *reductio ad absurdum*, as 382. 20; only 334. 8, 496. 15 in another sense with the subjunctive. *Si* is strangely used for *quod* in 249. 23, 468. 7, 740. 17. *Dum* is often used, and invariably with the present indicative, as a causal particle; *dummodo* perhaps only 779. 12³.

In the place of the old conclusive particles, *hinc*, *inde*, *unde* are almost always used. *Propter quod* and *et idcirco* are much more common than *quamobrem*, *quare* or *quapropter*, though all these occur; *quocirca* is absent. *Denique* in several senses—for instance, 'in consequence,' 'accordingly,' and as a simple copula—rarely in that of 'finally,' is very common⁴, e.g. 421. 23, 501. 1, 618. 4, 700. 11.

Probably no writer has used *quominus* so freely as Cyprian in all connexions; e.g. 260. 3, 297. 11, 411. 9, 502. 18. Final *ut*, as has been said, is rare unless strengthened with *ad hoc*, *propter hoc*, &c. But the use of *ut* as simply explanatory or consecutive is a marked feature in his style; 195. 23, 312. 21, 26, 522. 15, 794. 18, &c.

Clauses with *quia*, *quod*, *quoniam* for the acc. inf. are, of

¹ It is used for *potius*; *nemo cogitet . . . sed immo consideret* 334. 3, and 219. 22.

² *Porro autem* = 'on the contrary' 797. 8; cf. Rönseh, *Beitr.* 2. 78.

³ The combinations of *dum*, &c. are often curious; *dum . . . sic* 743. 16, 772. 5, *sic . . . dum* 605. 1, *hinc . . . dum* 423. 9, *inde . . . dum* 422. 17, *eo . . . dum* 212. 3, *inde . . . quod* or *quia* 362. 30, 408. 9, 667. 20, 798. 7.

⁴ Cf. Kalb, *Roms Juristen*, p. 19 f., Becker, *Stud. Apul.* p. 32, Rönseh, *Beitr.* 2. 65.

course, common in a writer of the third century, and most of them have been indexed by Hartel.

§ 38. The most remarkable part of Cyprian's syntax is that of prepositions, which must be omitted here. He avoids both archaic and vulgar forms; several which are common in such writers as Fronto and Tertullian, and used by other writers in Cyprian's correspondence, are absent. The following are not used:—*absque* (but *abs* 253. 24, 676. 11), *cis*, *citra*, *clam* (though *coram* is used as a preposition, and *palam* as an adverb), *erga* and *ergo*, *penes*, *pone*, *prae*, *secus*, *subter*, *tenus*, *usque* and *adusque*¹. *Trans* is confined to the formula *trans mare constituti* 592. 22, 601. 3; *ex* and *ob* are comparatively rare, while *apud* has an extraordinary extension of meaning.

The following ablatives are used with the genitive as substitutes for prepositions:—*beneficio* 385. 21², *causa* 659. 27, *fraude* 769. 12, *merito* (cf. Sittl, *op. cit.* p. 135), 711. 4, *respectu* 510. 5. To these should perhaps be added *file* 281, 4, 303. 3, 357. 16, 370. 12, and *ui* 302. 16, 305. 16.

There is little to be said about exclamations. *Utinam* 517. 15, &c. is varied thrice by the poetical *o si* 10. 24, 361. 18. 685. 6; except in 253. 23, where there is the accusative, *o* is followed by the nominative 14. 1, 9, &c. *Pro dolor* occurs 9. 12, 243. 19, *pro nefas* 199. 10, 242. 10. *Oro*, *quaeso*, *puta*, are used without construction, as in other writers.

¹ *Usque ad* 256. 16, 401. 26, 402. 6, 503. 10, 764. 3; *ad finem usque* 503. 7.

² Cyprian may have learnt this use from Seneca, who has it frequently. *Dial.* 5. 2. 1 &c. It is also used by Apuleius, *Met.* 5. 25, 8. 20 (93. 15, 147, 6 Eyss.) and Ps.-Apul. *Ascl.* 31 (54. 12 Goldbacher), and by Lucianus 533. 7. Sittl, *Lok. Verschied.*, p. 136, strangely seems to regard it as African, and the instance in the *Vita* (A. c. 10) as the earliest. At any rate he quotes no other. See also Wölfflin's *Archiv*, 8. 590.

TEXTUAL SUGGESTIONS.



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I.

LIFE OF ST. NINO

[MARJORY WARDROP
J. O. WARDROP]

VOL. V : PART I.

B

LIFE OF ST. NINO.



PREFACE.

THE text used for this translation is *Sakart'hvelos Samot'khhe* (edited by Gobron (Mikhail) Sabinin, S. Pbg., 1882), the standard collection of Lives of Georgian Saints; passages have also been appended from Rufinus, Moses of Chorene, and a MS. entitled *Moktzevai Kart'hlisai* (i.e. the Conversion of Georgia).

Sabinin's text has the merit of giving a connected narrative, but its slipshod style and lack of punctuation frequently render it obscure and misleading.

The New Variant. The best text, as far as it goes, is that printed in *Akhali Varianti Tsm. Ninos Tzkhovrebisa, anumeore natsili Kart'hlis Moktzevisa* (edited by E. T'haqaishvili, Tiflis, 1891). Wherever this differs materially from Sabinin's text its words (marked A. V.) are inserted in the notes.

The existing MS. of this New Variant forms a part of the 'Shatberdi Collection,' a book of miscellaneous parchments which formerly belonged to the monastery of Shatberdi, on Chorokh Pass, in the district of Clarjet'hi, and appears to have been written in the ninth or tenth century. With it are bound up three Historical Chronicles and the short MS. called *Moktzevai Kart'hlisai*, all of which are now published. The most notable peculiarity of A. V. is that the narrators speak in the first person; there seems little doubt of its being the oldest existing MS., and it is evidently a

copy of a very much older (perhaps contemporary) original. Unfortunately it is incomplete. The order of the incidents differs from that in other versions, and some things are omitted altogether.

Other versions. Among other MSS. may be mentioned :

1. A copy of the Lives of the Georgian Saints, written by the Catholicos Arsen in the tenth century (preserved in the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences). Arsen tells us he used oral as well as written material.

2. The Shio Mghvime monastery's MS., written in 1733.

3. The Nat'hlistzemeli (Baptist) monastery's MS., 1713. These two last named are evidently taken from the same source, but the one is not copied from the other.

4. Queen Mariam's MS. (written 1636-1646) of Kart'hlis Tzkhovreba (the Georgian Chronicle), which was not among those edited by Vakhtang VI.

5. Kart'hlis Tzkhovreba, the great Georgian Chronicle, edited by King Vakhtang VI (early eighteenth century), but collected long before his time. The text and French translation published by M. F. Brosset, St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences.

The MS. Conversion of Georgia. The MS. Moktzevai Kart'hlisai (infra, pp. 61-64) gives the legend of St. Nino in a dry, brief manner, and carries the history down to the ninth century; but the oldest part does not seem to be later than the seventh century. It cannot be looked upon as the root from which other versions have sprung, but only as part of a compilation of annals from pre-existing material.

Agreement of the Versions. It will be found that the different versions, through about a thousand years, show no essential disagreement, and they are supported by the independent authority of Rufinus, whose work seems to have been first known in Georgia through Ephrem the Younger's translation of Theodoretus in the eleventh century. It is probably from Rufinus that the story of the healing of the youth (p. 31) is inserted; the use of the word *cilici*, and the

omission of the incident in A. V., seem to suggest such an origin.

Chronology. Various dates are given for the Conversion of Georgia: Vakhusht 317, Baronius 327, Brosset 328, Kart'hlis Tzkhovreba 338. The first and last of these are manifestly wrong. The year given in Moktzevai Kart'hlisai, 332, if we read 'birth' for 'ascension,' is apparently correct, and is confirmed by the *Chronique Arménienne* (i. e. a Georgian Chronicle which only exists in an Armenian translation of the twelfth century, published in French by Brosset in *Additions et éclaircissements*, Pgb. 1851). We may thus fix the following dates: Nino's arrival in Georgia 324, baptism of King Mirian 332, Nino's death 338.

The Georgian Church Autocephalous. It has been asserted, not without authority, that the first Bishop of Georgia was only called John (Ioane, Iovane) because he was 'the Baptist,' and that he was in reality that Eustatius who was patriarch of Antioch from 325 till 331, when he was expelled by heretics. In 1051 we find the clergy of Antioch claiming the patriarchate over Georgia, and about the same time Ephrem the Younger refers to Eustatius of Antioch as the first Georgian bishop. In any case it is certain that until the reign of Vakhtang Gorgaslan (end of fifth century) the Georgian Church was subject to Antioch; Vakhtang made it a national Church, and it was solemnly declared autocephalous by the Sixth General Council. Practically, it is now swallowed up in the Russian Church, and the tomb of St. Nino, in the monastery of Bodbe, has been surrounded by hideous modern buildings, and given into the care of Russian nuns ignorant of the language and history of the country.

Miscellaneous remarks. It is perhaps unnecessary to draw attention to the importance of Jews and women in the introduction of Christianity in Georgia, as in other places. The Jewish colonies (p. 27) seem to have been ancient, numerous, and prosperous; and the influence of the rabbi Abiat'har, who is represented as calling himself complacently

'the new Paul,' plays a large part in the story. Queen Nana reminds us of Helena in Byzantium, Clothilde in France, and other royal protectresses of Christianity.

The information given about the pre-existing faiths, the imported Persian gods Armaz and Zaden, the hostile Chaldean It'hrujan, the Book of Nimrod, and, more especially, Gatzi and Gaim, or Ga, the 'gods of the Georgian people,' is well worthy of attention. So too are such scraps of folklore as we find on pp. 23 and 45. From the linguistic point of view the fragments of 'Branjian' and old Persian on pp. 20 and 21 may be recommended to the notice of philologists. A mere translation such as is here presented leaves the field open to students fitted to explain the numerous obscure points in the legend.

TEXT.

*The Conversion of King Mirian, and of all Georgia
with him, by our holy and blessed Mother the
Apostle Nino.*

Her festival is held on the fourteenth of January.

LET us tell the story of our holy and blessed Mother, the enlightener of all Georgia, the apostle Nino, as she herself, at the time of her death, related it to the believer Salome of Ujarma, daughter-in-law of King Mirian, who wrote it down.

Now in those days when Saint George the Cappadocian¹ bore witness for Christ, there was in a city of Cappadocia a certain ruler, pleasing unto God, called Zabulon, who set out for Rome to serve before King Maximian² and to carry gifts to him. In those same days there was in Colastra³ a man who had two children : a son named Iobenal and a daughter, Sosana ; and he and his wife died, leaving the brother and sister orphans. The children arose and set out for the holy city Jerusalem, trusting in the hope of all Christians, the holy Resurrection. There they tarried ; Sosana's brother, Iobenal, obtained the office of steward⁴, while she served the Niamphori Sarra⁵ of Bethlehem.

Now the Cappadocian youth Zabulon, whom we have

¹ We learn from an old chronicle that St. Nino was the archmartyr St. George's cousin.

² A.V. omits the name Maximian.

³ A.V. 'Colasta.'

⁴ Devtalar. In Queen Mariam's MS. devkhalari, but in all others devtalar.

⁵ A.V. 'miaphori Sara.'

already mentioned, arrived before the king when the Branji¹ had revolted against the Romans on the field of Patalani². The Lord gave power invincible to Zabulon, who went forth with countless hosts against the Branji and put them to flight, capturing their king and all his chiefs. Then he led them before the king (of the Romans) who decreed that they should all be put to death. The Branji began to weep, and entreated Zabulon, saying: 'First let us be partakers in your religion, and let us be led into the temple of your God; then may we meet death, for we have been taken captive by thee. Do thus unto us, and thou shalt be guiltless of our blood, O hero!' Now when Zabulon heard this, he went hastily and secretly to the patriarch³, and told him what they had said. They were baptized by Zabulon; they were led into the temple of God, where they partook of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the glory of the holy apostles was declared unto them.

On the morning when they were to meet their doom, the Branji rose very early, and, being clothed in the garments of death, were led away unto the place of execution, praying and praising God for His baptism and sacrament which they had received, saying: 'In this our death we are immortal, for God has esteemed us worthy to see His glory, and to receive the inexhaustible provision for the journey, to wit, the body and blood of the immortal God Christ, who is higher than all heights and deeper than all abysses and depths, who is blessed through eternity. But, alas for our kinsfolk, born in bitterness, inheritors of darkness!' They then handed themselves over to the executioner. Now when Zabulon saw this, he was much moved, and wept bitterly, for they were as sheep led to the slaughter, and for their children they mourned grievously, as for lambs. Seized with pity for them all, Zabulon went in to the king and entreated

¹ Branji = Frangi (Franks). Cp. Lebeau, *Hist. du Bas-Empire*, i. 42-3.

² A.V. 'Pikhalani.' In other variants Pitalani.

³ A.V. 'he told *the king* and the patriarch.'

him that he would pardon them. The king granted them their liberty.

The Branji begged Zabulon to go with them to their land and teach the gospel of Christ, baptizing with water all the people. He hearkened to their prayer, and asked the patriarch for a priest. Then he obtained leave from the king, and they went away joyfully. When they were within a day's journey of the land of the Branji, the news that their king was coming in safety, with all his chiefs, travelled before them, and there came forth to meet them ten *erist'havs*¹: Khozamai, Khozaba, Zakai and Khenebagi, Timgaragi Dazakai², Gazai, Zargai, Zarda, Zamrai and T'hmonigoni³, and all the kingdom with them, and they met at a great deep river⁴. The king divided the people, and placed half of them on each side of the river, and the priest blessed the water. Then all the people went down into the river and were washed, and rose together, and the priest⁵ laid his hands upon them all. Ten days tarried they there by the river, and they pitched tents. The priest offered up the bloodless sacrifice, and the people partook of the sacrament of Christ. Priests instructed them in all the doctrines of Christianity. When Zabulon had said farewell he left them in peace, and went away with great gifts to Rome.

Baptism
of the
Branji.

He resolved to go to Jerusalem, and when he arrived there he divided his gains among the poor, according to the commandment of God. He saw the steward Iobenal, who had

Zabulon
visits
Jerusalem

¹ *eris-t'havi* (lit. head of the people) is a governor of a province.

² Thus in Sabinin, but it may be *da* (and) Zakai, as in A.V.

³ In A.V. the names are given as follows: Kholamai, Khozabai Khladchai, Khenshagi, Timgaragi, Zakai, Gzai Zargai, Zardai, Zarmai and T'hmonigoni of royal race. There are thus eleven names in all, but it is difficult to decide which of them is a double name. Queen Mariam's MS. gets over the difficulty by omitting Zarmai. The MS. in the church of St. John the Baptist (Nat'hlis mtzemeli monastery, in Karayaz Steppe) agrees with A.V. The list in Kart'hlis Tzkhovreba is: Khozamoi, Khozai, Gaakhlajai (var. Gardajai), Khonemagai, Khingiragai (var. Khinidchragai), Zajai, Zagai, Zardai, Zamrai, T'hmoni.

⁴ Queen Mariam's MS. and the Nat'hlis mtzemeli MS. have not *ghrmasa* (deep); the former reads *ghadmarsa*, the latter *ghdamarasa* (? geographical names, names for the river).

⁵ A.V. 'Zabulon.'

and
marries
Sosana.

Birth of
Nino.

become patriarch, and Zabulon and the patriarch became great friends. Then Sara Niamphori said to the patriarch: 'Since this Zabulon is father and baptizer of the Branji, a man full of wisdom and constant in the service of God, give him thy sister Sosana to wife.' The advice of Sara seemed good unto the holy patriarch ¹.

St. Nino ², the enlightener of Georgia, was born of them. She was their only child, and her mother brought her up in the service of the poor ³. When Nino was twelve years old, her parents sold all they had, and went away to Jerusalem. On reaching the holy city, Zabulon, having been blessed by the patriarch, left his wife. He clasped his daughter St. Nino to his breast, wetting her face with the torrent of tears which flowed from his eyes, and said: 'My only daughter! I leave thee an orphan, and confide thee to thy Father who is in heaven, the God of all beings, for He is the Father of orphans, the Judge of the widow. Fear not, my child, imitate the love of Mary Magdalene and of the sisters of Lazarus for Christ. If thou lovest Him as they loved Him, He will give thee all thou askest of Him.'

When he had spoken thus, he gave her a kiss of eternal farewell, and went away beyond Jordan, with men who had become savage for God's sake, and who dwelt apart from the world, but God the omniscient Creator knew the place of their sojourn.

The patriarch appointed the mother of Nino to serve poor and infirm women, and St. Nino served the Armenian Niaphori of Dvini two years, reading continually of Christ's sufferings on the cross, of His burial, resurrection, and garments, of His linen, shroud, and cross. She learned everything, for there had been and there was no one in Jerusalem equal to the Niaphori in knowledge of the ancient law and the new; she excelled all. The Niaphori thus instructing her said: 'I see, my child, thy strength, like the strength of the lioness, whose

¹ A.V. adds: 'they went away to his own town Colasa' (var. Colastra).

² Nino is simply *nonna*, i.e. the nun.

³ A.V. adds 'day and night unceasingly.'

roar is louder than that of any four-footed animal, or like the female eagle, which, soaring in the highest air, beyond the male, and, with the pupil of her eye, seeing all the country, tiny as a pearl, stops, searches, and like lightning perceiving her prey—she plumes her wings and immediately swoops upon it. Even thus may thy life be by the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Now will I declare unto thee everything: When to this earth of mortal man the immortal God came to call in the heathen, for He Himself wished to deliver the world, He began to do good to the Jews, to raise the dead, to give sight to the blind, and healing to the sick. The people were envious against him, and, taking counsel together, they sent soldiers (? couriers¹) to ask the Jews to come to Jerusalem quickly, saying: "Come, let us gather together and destroy Him." Then, from all parts, came numerous wise men, learned in the law of Moses, who resisted the Holy Spirit, and Him that was the Christ they did slay. They crucified Him and cast lots for His raiment, and it² fell to the lot of a citizen of Mtskheth'a, in the North. The Jews buried Christ, and guarded and sealed His tomb, but He rose again, as He had said from the beginning. And they found the linen early in Christ's tomb, whither Pilate and his wife came. When they found it, Pilate's wife asked for the linen, and went away quickly to her house in Pontus, and she became a believer in Christ³. Some time afterwards, the linen came into the hands of Luke the Evangelist, who put it in a place known only to himself.

'Now they did not find the shroud (*sudari*), but it is said to have been found by Peter, who took it and kept it, but we know not if it has ever been discovered. The crosses are buried in the city of Jerusalem, though no man knows in what place; when it shall please God they also shall appear.'

¹ stratioti.

² A.V. 'the *cvart'hi*,' i. e. chiton, tunic or shirt.

³ This passage does not occur in Kart'hlis Tskhovreba, nor in any other variant, except A.V.

When St. Nino heard all this from Sara the Niamphori she offered thanks and blessing to God, and asked: 'Where is that northern land whence the Jews came and whither they took the raiment of our Lord Christ?' Sara answered: 'There is in the East, in the land of Kart'hli, a town called Mtzkhet'ha, near Somkhet'hi and Mt'hiulet'hi, and now it has become a part of the empire of the Uzhiks², and is a land of idolators.'

Now in those days a certain woman came from Ephesus, to worship at the holy places, and Sara Niamphori asked her if Queen Elene was still in error and darkness. And the woman answered: 'I am their servant; a sharer in all their counsels both open and secret, and I know that she has now a great desire for the law of Christ and baptism.' When St. Nino heard this, she said to the Niamphori: 'Send me, and I will go before Elene the Queen; shall not I appear in her presence and speak for Christ's sake?' The Niamphori told the patriarch what Nino desired and intended, and the patriarch, Nino's uncle, called his niece, and placed her on the steps of the holy altar. He laid his holy hands upon her shoulders, sighed towards heaven from the depths of his heart, and said: 'O Everlasting Lord God, I entreat Thine aid for my sister's orphan child, and I send her to preach Thy divinity. May she spread the good tidings of Thy Resurrection; wherever it pleases Thee may her course be; may this wanderer become, O Christ God, a haven of rest, a leader, wise in speech, since she goes forth in Thy name.' And her mother gave her a farewell kiss, and made the sign of the cross upon her³, and thus, with prayers to God, and blessings, they parted.

Nino
departs

St. Nino set out with the woman who had come from

¹ A.V. 'It is a mountainous land north of Somkhit'hi, ruled by the Greeks and Uzhiks.'

² Uzhiks or Uses, now Osses, Ossets. Cf. *Const. Porphyrog. de Adm. Imp.* c. 27; also Acts ii. 9 in the Georgian version. The Uzhiks have also been described as Babylonians, Huns, Circassians (Odighe, Zychi).

³ A.V. 'gave me a cross.'

Ephesus. When they arrived in the kingdom of the Romans, with the woman of Ephesus, in the house of that woman who had travelled with her they saw a certain queen ¹ (? royal princess), by name Riphstime, and her foster-mother Gaiane ². They dwelt in a nunnery for virgins, longing to confess Christ, and waiting for baptism from Jerusalem. The woman came to St. Nino, and told her about queen Riphstime, and when Nino heard how Riphstime loved Christ, she also went to dwell with her, with the woman who was her fellow-pilgrim. In the same year St. Nino baptized Riphstime, who had longed much for this, and, with her, her foster-mother Gaiane and others of her household, to the number of fifty ³ souls; and St. Nino lived in the nunnery ⁴ with them two years. baptizes Riphstime.

⁵ In those days the emperor sent forth to seek a maiden good and beautiful who might be to him a worthy wife. When the messengers arrived at the convent of virgins they saw Riphstime, and learnt that she was akin to kings. They were greatly pleased with her beauty, for nowhere could be seen one like unto her in loveliness. They drew her fair face and made a portrait of her on wood, and sent it to the emperor. When he saw it he was exceeding glad, and, filled with joy, he resolved to celebrate the wedding with splendour and great pomp. So he hastened and sent messengers and rulers

¹ A.V. *vadagi mephetha*.

² A.V. omits 'and her foster-mother Gaiane.'

³ A.V. 'forty.'

⁴ A.V. 'house.'

⁵ A.V. omits the legend of Riphstime, from 'In those days the emperor . . . down to the incident of Nino's being hidden in a briar-bush (p. 15), where it goes on: 'And I was left in a briar-bush.' A.V. substitutes the following passage: 'Then the Lord looked down upon Greece, and King Constantine became a believer; and he confessed Christ, he and his mother and all his court, in the year from the beginning (A.M.) 5444, from the resurrection of Christ, 311 (this date is in no other variant), and all Greece received Christianity. In the seventh year was the holy assembly at Nicaea, and in the eighth year our flight from Greece—Queen Riphstime, her foster-mother Gaiane and fifty souls, we set out in the first month on the 15th day. And we came into the bounds of Soukhithi (Armenia) into the garden of King Thrdat; there were they slain in the first month on the 30th day, on a Friday' (this date is not found in any other variant).

to all in his kingdom, ordering them to collect gifts; with great rejoicing they came, at his summons, to the imperial nuptials,

Now when those saints saw the secret cunning of the enemy, and the fiery darts he hastened to shoot at Christ's holy ones, they were afflicted, for the king was a tool of wrath—like the serpent which spake in Paradise, even so was this heathen who was given over to the profane worship of unclean, abominable idols. When the blessed Riphstime and Gaiane, and others of the nuns saw this temptation which had come upon them, they remembered their vows of chastity which they had made. Woefully they wept that the pagan king had learnt of the beauty of St. Riphstime from the picture. They inflicted severe penance on themselves, fervently praying and entreating God without ceasing; and, being of one mind, they secretly fled from that land—fifty and three souls. The fugitives arrived within the borders of Somkhit'hi (Armenia), at the place which is called Akhal-kalaki, outside which is Dvini, the royal residence (?).

Flight of
Riphstime
and her
com-
panions to
Armenia.

They entered into wine-presses which were built to the north and east, and they kept themselves by selling their handiwork.

Now when the emperor saw that St. Riphstime and others with her had escaped from his hands, and from his wicked love, he was full of bitter discontent, and sent men forth into all places to seek them. And the imperial envoys came before Trdat, king of the Somekhi (Armenians), and delivered to him the emperor's letter, which was as follows:—

The em-
peror's
letter to
Trdat,
king of
Armenia.

'I, the emperor, greet my beloved brother sovereign and friend, Trdat. Be it known to thee, my brother and ally, that the sect of Christians, from whom formerly we have suffered, have again insulted our majesty and outraged our kingdom. They serve a certain dead man who was crucified, and worship a piece of wood, esteeming it a glory to die for their Lord; they fear not the Jews, but they fear Him who was slain and crucified by them; they insult kings and condemn the gods, and they even venerate not the sun, moon and stars,

but say all was created by the Crucified; and they flee from the world, fathers and mothers forsaking one another, separate while yet living. Although I have threatened and tortured them they increase more and more. But it came to pass that I saw the portrait of one of this sect, a young maiden, and I resolved to take her to wife; but her heart had no desire even for the love of the king. She looked upon me as loathsome and unclean, and fled secretly from me; and they are come into the bounds of thy land. Therefore, be it known unto thee, my brother, that thou shouldst seek for her and find her; and let those who are with her die the death, for they led her into error, but as for her who is so fair of face, Ripsime by name, send her to me. Yet, if she please thee, take her for thine own, for thou canst not find in the world of the Ioni (? Ionians, Greeks) a fairer—and mayst thou be kept alive in the service of the gods.'

When Trdat had read this command of the emperor, he immediately made haste to search, and when he found them in the wine-presses and saw Ripsime, love's desire wounded him, and he was filled with great joy, and resolved to take her to wife. Ripsime would not consent to this, therefore he martyred her, with Gaiane her foster-mother and many others with them, as is written in the book of their martyrdom; and we know of the miracles performed at the time of their martyrdom in the conversion of the Armenians, and by God's providence King Trdat through them was converted.

Trdat desires to marry Ripsime,

who refuses, and is martyred.

Now some of those holy women escaped, among whom was St. Nino, who hid in a briar bush which had not yet put forth its flowers. And while St. Nino was thus hidden, she saw the form of an archdeacon¹ descending from heaven, clad in a stole of light, holding in his hands a censer from which arose sweet smelling smoke, concealing the heavens; and with him were many celestial beings. The souls of the holy martyrs were set free from their bodies, and were united to the host of shining ones, and together they mounted to

Nino escapes and hides in a briar bush. Her vision.

¹ A.V. 'deacon.'

heaven. When St. Nino saw this, she cried aloud: 'O Lord, O Lord, why leavest Thou me here among asps and vipers?' Then she heard a voice from heaven saying: 'Thou too shalt be led away into the kingdom of heaven before the throne of God at the time when this thorn which is around thee shall be sweet with the scent of rose-leaves¹; but now arise and go into the land of the North where the harvest is great but of labourers there is none.'

Nino
travels
northward,

tarries
at Lake
P'haravan,

Then St. Nino went thence, and arrived at Orbant'hi², on the bounds of Somkhit'hi; and after four months—from March till June—she set forth and came to the mountains of Javakhet'hi³ [where was the great lake which is called P'haravan. When St. Nino reached this place, and saw the northern mountains in summer covered with snow, and felt the coldness of the air, she trembled, and spake thus: 'O Lord, O Lord, receive my soul!' She tarried there two days, and begged nourishment from the fishermen who fished in the lake. There were also shepherds there, and when they watched their flocks by night they called upon their gods Armaz and Zaden to help them, and promised them sacrifices when they should come before them in peace. This they spoke in the Armenian tongue, which St. Nino had formerly studied a little with Niaphora, and she spake to one of the shepherds, and asked him: 'Of what village are you?' And he answered, saying: 'We are from⁴ Kindzari, Rabati and the great city of Mtzkhet'ha, where these gods reign and kings rule⁵.' St. Nino asked them: 'Where is that city of

¹ A.V. adds: 'by thy means.'

² A.V. 'Uloporet'hi, where I wintered in great distress'; Kart'hlis Tskhovreba, 'Orbant'hi'; Queen Mariam's MS. 'Urbnit'hi'; Nat'hlistzemeli MS. 'Orbnit hi'; Shiomghvimeli MS, 'Urbnisi.'

³ A.V. omits 'from March till June,' and all the passage from 'where was the great lake' to the words, 'Then she set out and came to the other side' (on p. 18). This passage is inserted from the Nat'hlistzemeli and Shiomghvimeli MSS. A.V. inserts after the word 'Javakhet'hi': 'that I might learn where Mtzkhet'ha was.'

⁴ Some MSS. insert 'Elarbini and Sap'hurtzeli.'

⁵ 'Ghmert'hni ghmert'hoben da mep'heni mep'hoben,' lit. 'the gods act as gods, the kings as kings.'

Mtzkhet'ha?' They answered her: 'On the river flowing from this lake lies Mtzkhet'ha.'

When St. Nino saw how terrible was the length of the way, and how fearful the mountains, her spirit was seized with trembling. She placed a great stone for a pillow, and slept by that river flowing from the lake. And as she slept, there came to her in a vision a man of exceeding tallness, whose hair fell down on his shoulders(?)¹; and he gave a sealed scroll to St. Nino, saying: 'Bear this swiftly to Mtzkhet'ha and give it to the heathen king.' But St. Nino began to weep, and entreated him, saying: 'O Lord, I am a stranger woman and unskilled, and I know not how to speak their tongue. How can I go into a strange land, among a strange people?' Then the man undid the book, on which was the seal of Jesus Christ, and in it were written, in the Roman tongue², ten sayings, as on the tables of stone delivered to Moses, and he gave them to St. Nino to read, and these were the sayings:

where ten
precepts
are de-
livered to
her in a
vision.

1. Wherever they preach this gospel, there shall they speak of this woman. Matt. xxvi. 13.
2. Neither male nor female, but you are all one. Gal. iii. 28.
3. Go ye and make disciples of all the heathen, and baptize them in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Matt. xxviii. 19.
4. A light to shine upon the heathen, and to give glory to thy people Israel. Luke ii. 32.
5. ³Preach the good tidings of the kingdom of heaven in all the world. Mark xvi. 15.
6. Whoever receiveth you receiveth Me, and whoever receiveth Me receiveth Him that sent Me. Matt. x. 40.
7. Now Mary was greatly beloved of the Lord, so that He always hearkened to her truth and wisdom.
8. Be not afraid of those who can destroy your bodies, but are not able to destroy your soul. Matt. x. 28.

¹ 't'hma t'hmosani.'

² 'eni'tha romelebrit'ha' (? Greek).

³ Omitted in Shio Mghvime MS.

9. Jesus said to Mary Magdalene: 'Go, O woman, and tell the good news to My brethren.' John xx. 17.

10. Whithersoever ye go, preach in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

She
travels to
Urbnisi.

When St. Nino had read through these words, she began to pray to God, and perceived plainly that this was a vision from on high. And she raised her eyes to heaven and besought the aid of the all-preserving God, established in the highest¹.] Then she set out and came to the other side of the river, to the part which flows westward, where she met many difficulties and trials on the road, fearful wild beasts and many troubles, until she reached the place where the stream begins to flow eastward, and then she was consoled, for there she found travellers, with whom she arrived in the suburbs of the city which is called Urbnisi, where she saw the worship of strange gods, for they worshipped fire, stones and wood. This grieved the soul of St. Nino. She entered the quarter² of the Jews, with whom she talked in the Hebrew tongue (wherein she was skilled); and she tarried there a month and learned the habits and customs of that land.

Arrives at
Mtzkhet'-
ha, where
she sees a
pagan
festival.

One day a great multitude of people set forth from that town to the great royal city³ of Mtzkhet'ha, to buy what they needed, and to offer sacrifice to their god Armaz; and with them went St. Nino. When they reached the city of Mtzkhet'ha they took up their quarters near the bridge of the Magi⁴. And when St. Nino saw the magicians, fire-worshippers, seducers of the people, she wept for their doom, and mourned their strange ways. And, behold, on the next day there was a great noise of trumpets and shouting, and a fearful tumult, and people without number, like the flowers of the field, rushing and crowding, waited for

¹ A.V. begins again.

² Kart'hlis Tzkhovreba: 'ubansa Uriat'hasa,' into the quarter of the Jews; Queen Mariam's MS., 'baginsa Romelt'hasa,' into the Roman quarter.

³ Kart'hlis Tzkh. 'deda kalakad,' to the mother-city, metropolis.

⁴ Pompey's bridge, built in 65 B.C. The modern bridge is on the same site.

the king and queen to come forth. Then came Queen Nana, and after her coming the people went quietly, and adorned all her path, and enclosed it with hangings of every colour, and strewed her way with leaves of trees, and flowers, and all the people began to praise the king. Next came King Mirian, terrible and in great pomp. St. Nino asked a certain Jewess: 'What is this?' She replied: 'It is their custom to go up before their god of gods, like whom is no other idol.' When St. Nino heard this, she ascended with the people to see the idol Armaz, and the mountain-sides were beautified with standards and ornaments like flowers of the field. And St. Nino hastened up to the fortress of Armaz, and placed herself near the idol in a crevice of the rock, and noticed the incomprehensible and inexpressible strangeness of the rites. There was a great noise, and the king and all the people trembled and were afraid before the idol. St. Nino saw standing a man made of copper, whose form was clad in a golden coat of mail, and he had on his head a golden helmet, and his shoulder-pieces and his eyes were of emeralds and beryls, and he held in his hands a sword bright as the lightning flash, which was turned in his hand, and none dared touch the idol on pain of death. And they spake thus: 'If here there be any who despise the glory of the great god Armaz, of those who agree with the Hebrews, who hearken not to the priests who teach sun-worship, or of those who adore a certain strange god and Son of the God of heaven—if here among us be any of these wicked ones, may the sword of him whom all the world fears strike them down!' When they had thus spoken, they each, one by one, worshipped the idol with fear and trembling. At its right hand was another idol, of gold, with the face of a man, and its name was Gatz¹, and at its left hand was an idol of silver, with the face of a man, and its name was Gaim², which were the gods of the Kart'hlian people.

When the blessed Nino saw this, she began to sigh

¹ *Catzi* in Georgian signifies 'man.'

² A.V. Ga (? γὰ).

Nino's
prayer.

and weep tears to God, because of the error of the land of the North, for the light was hidden from them, and the rule of darkness was over them¹. She saw their kings, with their hosts and all the princes, journeying, as it were, onward to be swallowed up alive in hell, for they had left their Creator, and worshipped gods of stone, of wood, of brass and of copper, and these they regarded as the creators of all. Then St. Nino remembered those words which her mother's brother Iobenal, the patriarch, had spoken to her: 'As a hero I send thee forth, for thou goest into a strange land, to those of the race of Dargevel, Zewel, Barcidul², which is in the Branjian language: 'men who are enemies and adversaries of God.' She raised her eyes to heaven and said: 'O Lord, by Thy great power overturn these Thine enemies, and by Thy great longsuffering may this people become wise, and all Thy foes disappear from the earth like dust and ashes, but do not despise man whom Thou hast made in Thy likeness, and for whom One of the Trinity became man and gave life to all in the world. Look down upon their race, and deliver their souls from the wicked and invisible ruler, the prince of darkness, and grant, O Lord God of my father and mother, unto me Thy handmaiden, born to serve Thee, that Thy salvation may be seen in all corners of Thy earth, that the north with the south may rejoice, and that all the people may worship the only God, through Jesus Christ Thy Son, to whom it is fitting to give glory with thanks for ever.'

A great
storm
arises.

When St. Nino had finished this prayer and praise, immediately God sent forth west winds and hurricanes, with clouds fearful and ominous to look upon, and the noisy roar of thunder was heard, and at the setting of the sun there blew a wind with a bitter, ill-smelling, noxious odour. The multitude, perceiving this, began hastily to run and flee

¹ The Georgian words for 'north' and 'shadow' are practically the same. Hence the play upon words.

² K. Tzkh. 'Dargvel, Zewel, Barcadul'; A.V. 'Dgevel, Zephel, Narca-dovel'; Shio Mghv. and Nat'hl. Mtz. 'Darbevel, Zephel, Barcadul.'

towards their dwellings in the town. God gave them but little time, and when they were all safe at home, suddenly His wrath burst forth fiercely from the cruel cloud, and hail fell, like stones the size of two hands¹, piercing, hard and strong, on the house of the idols, and broke them in little pieces, and the walls were destroyed by the terrible wind, and cast among the rocks². But Nino stood unharmed, watching from the same place where she had stood at the beginning.

On the next day came King Mirian, and all the people, to seek for their gods, but they could not find them. Therefore were they seized with fear and trembling, and astonishment filled their minds; and many said: 'The idols are thus helpless and cast down because It'hrujan, the god of the Chaldeans, and this our god Armaz have always been enemies, for Armaz made the sea go over his land, and now he is envious and has done thus to him.' Some affirmed that it was done by that God by whose power Trdat, the king of Armenia, had been turned into a wild boar, and then again from a wild boar into a man, for what other god could have done such a thing as this? Since that time when King Trdat by the power of Christ was turned into a wild boar, and by the power of Christ was again turned into a man, the praise and glory of Christ was no longer secretly spoken in Kart'hli, for in the east the grace of God began to shine.

³ Now in that day of wrath and of the overthrow of the

¹ A.V. 'litrisa'—weighing one pound or nine pounds.

² In A.V. a leaf is wanting here, down to the words 'for in the east the grace of God began to shine' (end of next paragraph). The missing passage is found in Shio Mghv. and Nat'hl. Mtz. MSS.

³ A.V. begins again as follows: 'And the king said, with tears: "Hehe raithmeboi khojat'h st'habanub rasul p'hsar zad," which is, being translated: "Thou speakest truly, O happy queen and apostle of the Son of God."—Now in that day of wrath,' &c.

Prof. Margoliouth points out that the words added in A.V. and beginning *Hehe* . . . are a transliteration of late Persian, and probably correspond to the following:

هی راست می گوئی خجسته خاتون و رسول پسر ایزد

Ah, ah, thou speakest truly, fortunate lady and apostle of the Son of God.

St. Nino
dwells on
the hill,

idols, when the hail and cruel wind were ceased, St. Nino came out from her crevice in the rock, and found the beryl eye, which she took, and went away to the edge of the precipice. In that place had been in ancient times a fortress and a city¹, and she saw standing there a tree which is called *brinji*² (acacia), very lofty, and fair to look upon, with many branches, under whose shade she set up the sign of the cross, and there she tarried six days, giving thanks and entreating God that He would look down with mercy and deliver that people from the error of the devils. And when the overthrow of the idols took place it was the fifth month from March—the sixth day of August, the day on which Christ was transfigured before the prophets and His disciples³.

is visited
by Shro-
shana,

As I said, St. Nino dwelt hidden under the tree. There came to her from the court a maiden named Shroshana, who when she saw St. Nino was surprised, and asked her, by means of a woman speaking Greek, whence she came and what she did. When she learnt all from St. Nino (except about her parentage) and how she was a captive⁴, Shroshana, sympathetic and gracious because of her being a stranger, with tears besought St. Nino to go home with her to the palace; but St. Nino would not, and Shroshana departed.

lives nine
months in
the house
of the
king's
gardener,

Three days afterwards she arose, crossed the river Kura, and reached the royal garden, where is now the divinely raised column and the church of the Catholicos. There she saw the little house of the keeper of the garden, and went in. Anastos, the keeper's wife, met her, and graciously kissed her, as if she had known her and been her friend for a long time. She bathed her feet, anointed her with oil, and gave her bread and wine. St. Nino tarried with her nine months.

¹ Harmozica, built by King Bartom. Strabo, xi. 3. 5; Pliny, Hist. nat. vi. 10. 2.

² 'The tree under which King Bartom used to rest and refresh himself.' Sakarth. Samot'khke, p. 74.

³ A.V. 'Evmanuvel on Tabor showed us Himself in the image of the Father.'

⁴ Cf. Rufinus. A.V. omits here all reference to parentage and captivity.

Now Anastos and her husband were childless, and were much grieved thereat. In sleep, St. Nino saw a vision of a man clothed in light, who said to her: 'Go into the garden, and you will find at the foot of a cedar a little twig ready to sprout forth with sweet smelling flowers of many beautiful colours. Take the earth from that place and give it to the couple to eat, and they shall have a son.' St. Nino prayed, and gave it to the husband and wife to eat, even as the angel had commanded, and there was born to them a son, and, afterwards, many daughters. Then they believed on Christ, and secretly became disciples of Nino¹.

whose wife
bears a son.

After the nine months which St. Nino spent in the house of the gardener, she found outside the walls of the city, as it were a little tent formed of brambles, by God's providence, in that place where is now the altar of the Church of the Samt'havarepiscoptzi (Archbishop), and there she took up her abode and place of rest, and there she raised her cross, which she had formed out of vine twigs, and sat up all night before it to watch, and turned night into day by her unceasing prayers and entreaties to God. Wondering at her many sufferings, the couple who kept the king's garden served her. Whilst she dwelt thus, St. Nino often visited the Jewish quarter, that she might converse in the Hebrew tongue, and learn the whereabouts of the Lord's tunic (*cvarl'hi*), of which she had heard at Jerusalem from the Niamphori—how it had been carried away by the Jews of Mtzkhet'ha, who would know where it was.

Nino re-
tires to a
bower.

She met a certain Jew, a priest called Abiat'har, and his daughter Sidonia, and preached to them the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. And they accepted it, and became her disciples, with other Jewish women, to the number of six, taught by St. Nino, except baptism, for at that time there was no priest to baptize them, and secretly they were her disciples. And God, by the hands of St. Nino, performed

Abiat'har,
Sidonia,
and other
Jews be-
come her
disciples.

¹ A.V. omits the rest of this chapter, substituting for it Nino's dream of the birds (p. 29).

many wonders and cures, for, by the use of herbs, she freed many incurable from their ailments.

Constantine defeats an invasion of Georgians and Persians.

Three years lived she thus in the city of Mtskhetha, and then King Mirian and his nephew, the king of the Persians, made an expedition into Greece. Constantine, the Greek emperor, put them to flight by the power of Christ, and through His cross, which was borne before all the emperor's armies.

*The words of Abiat'har the priest, who was converted by the holy and blessed Nino*¹.

Story of Abiat'har.

Here receives a letter from the Jews in Antioch.

I, Abiat'har, became priest, chosen by lot, in that year when the holy and blessed mother Nino arrived in Mtskhetha.

After that², I received from the Jewish priests in Antioch a letter wherein were these words:—

‘God has broken into three parts the kingdom of Israel, for lo! our prophets have ceased, and those in whom the Spirit of God still dwelt told us that all was fulfilled. We are scattered over all the earth, and the Romans have seized our land; we do nought but weep, for the wrath of God our Creator is fallen upon us. Now search, therefore, the Book of Moses³, who described all this to us—how He who on earth called Himself the Son of God would be slain. And we have been the cause of the slaying of this Nazarene. Now we see how from the first our fathers have sinned against God and have wholly forgotten Him. Then He gave them into the hand of the wicked, but they turned again and cried aloud unto God, and He speedily saved them from their woes; and thus did they do, as we know from the Scriptures,

¹ In A.V. this chapter comes after the story of the miracle performed by the holy pillar (p. 41).

² A.V. ‘letters arrived from Rome and Egypt, and from the Hebrew priests and scribes in Babylon.’

³ A.V. ‘who tells us: “He who calls Himself God on the earth shall be hanged on a tree.”’

even unto the seventh time. Now, since the hands of our fathers have been raised against the Son of the Virgin, and they have killed Him, God has become wroth with us. He has destroyed our kingdom, and has sent us away from His temple. Our race is altogether despised. And from those days three hundred years (nay, more) have passed, and He has not hearkened to our prayers. Therefore it seems that this surely is not false, but that Man was from heaven.'

Much more did they write unto us, concerning themselves. When I had heard this, I began to inquire of the woman Nino about this Christ: who He was, and why the Son of God had become man. St. Nino opened her mouth, from which the words flowed forth like water from a well, and she began to tell unto me by heart our books, even from the beginning, and to declare their power. And lo! she awakened me as from sleep, and cast light upon my stony heart, and made the misery of my fathers manifest unto me. I trusted in the new law, and believed in the words of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who had suffered and risen again, and who would come a second time with glory, and who was, and is in truth, the expectation of the Gentiles. My daughter Sidonia and I became worthy to receive sprinkling by the water of baptism, for the cleansing from sins, which the prophet David had desired, and of which he could not partake. I heard the voice of those that chanted together the new law, which David also had longed to hear. And I became worthy to partake of the true body and blood of Christ, the Son of God, of the Lamb slain for the sins of the world, which is of a sweet savour; and in this faith, O Lord, may my soul pass from my body! And lo! we saw with our eyes many kinds of miracles performed, in Mtzkhet'ha, by St. Nino¹.

¹ A.V. adds: 'And the house of Eliozi was in the west of the city, at the Gate Mogvet'hi (of the Magicians), on the river Kura; and there was their little cemetery, upon which St. Nino raised the cross of Christ, and one by one the nobles were baptized there by Jacob the priest and Prosila the arch-

*The words of the same Abiat'har the priest concerning the tunic (shirt) of our Lord Jesus Christ*¹.

I, Abiat'har, relate unto you that story which I have heard, and which I have learnt with mine ears from my parents, who learnt it from epistles, and from their parents and grandparents.

The Georgian Jews

In those days when Herod ruled in Jerusalem, there was

deacon. They called the place "The Nobles' Place of Baptism," and it was very well known in our days, for it stood in a plain, without other buildings.

'In those days the Jews of Mtzkhet'ha were filled with hatred towards me; and they tore down the tree-fern (?) (cilamo) which stood over against the door of the sanctuary and adorned the place, for its branches were entwined over all the front of the building.

'And they began to go thence, except those of the house of the Barabeans, of whom fifty souls were baptized, and they became inhabitants of Mtzkhet'ha, and Mirian gave them a village which is called *Tzikhe didi*. They were great before the king, and were all Christians, by the grace and guidance of the blessed Nino.'

(The Barabeans are mentioned on p. 43 as Cabrabians.)

¹ In A.V. this chapter is headed: 'Chapter VII, written down by the Hebrew woman called Sidonia, daughter of Abiat'har the priest.' It begins: 'And it came to pass that the Lord looked down with mercy on this forgotten northern land of the Caucasians, on the mountaineers of Somkhit'hi, on which mountains was spread a mist, and in the plains a vapour of error and ignorance. And the land was shadowed from the sight and knowledge of the sun of righteousness, the Son of God; its name in truth is land of the shadow (cf. note 1 on p. 20). . . . There passed until the birth of Christ 5100 years; from His birth to His crucifixion 33 years; from the crucifixion until the conversion of King Constantine of Greece 311 years; fourteen years later our queen Nino was sent with the message of truth to the mountains of darkness, and the dawn arose, and then shone forth the great monarch of day. Such was our history, O Georgians. For we were turned from the light, and were inheritors of darkness. We rejoiced gaily and amassed treasure, but when we mourned there was no consoler; we served things created, and not the Creator. Our fathers (i. e. the Jews) worshipped Gebal and Garizin, seated on cherubim, and beside was no God, nor Moses, nor a sign of them, but idols of soulless stone. And in this land of Kart'hli were two mountains, and on them two idols, Armaz and Zaden, who stink with the ill odour of a thousand souls of first-born youths, whom parents sacrificed until now. And there were other royal idols, Gatzi and Ga, and they sacrificed to them a prince, whom they burned with fire, and the ashes were scattered about the head of the idol.'

a rumour that the Persians had taken Jerusalem¹, and because of this there was grief and mourning among the Georgian Jews dwelling in Mtzkhet'ha, the priests of Bodi, the scribes of Codi's stream, and the translators of the law in K'hobi². These were all moved to go and help those in Jerusalem. But after a few days another messenger arrived with the consoling tidings that the Persians were not come to take Jerusalem; for instead of arms³ they carried royal⁴ gold, myrrh (a speedy healer of wounds), and sweet smelling incense⁵. They sought a certain child born of the seed of David, of a virgin, and they found the child born of a virgin, out of season, in an unseemly place, as is the custom for strangers(?). And they came to the Babe and worshipped Him, and offered Him their gifts, and they⁶ went away in peace⁷. And the Georgian Jews heard these tidings with great joy.

hear of
Christ's
nativity.

After this, thirty years passed by, and Anna⁸ the priest wrote from Jerusalem to my father Eliozi⁹ that He to whom the kings of Persia came bringing gifts was grown up and arrived at man's estate¹⁰, and that He called Himself the Son

Annas, the
high priest,
summons
Eliozi to
Jerusalem
to be

¹ A.V. 'that twelve kings had come to take the land.'

² The Hebrew settlements mentioned in the text seem to have been the following: *Bodi*, Budi or Bodbe, in Cakhethi, near Signakh, the place of Nino's death and burial: her nunnery there still exists. *Codis tsqaro*, in Kart'hli, a small stream running into the salt Lake Cumisi, not far from the Kura, below Tiflis. Coda village is on this stream. *K'hobi* (in A.V. Sobi, but ? misprint)—K'hoba is a small town in Samtzhke, near the town and old fortress of T'hmogvi, district of Akhaltzikhe.

³ A.V. 'and provisions.'

⁴ A.V. 'yellow.'

⁵ A.V. 'the kings themselves bare burdens.'

⁶ A.V. 'crossed the mountains and.'

⁷ A.V. 'Now fear not, O Jews; I, Herod, sought and found not that child, nor its mother. But now I have raised the sword against all children of two years and less, and have destroyed him with them.'

⁸ A.V. 'Ana.'

⁹ A.V. 'father's father Oziai.'

¹⁰ A.V. 'and was arrived with John the son of Zakaria at the river Jordan. There went forth all the people of Jerusalem, and with them was thy father's mother's brother Elios (? Vthos). And behold the sky thundered, and the earth trembled, the mountains shook, the hills sang, the sea stood still, the waters arose—the son of Zakaria fled, and we were all seized with fear and trembling; and because of the multitude of the people we were silent concerning this matter.'

present at
Christ's
death.

of God. 'Come hither unto His death, which will fulfil the law of God and of Moses.'

Eliozi went thither; he was my father's father, an aged man, and his mother was of the race of Eli the priest, and Eliozi had one sister. The mother of Eliozi entreated him, saying: 'Go, my son, at the royal summons of the king, to fulfil that law, despite which they take counsel. Consort not with them, O my son, for He is the word of the prophets and the fable of the wise, and the secret hidden from the Jews, the light of the Gentiles and life everlasting.' Eliozi of Mtzkhet'ha and Longinozi of Carsni went away, and saw the crucifixion of the Lord Christ.

Eliozi's
mother
hears the
nailing of
Christ to
the cross,
and dies.

Now when they nailed the Lord on the cross, and Hasanig¹ struck the nails with an iron hammer in Jerusalem, Eliozi's mother, in Mtzkhet'ha, heard the blows, and suddenly cried out: 'Farewell, kingdom of the Jews, for ye have slain your Saviour and Deliverer, and henceforth ye shall be accounted enemies and murderers of your Creator! Woe is me that I am not buried before His death, for mine ears shall no longer hear, and after this I am no longer worthy to look upon the light of the Gentiles and the peace of Israel.' When she had uttered these words, she straightway entered into rest.

Eliozi carries
Christ's
tunic to
Mtzkhet'-
ha, and
gives it
to his
sister, who
dies, and
is buried
with the
tunic.

The Lord's tunic fell by lot to the Jews of Mtzkhet'ha, and Eliozi took it to Mtzkhet'ha. His sister received him in tears, and embraced his neck; and taking the garment of Jesus, she pressed it to her bosom, and immediately her soul passed from her body. Threefold was the cause of her death: bitter grief at the slaying of Christ, sorrow for her mother's death, and ² disappointment that she had not been present with her brother at the crucifixion. Then there was great wonder and turmoil in Mtzkhet'ha, which reached even unto King

¹ A.V. 'Pasanig'; Q. Mariam's MS. 'Pasang'; Shio Mghv. MS. and Nat'hl. Mtz. 'Pasanig'; Kart'hl. Tzkh. and other variants, 'Hasinig.' All these are probably corruptions of the word *pasenaki*, i.e. royal officer for executing justice, executioner.

² A.V. 'longing for the tunic.'

Aderci¹; and all the people, and their princes, and King Aderci himself wished for the garment. But he was seized with horror and alarm when he found that he could not draw it from her hands; so firmly and eagerly did she clasp the garment to her breast, that her brother Eliozi buried it with her. The place where she was buried God only knows², and none other can tell, save that it is near unto a cedar, brought from Lebanon, planted and reared in Mtzkhet'ha.

My father also told me that the mantle of Elijah, a double(?) garment, endued with divine power, is in that city, lying under the stone of the altar of strength, unfound³ until the appointed time.

St. Nino urged me to ask my father to tell me all in detail, to satisfy her longing to know the place where the tunic was. But he only said that the place of its burial was there where the tongues of men sing praises to God, the place where Jacob saw the ladder which mounted to heaven⁴.

⁵After many years the grandnephew of King Aderci, King Amzael⁶, sought the garment among the Jews, but he could neither find it nor learn anything of it, except what is mentioned above: that it was said to be buried near a cedar of Lebanon. But the family of the same Eliozi, who brought the tunic and buried it with his sister, knew that it was to the east of the city, by the bridge of the Magi.

In those days St. Nino saw three times⁷, yea, four times, in sleep, a vision. She was on her knees, and, bent forward, had fallen into a light slumber. She saw birds with black wings fly down from heaven, and they entered into the river, and

¹ A.V. 'Amazaer,' but in all other variants Aderci is said to have been king of Kart'hli at Christ's death.

² A.V. 'and my mother Nino knows, but she does not tell, for it is not yet time to declare it. Let this suffice for disciples of Nino and believers in Christ, to know that it is near the place where a cedar brought from Lebanon was planted in Mtzkhet'ha.'

³ A.V. 'incorruptible.'

⁴ ? The altar of the church at Mtzkhet'ha thus described metaphorically.

⁵ A.V. omits this paragraph.

⁶ A.D. 88.

⁷ A.V. 'twice and three times.'

bathed, and became pure white, and they flew into the garden already spoken of, and gathered the fruits and pecked the flowers; and they came graciously and lovingly towards Nino as if she were the mistress of the garden, and gathered round her, singing sweetly¹.

When St. Nino told this to her disciple Sidonia (Abiat'har's daughter), she answered: 'O stranger, of foreign birth! captive, according to thy words! I know that by thee these times will be renewed, and through thy means will hear the story of what our fathers did; how they spilled the innocent blood of the Divine One, for which deed the Jews have become a shame, scattered to the ends of the earth, their kingdom destroyed, and their holy temple taken from them, their glory given unto a strange people. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem! thy wings are stretched forth², and thou gatherest under thy wings every nation from the ends of the heavens. Behold now this woman is come, by whom will be changed all the law of this land.' Then she turned to Nino and said: 'This thy vision announces and declares, that this place will be spiritually changed by thee into a garden of Paradise, yielding heavenly fruits for evermore.'

Mirian returns from Greece.

³ Now when King Mirian returned from Greece, put to flight by King Constantine, he heard how St. Nino preached the gospel of Christ; for he heard it openly said that 'the dwellers in the north were found in error,' and he was told of the vine-stem cross, and of the great miracles done by her. Without medicine she cured those who had incurable diseases by the application of the cross. Her disciples also preached: those who had been secretly converted, to the number of seven women of the Jewish race: Sidonia, the daughter of Abiat'har, and six others, and the couple who kept the king's garden, and Abiat'har the priest, that new Paul, who

Abiat'har's preaching.

¹ A. V. does not say that the birds were black, nor that they became white.

² A. V. 'thy children are scattered.'

³ A. V. from this point to the incident of Khwarai (p. 33) is very brief, saying little about the miracles.

preached the law of Christ fearlessly and unceasingly. He was skilled in the old law, the new law he learned from Nino; and even more than Nino he convinced all men and taught the law of truth.

The Jews were moved to stone Abiat'har, but King Mirian sent servants and hindered the Jews from killing him, for King Mirian wished for the law of Christ, having heard of many miracles done by it in Greece and Armenia, and he did not hinder the preaching of Nino and her disciples. But the devil, the enemy of all true believers, warred against him; and Queen Nana¹ was more cruel than the king, and a despiser of the preaching of the true gospel of Christ.

Mirian protects Abiat'har against the Jews.

St. Nino prayed unceasingly in her dwelling in the bramble bush, and the heathen were surprised at her prayer and watching, and it seemed strange unto them, and they began to question her. And she made known to them the old and new books, making the foolish wise, and putting into their hearts the love of Christ.

Three years did she preach thus, converting many. Now there was a young boy of noble birth who was very sick, and his mother took him from door to door, to see if perchance she might find some skilled in healing, and helpful in his trouble. They all diligently inquired into his sickness, but none could cure the child, and the physicians told the woman that her boy could never be healed. The woman was a bitter heathen, hating the Christian faith, and hindering others from going to consult Nino; but, being in despair, she came and fell down before Nino, entreating her to heal the lad. St. Nino said: 'That healing art which is of man I know not; but my God whom I serve, Christ, can cure this child, though all think his case hopeless.' She placed the sick boy on the cloth² whereon she always prayed, and began to entreat the Lord; and the child was cured. She gave the astonished

Nino heals a young nobleman.

¹ Sabinin says that Nana was the daughter of the Pontian general Nikator, and that she raised a statue of Venus in Georgia. Others say she was the daughter of Uliotori of Pontus.

² *cilici*, i.e. cilicium.

and joyful boy to his mother, who confessed Christ, saying: 'There is no God save Christ, whom Nino preaches.' And she became St. Nino's disciple, and went her way glorifying God.

Queen
Nana
healed
by Nino.

Queen Nana fell sick of a sore and grievous illness which none was able to cure. All the skilled physicians exhausted their medicines, and yet could do nothing; they were powerless and despairing. Then Queen Nana was told how the Roman captive woman, who was called Nino, had, by her prayers, healed many sick folk. She commanded her servants to bring Nino. They went and found her sitting in the bower under the bramble, praying, and it was the sixth hour. They told her the queen's command. (She answered:) 'We are not commanded to go out of our humble tent; but let the queen come hither to my abode, and verily she shall be cured by the power of Christ.' The servants related to the queen what Nino had said, and she eagerly bade them prepare her couch and take her; and her servants bore her on her couch, and her son, Rev, and many people went with her. When they came to St. Nino's dwelling, and placed the queen on the cloth, St. Nino began to pray and entreat God for a long time; then she took her cross, and with it touched the queen's head, her feet, and her shoulders, making the sign of the cross; and straightway she was cured, and arose restored; and she believed in Christ, and said: 'There is no other God save Christ, whom this captive woman preaches.' From that time she became the friend of Nino, and always inquired and sought to know the faith of Christ; and St. Nino, and Abiat'har (the new Paul), and his daughter Sidonia taught her. And the queen became a believer, and knew the true God.

Conversion
of Queen
Nana.

Mirian in-
quires into
the
Christian
faith.

The king inquired of her how she was so suddenly cured, and she told him all: how, without medicine, by the touch of a cross, she was healed; and multitudes who had seen it confirmed the queen's words. King Mirian was filled with wonder, and he began to seek the faith of Christ. Often he inquired of the Jew, Abiat'har, of the old and new books, and

he was instructed in everything. In the Book of Nebrot'hi¹, which King Mirian had, he found what was written about the building of the tower². How there was a voice from heaven to Nebrot'hi, saying: 'I am Mikael, appointed by God to be ruler of the east. Depart from that town, for God protects it; but in the last days will come a Lord from heaven who will be despised among a despised people. The fear of Him will bring to nought the charms of the world; kings shall forsake their kingdoms and seek poverty. He will look upon thee in thy grief and deliver thee.'

Prophecy concerning Christ in the Book of Nimrod.

Then Mirian perceived that what the old and new books testified was affirmed by the Book of Nebrot'hi, and he became eager for the faith of Christ. But the invisible enemy warred against him, hindering the confession of Christ, strengthening in his heart the hope in idols and fire. The queen ceased not to entreat him to confess Christ; but for a year from the time of the queen's conversion the king was undecided. St. Nino taught the people unceasingly, and to none did she say who she was nor whence she came, but she called herself a captive.

King Mirian studies the Scriptures,

but still wavers.

After this, there was a magician (fire-worshipper), a Persian prince named Khwarai³; he was sick in mind, and beside himself, and nigh unto death. Now this prince was a kinsman of King Mirian⁴, and the king and queen begged St. Nino's help, and the king looked to her, being still undecided. He said to St. Nino: 'By what god's power dost thou perform these cures? Art thou a daughter of Armaz, or a child of Zaden? Thou art come hither from a strange land, and the graciousness of the gods is fallen upon thee; they have

A Persian prince is sick.

Mirian and Nana ask Nino's help. Mirian's defence of the old gods.

¹ Nimrod. Mr. J. Rendel Harris says that in the Convent of Sinai, Cod. Arab. No. 456, there is a piece entitled 'The History of Nebrod Son of Canaan,' a 'Ἱστορία Νεβροδ υἱοῦ Χαναάν.'

² Or rather 'column.' The Book of Nimrod is mentioned in Vakhtang Gorgaalan's life.

³ A.V. 'Khwarasneuli (i.e. a native of Khorasan), Nana's mother's brother.' (Sneuli means sick.)

⁴ A.V. now agrees in the main with the text followed.

endowed thee with the power of healing, with which thou mayest bring life to a strange land and be renowned for ever. Be as a nurse to our children in this worshipful city¹, but speak not these strange words of the false faith of the Romans—say nothing of it. For, behold, the great conquering gods of the world², enlighteners and teachers of the Kart'hlians, Armaz and Zaden, searchers out of every hidden thing, with the ancient gods of our fathers, Gatzi and Gaim³, are to be trusted in by men. Now if thou wilt cure this prince, I shall enrich thee, and make thee a citizen of Mtzkhet'ha, as a servant of Armaz. Though by the winds and hail that beat upon him he was broken, nevertheless that place is immovable. This Armaz and the god of the Chaldeans, It'hrujan⁴, have ever been enemies; our god caused the sea to flow over the other, who has now done this. Thus is the custom of the conquerors of the world. Now be thou content with this my command.'

Nino
preaches
Christ,

St. Nino replied: 'O king, in the name of Christ, by the intercession of His Mother and all His Saints, may the God of heaven and earth, the Creator, send down upon thee His glory and greatness, and may He pour out upon thee from the countless store of His mercies, as from a furnace, one spark of His grace, that thou mayest know and perceive the height⁵ of the heavens, the light of the sun, the depth of the sea, the breadth of the earth and its foundation. And mayest thou know, O king, who clothes the heaven with clouds, with winds, and with the voice of thunder, who shakes the earth with His violence, and casts forth the lightning⁶, and sets the mountains on fire with His divine wrath, who causes all the earth to tremble (the great serpent in the seas trembles), even unto the destruction of all the earth, mountains and solid rocks. Know thou all these things; for the unseen God

¹ A.V. 'Be as one of the nurses in this honourable land.'

² A.V. 'the givers of fruits, of sun, and of rain.'

³ A.V. 'Ga.'

⁴ A.V. 'It'hrushana.'

⁵ 'simaghle,' but A.V. has 'simart'hle,' i.e. justice.

⁶ A.V. 'on its path, and sends forth the fires of his wrath.'

in the heavens, He is Lord of all created things, except His Son, who proceeded from Him into the world, appearing in the form of a man; He fulfilled all for which He came, and ascended into the heights to His Father. The everlasting God is high, and looks down upon the humble, and He knows the proud from afar. O king, His presence is near unto thee; for in this city is a marvel, the garment of the Son of God; and they say the mantle of Elijah is also here, and many miracles have been revealed; and I will cure this thy prince only in the name of my Christ and by the cross of His sufferings, as it also cured Queen Nana of her great sickness.'

And they brought that prince to her, and Queen Nana ^{and heals the prince.} came also into the garden, and they put him under the cedar. Nino raised her hands to the eastward, and said thrice: 'O devil, I conjure thee to leave him, that Christ, the Son of God, may come in.' And Nino wept, sighing from her soul, and besought the help of God for that man. Her disciples also were there for one day and two nights¹, and suddenly the evil spirit went forth. The prince, and his family, and his people² were converted by Nino, and they glorified the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now, always, and for evermore. Amen.

Story told by the woman Sidonia, who was the disciple of St. Nino, who saw and described the miraculous conversion of King Mirian, and how he fell at the feet of Nino to confess Christ. The setting up of the cross, the building of a church, and the miracles done therein.

One day in summer, in the month of July (20th day), on the Sabbath day³, [the king went forth to hunt, towards Mukhran. Unseen, that adversary, the devil, came unto him, ^{King Mirian resolves to slay the Christians.}

¹ A.V. 'one day.'

² A.V. omits 'and his people.'

³ From this point to the words: 'Queen Nana and all the people passed out to meet the king' (on p. 37), there is a hiatus in A.V., filled in from Nat'l. Mtz. and Shio. Mghv. variants.

and implanted in his heart the love of fire and idols, and he thought to massacre all the Christians, in order to do service to his false gods. The king said to four of his counsellors: 'We are not worthy before our gods, for we are idle in their service, and have allowed these Christian sorcerers to preach their faith in our land; and they perform their miracles of sorcery. Now my advice is this: That we destroy all these trusters in the cross, unless they will serve the conquering gods of Kart'hli. Let us see Nana, my wife, if she will repent, and forsake her belief in the cross, and if not, I will forget my love for her, and, with the others, she too shall be destroyed.' His companions agreed with this counsel; for they were zealous in this matter, having desired it from the beginning, but not daring to declare themselves openly.

At the
chase,
darkness
falls on
him,

The king passed the environs of Mukhran, and went up the high mountain T'hkhot'hi ¹, whence he saw Caspi and Up'hlistzikhe; he was crossing the mountain towards the south when the sun was darkened, and it became like black, eternal night. The darkness seized upon the surroundings, and the men lost one another. In grief and anxiety the king was left alone. He wandered about on the thickly wooded mountains; then, fearful and trembling, he stood in one place, and hope for his safety forsook him. Then he bethought himself and took counsel in his heart: 'Lo, I have called on my gods and have not found comfort. Now, can He whom Nino preaches, the cross and the Crucified, through hope in whom she does miracles, can He have power to deliver me from my grief? I am in a living hell, and I know not if over all the earth this change has taken place, and the light turned to darkness, or only on me. If this grief be for me alone, O God of Nino, lighten this night to me, and show me the world again, and I will confess Thy name. I will erect a wooden cross and worship it, and set up a house to pray in, and obey Nino and the faith of the Romans.'

he prays
to God

and is
delivered.

When he had spoken thus, it became light, and the sun

¹ Thirteen miles west of Mukhran. A small church still marks the spot.

shone forth in his glory. Then the king dismounted from his horse, and, standing in that place, stretched out his hands towards the eastern heavens, and said: 'Thou art a God above all gods, a Lord above all lords, Thou God of whom Nino tells, and Thy name is to be praised by all creatures under the heavens and upon the earth; for Thou hast delivered me from my woe and lightened my darkness. Behold, I know that Thou desirest my deliverance, and I rejoice, O blessed Lord, to come near Thee. In this place will I set up a wooden cross, by which they may glorify Thy name, and may remember this miraculous deed for ever.' So he took note of the place, and then departed. Now the scattered people saw that light, and assembled; and the king cried out: 'Give the glory to Nino's God, for He is God for ever, and to Him only is glory fitting for ever¹.']

Queen Nana and all the people passed out to meet the king, for they had heard first that he had perished and then that he was returning in peace. They met him at Kindzara and Ghart'ha². And St. Nino was in her bramble bush praying at that hour, as was her custom at eventide, and we with her were fifty souls. And when the king came, the town seemed to shake. The king cried with a loud voice: 'Where is that stranger woman, who is our mother, and whose God is my Deliverer?' When he heard that she was in the bush praying, he went towards her with all his army, dismounted, and said to Nino: 'Now am I become worthy to call upon the name of thy God and my Deliverer.' So St. Nino taught him, and bade him worship towards the east and confess Christ the Son of God. There was trembling and weeping among all the people when they saw the king and queen in tears³.

The next day King Mirian sent ambassadors to Greece, to

¹ End of hiatus in A.V.

² Kindzara is a few miles north of Mtzkhet'ha, on the river Narecvavi, near its junction with the Aragva. Ghart'ha is in the same district.

³ A.V. adds: 'for joy, and because of the wonderful miracle which had taken place.'

His embassy to Constantinople.

King Constantine, [¹and a letter from Nino to Queen Elene telling of all the miracles performed by Christ, which had been done in Mtzkhet'ha to King Mirian, and entreating them to send priests quickly to baptize them]. And St. Nino and her disciples preached to the people day and night unceasingly, and showed them the true way to the kingdom of heaven.

Words of the same (Sidonia) concerning the building of the church².

Mirian begins to build a church.

The people quickly adopted Christianity. Before the priests came, the king said to St. Nino: 'I will hasten to build a house of God. Where shall it be built?' Nino said: 'Wherever the prince³ wishes.' The king replied: 'I like this thy bush, and there would it please me. But if it may not be there, let it be in the royal garden by the tall cedar among fruitful branches and sweet-scented flowers [⁴according to the vision which thou didst see, of black-feathered birds bathing in the waters, so that they became dazzlingly white, and, seating themselves in the trees, poured forth their sweet voices]. Truly this transitory garden will bring us to eternal life. There shall we build a house of God⁵ for prayer, before the coming of the priests from Greece.'

The central pillar cannot be moved.

Quickly he took wood, and instructed the carpenters. And they cut down the cedar, and from it prepared⁶ seven pillars for the church. When they had built the wooden wall, they set up the pillars one by one. The biggest pillar, which was wonderful to look upon, was ready to be placed in the midst of the church, but they could not raise it. The king was informed of the miracle, how they could not move the column

¹ A.V. omits the passage in brackets.

² A.V. does not make this a separate chapter.

³ A.V. 'king.'

⁴ A.V. omits this passage about Nino's vision.

⁵ A.V. adds: 'which will stand for ever.'

⁶ A.V. 'a pillar, and on its roots they laid the foundation of the church.'

into its place. Then the king came with many people, and they used very powerful machines, and great force, and all the people tried by many means to raise it, but they could not. The king and all the people were astonished, and said : ' What can this be ? ' And when evening came, the king went home very sad.

St. Nino and twelve women of her disciples tarried by the pillar and wept. And at midnight those two mountains—
Vision of the fall of Mounts Armaz and Zaden.
 Armaz and Zaden—fell, as if they had been broken off, and they stopped the rivers. The Mtevari (Kura) rushed down and carried away the town, and there was a terrible sound of weeping and lamentation. The Aragva also descended upon the fortress, and there were fearful noises. The women were afraid and fled, but the blessed Nino cried aloud : ' Fear not, my sisters ; the mountains stand there, and all the people are asleep. This destruction of the mountains is but a symbol, for the mountains of paganism are cast down in Kart'hli, and the rivers which are stopped are the blood of the children sacrificed to their idols¹, which now will cease. The voice of lamentation is that of many devils, mourning because they are driven from their places by the power from on high and by the Cross of Christ. Turn back, therefore, and pray to God.' And suddenly the sounds ceased, and there was nothing.

St. Nino arose and stretched forth her hands and prayed to God, saying : ' May this matter not be hindered, which the king is engaged upon.' Again, before the cock crew, a powerful army appeared with terrible noise at the three gates of the city. They broke the gates in pieces, and the town was filled with Persian soldiers. There arose horror-inspiring cries and shrieks, and there was slaughter and shedding of blood everywhere. There was great wailing, and clashing of swords, and at this fearful sight our bodies became faint and our souls lost courage ; and there was much weeping for our kinsfolk. Suddenly there was heard a loud cry : ' Khuara, king of the Persians, and Khuarankhuasra², king of kings,

¹ A.V. ' to their evil spirits.'

² A.V. ' Khuarankhuara.'

command that every Jew be given to the edge of the sword.' When I heard this and understood it, I and the ten¹ who were with me were filled with doubts, and the swordsmen were approaching nearer, and round about us they killed and slew. Then a mighty voice was heard, saying: 'King Mirian has been captured.' Our saving guide looked round and said: 'I know what that cry is which now causes so much grief. Let us thank God. This is a sign of their destruction, of the life of Kart'hli and the glory of this place.' Our wise leader consoled us, she was in truth our leader and blessed apostle.

She (Nino) turned to one of the army, and said: 'Where are the kings Khuara and Khuarankhuasra? Yesterday ye came forth from Sabastan; how are ye arrived so quickly? Ye are a great host and mighty; why have ye destroyed this city and given it to the sword? Go with the winds and breezes to the mountains and rocks of the North, for behold He cometh from whom ye flee.' She stretched forth her hands and made the sign of the cross, and suddenly it all became invisible, and there was a great calm. The women² blessed Nino and glorified God.

The pillar
miracu-
lously
fixed.

When dawn was drawing nigh, the women fell asleep, but I, Sidonia, was awake, and she stood with upraised hands. Behold, a youth stood there, adorned in brilliant light, shrouded in fire; and he spoke some words. She fell on her face, and the youth put his hand to the column and raised it, and it stood up. And I, Sidonia, was astonished, and said: 'O queen, what is this?' She answered: 'Bend thy head to the earth'; and she began to weep. A little while afterwards, she and I arose and went from that place. And the women who were without also saw the column³. And it was as if fire came down; and it (the column) approached its own place, and stood twelve cubits away from the earth, and gently, by

¹ † Probably the meaning is that some Judas had meantime deserted St Nino.

² A.V. 'sisters.'

³ A.V. 'And the women were outside, and behold I saw the column.'

degrees, settled above the place cut out for it at the root of the cedar.

At daylight the king arose, heavy hearted with care, looked at the garden and the newly commenced church of which he thought so much. He saw a light, like a flash of lightning, rising to heaven from his garden. He began to run, and quickly came there, and all the multitude of his household and all the people of the town came, for they too saw the miracle. The column, shining with light, came down into its place, as if from heaven, and stood firm in its place, untouched by the hands of man. Happy the time when this happened! The city of Mtskheta was filled with fear and joy, and shed rivers of tears. The king and princes and all the people with deep sighs glorified God, and blessed St. Nino, and great miracles were done that day.

¹First there came a Jew, blind from his birth. He approached the divinely raised column and immediately received his sight, and glorified God.

Miracles
performed
at the
pillar.

Then there was Amzaspani², a youth of the court, who had been bedridden for eight years. His mother brought him in faith, and placed his couch before the pillar of light, entreating Nino: 'Look upon this my son who is nigh unto death; for I know that the God whom thou servest and preachest unto us is God.' Nino touched the column, and placed her hand upon the lad, saying: 'Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, come in the flesh to give life to all the world³? . . . Be cured through Him, and praise Him whose power heals thee.' Straightway the youth arose whole, and great fear seized the king and all the people. All kinds of sick came and were healed, until the king put a covering of wood round the column and hid it from sight, and even then the people touched the covering and were cured. The king

Healing of
Amzas-
pani.

¹ A.V. begins a new chapter.

² A.V. does not give the youth's name.

³ A.V. inserts: 'And the youth replied: "Yes, queen, I believe in Jesus Christ, the Saviour of creatures." Then said Nino: '.

quickly set about the completion of the church in the royal garden.

Constantine's embassy to Mirian.

¹When King Mirian's ambassadors arrived before King Constantine and told him what had happened, the king and his mother, Queen Elene, were filled with gladness: first, because the grace of God was shining into all places, and by their hands all Kart'hli would be baptized; and then they rejoiced because they believed that the Persians would be destroyed by King Mirian; and they received them with love. They praised and thanked God, and sent the true priest Ioane the bishop, and with him two priests and three deacons. King Constantine wrote a letter of prayer and blessing to Mirian, thanking God, and sent him a cross, an icon of the Saviour, and many gifts. Queen Elene wrote a letter of praise and comfort to Nino. The bishop, priests, and ambassadors arrived at Mtskheta. The king and all the people were filled with joy, for they longed to be baptized. Then Mirian immediately sent forth a command that all the *erist'vars* (governors of provinces), *spasalars* (generals), and all the persons in his kingdom should be called before him; and they all came in great haste to the town.

Mirian and his people baptized.

The king was baptized under the hand of St. Nino, and, afterwards, the queen and their children under the hands of the priests and deacons. They blessed the river Mtskvari (Kura), and the bishop prepared a place near the gate of the bridge of the Magicians, where was the house of Elioz the priest, and there the illustrious people were baptized, and they called that spot Mt'havart'h Sanat'hlo (the place of baptism of the princes). Lower down on the same river, in two places, the two priests and the deacons baptized the people. The people struggled one with another; quickly they entreated the monks, each to be first baptized, so strong was their desire to be baptized, for they had heard the preach-

¹ A.V. omits to the end of the chapter, only saying: 'Then came the ambassadors from Greece with the chief of the priests, priests and deacons, and began to baptize, as is written above.'

ing of Nino, how she had said: 'None who are not baptized will find that light eternal.' Therefore they were all in great haste to be baptized. So they all received baptism, and the majority in Kart'hli, except the M'thiulians (mountaineers) of Caucasus; the light was shed upon them, but they lay obstinately in darkness for some time. There were the Jews of Mtzkhet'ha, also, who were not baptized, except the Cabrabians¹, of whom were baptized fifty souls, and they became true Christians; for this they became great before the king, and he gave them a village which they call *Tzikhe didi* (the great stronghold). P'heroz, the son-in-law of King Mirian, did not receive baptism, nor his people, but they were obedient to King Mirian's temporal power.

Then King Mirian sent Bishop Ioane, and men of power with him, to King Constantine, and begged for a piece of the wood of life which at that time had appeared to the servant and lover of Christ, Queen Elene. He also asked that many priests might be sent into all the towns and places to baptize the people, so that soon every soul in Kart'hli might be baptized; he also asked for masons to build churches. When they arrived before the Emperor Constantine, he gave them gladly of the wood of life: those beams to which the feet of the Lord were nailed, and the nails for the hands. He sent also priests and many masons.

King Constantine built in his kingdom a holy church, a holy temple, and gave very great treasure to Bishop Ioane, and commanded that wherever he first came in Kart'hli, there they should build churches in his name, that this gift might be possessed in the bounds of Kart'hli. The bishop went away, and with him the ambassadors. When they arrived at the place which is called Erushet'hi², the car-

¹ Kart'hl. Tzkh. 'Barabians.' Said to be descendants of Barabbas.

² Erushet'hi was a district, with a river of the same name, at the head waters of the Kura. The village or fortress of Erushet'hi is close to Nakalakevi, 'où était une ville, aujourd'hui simple bourg. Là fut bâtie une belle église à coupole, par un envoyé du grand Constantin, aux frais de l'empereur.' Wakhoucht, *Descr. géogr.* p. 105; Bergé and Bakradze, *Zapiski*, p. 110; *Hist.*

penters stopped there to build the church; they put the treasure there, and the nails by which the Lord's hands were pierced. Then they went on and came to Manglis¹ and began to build a church, and there they placed the beams to which the Lord's feet were nailed. And King Mirian was displeased that they did not come first to the royal city, but had begun to build churches in other towns and places, and had left the relics there. But St. Nino came to him and said: 'O king, be not angry; for wherever they go they spread abroad the name of God; and in this city is there not the glorious garment of the Lord?'

The king took Abiat'har and many Jews with him, and inquired of them concerning the tunic; and they told him all that which is written above. Then King Mirian raised his hand, and said: 'Blessed art Thou, O Jesus, Son of the living God; for from the beginning Thou didst desire to deliver us from the devil and the dark place. Therefore was Thy holy garment brought from Thy holy city Jerusalem by those Hebrews, deniers of Thy divinity, and of a race unknown to us.'

Building
of the
bishop's
church in
Mtzkhet'-
ha.

The king and all the city went forward firmly in Christianity. The carpenters began to build a church on the outskirts of the city, on the dwelling of St. Nino, where the bramble was, and where now is the bishop's church. And St. Nino said: 'Blessed is our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Father of our Lord, who hath sent down His holy Word from the high heavens, even from His mighty throne, that He might descend to the base earth, born indeed of the seed of David, of a virgin pure and holy; for it was agreeable to Him to give life to us. He

de la Géorgie, t. i. pp. 121, 195. At Cumurdo, still nearer the source of the Kura, is another church said to have been built by Constantine's envoys. Bergé and Bakradze, *Zap.* p. 85; Wakhoucht, pp. 99, 101, 103; Brosset, *Voy. archéol.* II Rapp. p. 166, IV Rapp. p. 6.

¹ Manglis church is about twenty-five miles west of Tiflis. *Vide* Bergé and Bakradze, p. 93; Wakhoucht, *Descr. géogr.* p. 171.—'Cette église n'a jamais été ruinée. Au midi de la voûte est représenté Mahomet sur un lion; on dit que c'est pour cela que les musulmans l'ont respectée.'

hath enlightened all beneath the heavens, so that they might become believers. He was born as man, He, the Light of all, the Image of God; and, as a servant of the law, He was baptized with water and with the Spirit; He was crucified and buried, and rose the third day, ascended into heaven unto His Father, and again He cometh with glory. Unto whom is fitting all glory, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, now, always, and for ever.'

The Raising of the Honourable Cross¹.

When the king and queen, with their children and all the people, were baptized, there stood, on the top of an inaccessible rock, a tree, exceedingly beautiful, and of a sweet smell. It was a wonder-working tree, for beasts wounded by arrows came to it, and when they ate of its leaves, or of the seed fallen to the ground, they were healed, even if they came wounded unto death. A miraculous tree

This seemed a great miracle to these sometime pagans, and they told Bishop Ioane about the tree. The bishop said: 'Lo! in truth, from the beginning this land hath been set apart by God for His service. This tree has been planted by God for this present time, for even now has the grace of God shone forth on Kart'hli, and from this tree shall be made the worshipful cross which all the multitudes of Kart'hli shall worship.' And Rev, the king's son, and the bishop, and many of the people went and cut down the tree, is cut down, and took it, with its branches, and ten times ten men carried it, covered with its branches and leaves, into the town. The people gathered together to see it, because of its greenness and leafiness in the days of summer² when every other tree was dry. Its leaves had not fallen, and it was pleasant to the

¹ A.V. adds 'written by Jacob' (the priest). In A.V. Jacob writes in the first person.

² All the other MSS. except Kart'hl. Tzkh. read 'winter,' which the context shows to be correct.

and made
into
crosses.

A fiery
cross and
starry
crown
appear.

smell and fair to look upon. They set the tree up on its root, at the southern door of the church, where the breezes wafted abroad its fragrant odour and opened the leaves; the sight of it was beautiful, as we are told that the tree planted in Eden was fair. It was felled on the twenty-fifth of March, on a Friday, and the tree stood there thirty-seven days, and its leaves did not change colour; it was as if it stood from the root to the topmost branch in a stream, until all the trees of the forest were clad in foliage, and the fruit trees were in bloom. Then on the first of May they made the (three) crosses, and on the seventh they raised them, under the protection¹ of the king, with rejoicing, and by the will of all the people of the city, who were in the church.

Now all the people of the city saw in all those days that a fiery cross came down from heaven upon it; round about was, as it were, a crown of stars, and the cross of fire rested upon the church until daylight; and when daylight came, two of the stars separated from the others—one went to the east and one to the west, and the brightest went gently towards the place, near the stream, beyond Aragva, and stood on that rocky hill where was the rivulet which had sprung from the tears of St. Nino², and thence it mounted to heaven.

Thus all the people many times saw God's salvation, and they began to inquire of the blessed Nino, saying: 'What meaneth this, that shining stars have come forth, and one is gone to the east, even to the mountains of Cakhet'hi, and the other to the west, to the neighbourhood of this city³?' St. Nino answered: 'When it is seen where they shine on those mountains, there let them erect two crosses to Christ.' The king did thus, and they watched the highest mountains⁴ one after the other. This happened upon a Friday, and on Saturday at dawn the same miracle happened as before.

¹ 'didebit'ha,' to the glory, is perhaps a mistake for 'dadebit'ha,' which is found in MSS., but cf. p. 47, 'to the glory of the king.'

² The brook is called Dzudzus Tsqaro, and there is a small church there.

³ A.V. 'to the bounds of thy kingdom.'

⁴ A.V. 'continually for ten days.'

Next day they went to the west, where they stood on the mountain of Kvabt'ha Thavi (Head of Caves). They told the king how that star came forth from the others, rose, and stood over one spot on Mount Thkhot'hi¹, in the pass of Caspi, and then became quite invisible. In the same manner, those sent to the Cakhet'hian Mountains returned and told how they had seen the star move thither, and stand above the village of Budi, in the region of Cakhet'hi².

St. Nino commanded them, saying: 'Take two of these crosses, and raise one in Thkhot'hi, where God showed His power, and give one to Salome, the handmaiden of Christ, to be erected in the town of Ujarma³. As for the village of Budi in Cakhet'hi, it should not be preferred before the royal city, for there are many people. Budi also shall see the grace of God.' And they did even as the queen⁴ commanded: they raised the wonder-working, holy cross by human hands in Mtzkhet'ha, and they went below that hillock to the stream, where they passed the night praying to God, and the blessed Nino mingled her tears with the brook, and there were cures and great miracles performed.

Crosses are raised in Thkhot'hi and Ujarma.

Next day she and the king, queen, and princes, and a great multitude of people, went up on to the rock and knelt on those stones and wept⁵, until the mountains re-echoed with their voices. Then St. Nino laid her hand on a stone, and said to the bishop: 'Come, for it befits thee to bless this stone.' And he did so, and there they raised the cross to the glory of the king. The countless multitude bent and worshipped the cross, and confessed the Crucified to be the true Son of the living God, and believed in the great triune God. And the great⁶

¹ A.V. gives the name of the spot as Qrgvi.

² Bodbe in Cakhet'hi, near the town of Kisiq (Signakh), also spelt Bodi and Budi.

³ Ujarma, formerly a fortified city, residence of the Cakhet'hian kings, now a village, on the river Iora in Cakhet'hi, said to have been built by Saurmag (237-162 B.C.).

⁴ A.V. 'St. Nino'; the saint is often addressed as Queen (v. infra).

⁵ A.V. 'men, women, and children.' ⁶ *didni*, but in A.V. *dedani*—women.

chiefs did not go away from the holy church, the pillar of light and the life-giving cross, for they saw there wonderful miracles and unceasing cures¹. And on Easter Sunday, King

¹ A. V. adds here : 'Then St. Nino left the city of Mitzkhet'ha, and went to the mountaineers, to carry the gospel to men in the form of wild beasts, and to cast down their idols. But Abiat'har, the Jewish priest, was left here—he who was a second Paul, who ceaselessly, day and night, preached Christ and His glory, until the flight of the Jews.'

A. V. then begins a new chapter : '*The Raising of the Honourable Cross in Mitzkhet'ha and the second vision.*

'And when the whole land of Kart'hli was converted to Christianity, the priests who had come from Greece took counsel about the raising of the sign of the cross; and they said to King Mirian: "It is fitting to erect the divine sign of the cross." And this advice seemed good to the king and to all the people, and joyfully they received the word and teaching of the priests. King Mirian ordered wood for the cross. Carpenters came and cut down a sweet-smelling tree, and the king commanded the cross to be made. The priests taught them the form of the cross; and when it was made, the carpenters came and told King Mirian: "We made it according to what the priests told us." The king arose joyfully, and all the people saw the form of the cross, and they wondered greatly, and glorified God.

'At that time the king bethought himself and remembered how that day, when it became dark on the mountain, he saw the light of great brilliancy in the form of a cross. Then he told the priests and all the people of the sight, and how the sign of the cross dispelled the darkness before his eyes. When the people heard the king's story, more and more firmly they believed on Jesus Christ and in the sign of His cross, and all gladly, of one accord, worshipped it and glorified God. Then the king counselled all the people that they should erect the form of the cross in several places, and commanded that each should be where it seemed right, and not where they chose. At that time King Mirian prayed, saying: "O Lord Jesus Christ, in whom we believe through this captive, and have been taught by these Thy priests—who didst humble Thyself, and in Thy humility didst clothe Thyself in the image of slaves, who didst descend from the blessed bosom of the Father, who didst leave for our sake the throne, majesty, and power, and entered the womb of a Holy Virgin, and then wert crucified by Pontius (*Pontoveli*) Pilate, buried in the heart of the earth, and on the third day didst rise, fulfilling all that was spoken of by the prophets, ascendedst into heaven, and sittest at the right hand of the Father, and again art to come to judge the quick and the dead—Thou hast left us the sign of Thy cross, for the destruction of the unseen machinations of the enemy; Thou hast miraculously brought us into Thy fear that we might escape from the devil, by whom we were enchained to our ruin. But now, O God, O God our Saviour, vouchsafe to show the place in which the sign of Thy cross shall be set up, that it may be manifest to those who hate us, and that they may be ashamed; for Thou, O Lord, art our helper and our consolation." And at twilight that night,

Mirian and all Mtzkhet'ha offered sacrifice. That day they instituted the service of the¹ cross at Easter, which all Kart'hli observes unto this day.

And some time afterwards, after Pentecost, on a Wednesday, they saw a miracle, very wonderful: lo! a pillar of light, in the form of a cross, stood upon the cross², and twelve stars in a crown round about; and the cross on the hill gave forth a sweet perfume, and all saw the wonder. Many heathens were converted and baptized that day³, and the Christians were strengthened in their faith, and glorified God.

They saw another wonder of the cross: how a fire stood upon it, seven⁴ times brighter than the sun⁵. It rested there like a spark from a furnace, and the angels of God ascended and descended. And the hill on which stood the cross⁶ shook very much, and when the miracle ceased the trembling ceased. When the people saw that miracle they were all greatly astonished, and more and more they glorified God. These wonders were performed from year to year, and all the people

Appearance of a cross of light and twelve stars.

Fire rests on the cross at Mtzkhet'ha.

the angel of the Lord stood, in a vision, before King Mirian, and showed him a hill on the river Aragva, near Mtzkhet'ha, and said to him: "This is the place chosen by God; there shall ye raise the sign of the cross." And at dawn, King Mirian told the priests of his vision of the angel, and his words, and the hill, which he showed him. When they heard of the vision and saw the place, the hill pleased all the people. With rejoicing and songs of praise, all the chiefs took the cross, with one accord, and set it up on the hill near Mtzkhet'ha, towards the east, on Easter Sunday. And when they raised the sign of the cross in the land of Kart'hli, suddenly all the idols in the boundaries of the country were cast down and broken, and the altars destroyed. When they saw this wondrous deed and miracle which had been performed by the power of the sign of the cross, they were yet more astonished, and glorified God, and worshipped the honourable cross gladly.'

¹ A. V. 'victorious.'

² A. V. 'and twelve angels encircled it as a crown.'

³ A. V. 'and they built churches.'

⁴ A. V. 'three.'

⁵ A. V. 'and like a flame it burned on the head of the cross.'

⁶ A. V. 'rejoiced greatly, and all the earth shook; and from mountains, hills, and ravines a sweet-smelling mist arose to heaven, and the rocks crumbled away. And the strong perfume spread over all the land . . . and loud voices were heard, and all the people, perceiving the sound of the songs, were afraid, and marvelled much. With fear and trembling they worshipped the honourable cross, and with great rejoicing glorified God.'

saw them with fear and trembling, and came to worship devoutly.

Healing of
Rev's son,

In those days, Rev¹, the king's son, had a little son who was sick, and nigh unto death; and it was his only child. He took him and placed him before the holy cross, and with tears entreated it, saying: 'If thou wilt give me this my child alive, I will build a canopy for thee to dwell in.' And straightway, in that place, his child was healed, and he led him away sound and restored to life. Then he came to fulfil his vow; and with great joy and zeal Rev, the king's son², raised the canopy, and from year to year he came and fulfilled his promise of sacrifice; and in consequence of this, sick folk came all the more, and they were cured, and with gladness they glorified the holy cross of Christ.

and other
miracles
performed
at the
cross of
Mtzkhet'-
ha.

There was a certain young man who was blind in both eyes. He sat³ down before the cross of Christ, and after seven days he received his sight, and glorified the precious cross.

Then there was a woman always afflicted by evil spirits, which had taken away her mind and strength for eight years; and she rent her clothes. They brought her and laid her before the cross, and after twelve days she was cured, and walked away glorifying God and worshipping the holy cross.

Again, there was a little boy, and he suddenly fell down dead⁴. His mother took him and put his dead⁴ body before the cross. From morning until eventide she prayed weeping before the cross. Others came unto her and said: 'Take him away, woman, and bury him, for he is dead; grieve no more.' She did not lose hope, but wept more and more piteously, and prayed. When evening came, the child was restored to life, and opened his eyes, and after seven⁵ days his mother led him home cured and revived, and glorified God.

When they saw the miraculous healing power of the holy cross, many childless people came and begged that they might have children, and the request of many was granted;

¹ A.V. 'a God-fearing man.'

² A.V. 'Rev's son.'

³ A.V. 'fell.'

⁴ A.V. 'exhausted.'

⁵ A.V. 'three.'

and they offered sacrifice and thanks. And not only those who came thither received healing, but those who from afar entreated the aid of the holy cross also received favour immediately¹. And it helped those who were in battle, so that they overcame their foes, and they came quickly to offer thanks.

Many pagans in distress were cured by the cross, and many were baptized, and with gladness glorified God; many kinds of diseases were healed by the power of the honourable cross, many with divers sufferings came to beg healing and were at once cured there, even unto this day², and they glorified the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to whom is glory now, always, and for ever.

The Letter which was written by the Patriarch of Rome and the King of the Branji to Nino, to the King, and to all the Kart'hlian folk.

In those days there came a letter from the holy Patriarch of Rome to Nino, to the king, and to all the Kart'hlian folk. He sent a Branj deacon to bring his praise and blessing, and to entreat of the blessed Nino her prayers and grace. The deacon brought also a letter from the king of the Branji to Nino, saying, that as her father had baptized all the Branji, a deed known to all in Jerusalem and Constantinople, so she had enlightened all Kart'hli with the sun of righteousness. Therefore he had written this welcome letter, as he had learnt of the wonders performed among them, and of the column, and the bramble bush and its power of healing. The deacon of the Branji saw and heard of the miracles of the pillar, which had been done in Mtzkhet'ha, and glorified God. He took with him letters, and departed.

¹ A.V. 'If any one called upon the holy cross of Mtzkhet'ha in the stress of battle, the cross immediately became his helper against his enemies.'

² A.V. 'These have been described for the glory of God and of the honourable cross, and that we may all worship the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now and for evermore. Amen.'

Mirian's
missionary
zeal.

Then the king said to St. Nino and the bishop: 'I will convert the Mt'hiulians at the edge of the sword, and make my son-in-law, P'heroz, a servant of God and a worshipper of the honourable cross.' Nino answered: 'It is not commanded by God to raise the sword, but to show the way of truth by the gospel, and by the honourable cross which leadeth unto everlasting life. May God's grace enlighten the darkness of their hearts.' And St. Nino (and Bishop Ioane)¹ departed. And the king took with him an *erist'hav* (governor of province), and they came to Tsubeni², and summoned the Mt'hiulians³, those men in the shape of wild beasts, the Dchart'halians⁴, P'hkhovians⁵, Gudamaqrians⁶, and they preached the Gospel of Christian truth unto them, leading to eternal life, but they did not wish to be baptized; then the king's *erist'hav* turned the sword upon them, and forcibly cast down the idols. They turned away from that place and went to Zhalet'hi⁷, and preached to the Ertso T'hianet'hians⁸, who received the gospel and were baptized. But the P'hkhovians left their land, and came into T'hushet'hi⁹, and there were other mountaineers who were not converted. The king laid heavy taxes on those who did not wish to be baptized; therefore they banded themselves together and wandered about. Some of them at last were converted by St. Abibos Necreseli¹⁰, the bishop, and some of them have remained heathens until this day.

¹ A.V. omits 'and Bishop Ioane.'

² Kart'hl. Tzkh. 'Tsorbani' (?). The place referred to is probably Tsobeni, about seven miles east of the Aragva and fifteen miles above Mtkkhet'ha.

³ Mt'hiulet'hi (i.e. 'the highlands') is a district above the junction of the Gudamaqari and Aragva.

⁴ Dchart'hali, river and mountain west of the Aragva, south of Mt'hiulet'hi.

⁵ Ancient name of the P'hshavs and Khevsurs, who dwell on the White Aragva, east of Mt'hiulet'hi and Gudamaqari and north of T'hianet'hi.

⁶ At the source of the Black Aragva.

⁷ Zhalet'hi, or Zhaliet'hi, on the river Iori in T'hianet'hi.

⁸ i.e. Lesser T'hianet'hi, south of T'hianet'hi and east of Saguramo.

⁹ To the extreme north of Cakhet'hi.

¹⁰ Abibos, bishop of Necresi, was one of the Syrian Fathers, who came to Georgia about the middle of the sixth century.

Then St. Nino went into Cakhet'hi, and rested in Cat-saret'hi and converted the people. Afterwards she passed into the village of Kwel, and called together the Cakhet'hian princes. They had not heard of the faith of Christ and the baptism of the king; with joy they received her teaching, and were converted and baptized by Jacob the priest. Thence she went to Bodi, and there came unto her Suji¹, the Queen of Cakhet'hi, and with her a great multitude of chiefs, warriors, and women-slaves. She told them of the secret (holy sacrament) of Christ, and with sweet words taught them the true faith. She related the miracles which had happened through the column of fire, of which they had not heard before. With joy they received the teaching of St. Nino, and the queen was baptized with all her chiefs and handmaidens.

St. Nino goes into Cakhet'hi,

converts Queen Suji.

When the blessed Nino had thus fulfilled her work and preaching, she knew that the time when her spirit would pass from her body was drawing nigh. She wrote a letter to King Mirian, and gave it to the Cakhet'hian queen Suji. She wrote thus:

St. Nino's letter to Mirian.

'To the servant of Jesus Christ, the faithful believer in the Holy Trinity, the ally of holy kings, King Mirian.—May God rain down the dew of His grace from above upon thee and all the palace, and on the camp of thy people, and may the cross of Christ and the mediation of His most holy Mother guard you. Lo, I have passed through many lands, and they have received the gospel of Christ, and been turned from their sins and baptized, and do worship God the Creator. Now shouldst thou be joyful, for in thy days God has looked down upon His creatures, and the light of His wisdom has shone forth upon them. Hold fast unto the true faith, that with Him thou mayest reign for ever in the kingdom of heaven. My days upon earth are fulfilled, and I am passing from life to go the way of my fathers. Worthy of mention among the holy ones of God is Queen Suji, for she became a believer in the true Christ, and cast down the idols and con-

¹ A.V. does not mention Suji.

verted the people to the service of God, and called her brother and her daughter, also Artereon, a chieftain, and taught them the true faith, and all in Budi have been baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Now send unto me the holy chief of the fathers, that he may give me provision for my soul's eternal journey, for my time is nigh.'

Queen Suji
sets out
with the
letter and
arrives at
Mtzkhet'-
ha,

Queen Suji took Nino's letter, and, moved by desire to do homage to the life-giving pillar, set out in haste. All that long journey she walked barefooted, and her tears watered the ground. When they arrived opposite the pillar of life, they saw that the river Aragva had increased greatly, and none of the warriors could cross; when they descended, they were turned back, hindered by the impetuosity of the volume of water. But as Peter walked to the Lord upon the water, so was it with that woman, full of faith in Christ, and desire for the life-giving cross, and with confidence like a grain of mustard seed. She crossed herself and leaped down, as upon a steed. On the other side was Bishop Ioane, with all the people, and when she entered the stream the waters fled back and she passed dry-footed. The king and the chief bishop met her in fear and wonder, and they went into the church to the pillar of life, and prayed with fervent tears. She offered, as a sacrifice, herself, her children, and all her servants, and the little town of Bart'hiani, and the great village of Budi; and she rejoiced in spirit. Then Queen Suji drew forth the letter of the blessed Nino and gave it to the king, and he read it aloud, weeping bitterly.

miracu-
lously
crosses the
Aragva.

Mirian
and others
go to
Bodbe to
St. Nino's
deathbed.

They sent Bishop Ioane to bring her, but St. Nino did not choose to come. So the king, Queen Nana, and many of the people set out and came to her. The people assembled in innumerable multitudes, and they saw the face of Nino, which was like that of an angel from heaven. They tore the hem of her garment and took it and kissed it with faith; and all those seated around passionately prayed, with tears pouring from their eyes because of the departure of

their leader and benefactress and the healer of the sick. Salome Ujarmoeli (i.e. of Ujarma) and Peruzhavri Sivneli (i.e. of Sion) and the *erist'havs* (governors) and *mt'havars* (chiefs, lords) inquired of her, saying: 'Who art thou, whence art thou, and wherefore didst thou come into this land to give us life? Where wert thou brought up, O queen? Tell us of thy life, for thou hast spoken of captivity, O divine freer of captives. Thou hast taught us concerning the prophets who came before the Son of God, and then of the twelve apostles, but God has sent none to us save thee, and all that thou sayest of thyself is that thou art a captive or a stranger.'

Then Nino began to speak, and said: 'Daughters of the faith¹, queens near to my heart, ye see the faith and love which those first women bare to Christ, and yet ye wish to know of my life, the life of a poor handmaiden! But I shall tell you; for now my days are fulfilled, and I am about to fall asleep for ever in the sleep of my mother. Bring writing materials that ye may write down my poor, unworthy life, so that your children may hear of your faith, and how I was received by you, and the divine miracles which ye have seen.' Salome Ujarmoeli and Peruzhavri Sivneli quickly brought writing materials, and she told them all her pure and blessed life as we have written it above, and they wrote it down. She entreated the king that the priest Jacob might be bishop after Ioane.

St. Nino
tells the
story of
her life.

Bishop Ioane offered sacrifice to the Lord, and St. Nino partook of the body and blood of Christ which was to serve her for the journey to eternity. Then she gave her soul into the hands of God, and passed into everlasting righteousness (January 14). Thus, adorned with apostolic grace, shining in her pure life, beautiful by her many labours, bearing the gift of many works, she presented herself before the Holy Trinity, taking, as an offering, many peoples, and the sufferings borne in this world. She ascended to heaven in the

Death of
St. Nino.

¹ A.V. 'near to God, my queens.'

twenty-fifth year from her entry into Georgia, three hundred and thirty-eight years from the death of Christ, and from the beginning of the world five thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight.

Her burial
at Bodbe.

The inhabitants of Mtskheta and Ujarma and all Kart'li were deeply moved by her death, and a great multitude of people came, and crowded together to touch the skirt of her garment. By force, the king put an end to the uproar, and commanded that her body should be taken away and interred near the pillar of life. When they were about to lift her body, their hands became powerless and¹ they could not move her. Then they understood, and buried her in that place, in Cakhet'hi, in the village of Budi. The saint herself had begged the king, in her modesty, that she might be buried there, for the place was humble. But the king and all the nobles grieved to bury her there; yet, in order to fulfil her will and desire, they did so. And they built a church and appointed a bishop over it, in honour of the holy, blessed enlightener of Kart'li, Cakhet'hi, and Heret'hi²; the thrice divinely blessed, noble Nino.

When the divinely enlightened King Mirian had done this, he strengthened all Kart'li and Heret'hi in the faith of the triune God, without beginning or end, the Creator of all; and they were thoroughly confirmed in their belief.

Constantine sends
Prince Bakar
with a letter to
Mirian.

The Emperor Constantine, who held as a hostage Mirian's son Bakar, sent him home with many gifts, and wrote:

'I, Constantine the king, absolute sovereign, a new servant of the kingdom of heaven, formerly a captive of the devil, but delivered by the Creator, I write to thee, King Mirian, the divinely enlightened, like me newly planted in the faith. Peace be unto thee, and the joy of those who know the Trinity, the infinite God, the creating God of all. It is no longer needful for me to have a hostage of thee, for it suffices

¹ A. V. 'two hundred men could not move the couch on which she lay.'

² A province south of Cakhet'hi.

to have between us as mediator Christ, the Son of God, existent from all eternity, who became man for our salvation, and His honourable cross which is given to us as a guide. By faith in it, and by the mediation of God the Creator, let us be in brotherly love one to another. I give unto thee thy son; see him and rejoice, and may the angel of peace coming from God be with you. May the Creator God always drive the wicked devil from your land.'

When Prince Bakar and the messenger from the Emperor Constantine came to Mtskheta, King Mirian and Queen Nana were filled with joy, and thanked God for all the gifts He had bestowed on them. King Mirian finished the cathedral, and consecrated it with great solemnity in the twenty-fifth year from his conversion. Rev, his son, died; he was son-in-law of T'hrdat, king of the Armenians, who had given him the kingdom in his own life. They buried Rev in the tomb which he himself had built. In the same year King Mirian fell sick, and was nigh unto death. He said to his son Bakar and his wife Nana: 'I do not pass hence as I came, and I thank the bounteous God, Creator of heaven and earth, who delivered me from the mouth of hell when I was a captive of the devil, and esteems me worthy to sit with Him on His right hand. Thou, Nana, in due time after my death, divide our royal treasure into two parts, and give (half of) it for the burial-place of Nino our enlightener, so that the spot may never be disturbed, for it is not a royal city, but a poor place; also tell the bishop to glorify the place, for it is worthy of honour.'

Death of
Mirian.

And he said to his son: 'My son, my darkness has been turned into light, and death into life. To thee I give the crown of my realm. May God, the Creator of heaven and earth, strengthen thee in perfect faith. Obey all the commands of the Son of God, and rest entirely upon them and upon the name of Christ. Death will become life to thee. . . . Wherever thou findest those fire-worshippers and idols, burn them with fire, and cause them to drink the

cinders¹. And teach thy children the same, for I know that in the Caucasians idolatry will be extirpated. Put thy heart into this matter, and pray unto the Son of God born in the first times, who became man and suffered for our salvation, and lead before thee the honourable cross to conquer thine enemies, for even so do true believers. Honour the divinely raised pillar, and let all thy hopes be towards it; and mayest thou fall asleep in the faith of the holy Trinity.'

Coronation
of Bakar.

They caused the cross of St. Nino to be brought, the cross which she had at first, and hung the royal crown upon it, and led forward Bakar and made the sign of the cross on his head, and took the crown from the cross and put it on his head. And King Mirian died, and they buried him in the Upper Church, by the southern corner of the pillar in which is a piece of the divinely raised column. Next year, Queen Nana died, and was buried to the west of the pillar, in the same place as King Mirian.

Bakar, Mirian's son, was king, and he was a believer, like his father. He converted very many of the people of Caucasus whom his father had not been able to turn to the true faith.

Rufinus, 'Ecclesiastical History,' Bk. II, ch. vii, in Migne's 'Patrologia,' t. xxi. 480-482 (the following from 'Auctores Hist. Eccl. Basilie,' 1544, pp. 225-226).

Per idem tempus etiam Iberorum gens, quae sub axe Pontico jacet, verbi Dei foedera et fidem futuri suscepit regni. Sed huius tanti boni praestitit causam mulier quaedam captiva, quae apud eos reperta, cum fidelem et sobriam satis ac pudicam duceret vitam, totisque diebus ac noctibus obsecrationes Deo pervigiles exhiberet, in admiratione esse ipsa rei novitas barbaris coepit et quid hoc sibi velit, curiosius per-

¹ Mr. Conybeare says it is a common trait in the wars of the Christian Armenians with Persian fire-worshippers for the latter, if conquered, to be made to drink the cinders mixed with water.

quirebant. Illa, ut res erat, simpliciter Christum se Deum hoc ritu colere fatebatur. Nihil ex hoc amplius barbari praeter novitatem nominis mirabantur. Verum (ut fieri solet) ipsa perseverantia curiositatem quandam mulierculis inferebat, si quid emolumenti ex tanta devotione caperetur. Moris apud eos esse dicitur, ut si parvulus aegrotet, circumferatur a matre per singulas domus, quo scilicet si quis experti aliquid remedii noverit, conferat laboranti. Cumque mulier quaedam parvulum suum per omnes circumtulisset ex more, nec aliquid remedii, cunctas domos lustrando, cepisset, venit etiam ad captivam, ut si quid sciret, ostenderet. Illa se humani quidem remedii nihil scire testatur, Deum tamen suum Christum quem colebat, dare ei desperatam ab hominibus posse salutem confirmat. Cumque cilicio suo parvulum superposuisset, atque ipsa desuper orationem fudisset ad Dominum, sanum matri reddidit infantem. Sermo defertur ad plures, factique fama magnifici usque ad aures reginae perlabitur. Quae dolore quodam gravissimo corporis afflicta, in desperatione maxima erat. Rogat ad se captivam deduci. Illa ire abnuat, ne praesumere amplius aliquid quam sexus sineret videretur. Ipsam se regina deferri ad captivae cellulam jubet. Quam similiter supra cilicium suum positam, invocato Christi nomine, continuo post precem, sanam et alacrem fecit exsurgere: Christumque esse Deum, Dei summi Filium, qui salutem hanc contulerit, docet: eumque quem sibi auctorem suae sciret esse incolumitatis et vitae, commonet invocandum. Ipsum namque esse, qui et regibus regna distribuat et mortalibus vitam. At illa cum laetitia domum regressa, marito percontanti causam tam subitae sanitatis aperuit, quique cum pro salute conjugis laetus, mulieri munera deferri juberet, illa: horum, inquit, o rex nihil captiva dignatur: aurum despicit, argentum respuit, jejunio quasi cibo pascitur: hoc solum ei muneris dabimus, si eum, qui me illa invocante sanavit, Christum Deum colamus. Ad hoc tunc rex signior fuit et interim distulit, saepius licet ab uxore commonitus, donec accidit quadam die venante eo in

silvis cum comitibus suis, obscurari densissimis tenebris diem, et per tetrae noctis horrorem luce subducta, caecis iter gressibus denegari. Alius alio diversi ex comitibus oberrant: ipse solus densissima obscuritate circumdatus, quid ageret, quo se verteret nesciebat: cum repente anxios salutis desperatione animos cogitatio talis ascendit. Si vere Deus est Christus ille, quem uxori suae captiva praedixerat, nunc se de his tenebris liberet, ut ipsum ex hoc omissis omnibus coleret. Illico ut haec nondum verbo, sed sola mente devoverat, reddita mundo dies, regem ad urbem perducit incolumem. Quique reginae rem protinus ut gesta est pandit. Evocari jam jamque captivam et colendi ritum ut sibi tradat, exposcit: neque se ultra alium Deum quam Christum veneraturum esse confirmat. Adest captiva, edocet Deum Christum: supplicandi ritum venerandique modum, inquantum de his aperire feminae fas erat, pandit. Fabricari tamen Ecclesiam monet, formamque describit. Igitur rex totius gentis populo convocato, rem ab initio quae erga se ac reginam gesta fuerat, exponit fidemque edocet et nondum initiatus in sacris fit suae gentis apostolus. Credunt viri per regem, feminae per reginam: cunctisque idem volentibus Ecclesia extruitur instanter: et elevato jam perneciter murorum ambitu, tempus erat quo columnae collocari deberent. Cumque erecta prima vel secunda, ventum fuisset ad tertiam, consumptis omnibus machinis et boum hominumque viribus cum media jam in obliquum fuisset erecta et pars reliqua nullis machinis erigeretur, repetitis secundo et tertio ac saepius viribus, ne loco quidem moveri attritis omnibus potuit. Admiratio erat totius populi, regis animositas hebescebat: quid fieri deberet, omnes simul latebat. Sed cum interventu noctis, omnes abcessissent, cunctique mortales et ipsa opera cessarent, captiva sola in oratione pernoctans mansit intrinsecus: cum ecce matutinus et anxius cum suis omnibus ingrediens rex, vidit columnam, quam tot machinae ac tot populi movere non quiverant, erectam et supra basim suam librate suspensam, nec tamen superpositam, sed quantum unius pedis spatio in aere pendentem! Tunc vero

omnis populi contuentes et magnificantes Deum, veram esse regis fidem et captivæ religionem præsentis miraculi testimonio perhibebant. Et ecce mirantibus adhuc et stupentibus cunctis, in oculis eorum sensim supra basim suam, nullo contingente, columna deposita, summa cum libratione consedit. Post hoc reliquus numerus columnarum tanta facilitate suspensus est, ut omnes quæ superfuerant, ipsa die locarentur. Postea vero quam Ecclesia magnifice constructa est, et populi et fidem Dei maiore ardore sitiabant, captivæ monitis ad imperatorem Constantinum totius gentis legatio mittitur: res gesta exponitur: sacerdotes mittere oratur, qui caeptum erga se Dei munus explerent. Quibus ille cum omni gaudio ex honore transmissis, multo amplius ex hoc laetatus est, quam si incognitas Romano imperio gentes et regna ignota junxisset. *Haec nobis ita gesta, fidelissimus vir Bacurius, gentis ipsius rex, et apud nos Domesticorum comes (cui summa erat cura et religionis et veritatis) exposuit cum nobiscum Palaestini tunc limitis Dux in Hierosolymis satis unanimiter degeret.*

Passage relating to Nino in the MS. entitled 'The Conversion of Georgia' (Moktzevai Kart'hlisai).

. . . Ten years after [the adoption of Christianity by Constantine], Elene went to Jerusalem to seek the honourable cross; and in the fourteenth year, a certain woman, Evadagi¹, by name Rip'hsime, fled from the king, for some reason, with her foster-mother. And there was with her a certain beautiful captive woman called Nino, of whom Queen Elene inquired concerning her affairs, and she was a Roman princess. She went on her way, performing many miracles of healing, and she arrived in Greece and instructed the Princess Rip'hsime.

When Rip'hsime, Gaine, Nino, and certain others with them, had crossed the sea in flight, they came into the bounds

¹ The word *Evadagi* has not been explained. There are many obscure passages in the MS.

of Somkhit'hi (Armenia), the realm of King T'hrdat, and were martyred there. But Nino escaped; and, crossing the mountains to the northward, came to the river Mtcuari (Kura). She followed it and came to Mtzkhet'ha, a great city, the royal residence. She was there three years, praying secretly in a place covered with bramble bushes. She made a cross of vine-stems, and tarried there and prayed. And that place was without the walls. In the place where the brambles were the altar of the Upper Church (Zemo ecclesia) now stands.

In the fourth year she began to preach the God Christ and His faith, saying that 'this land of the north was found in error.' In the sixth year she caused the king's wife, Nana, to believe, she being sick, and in the seventh year the king was converted to Christ by a miracle. Immediately he built the Lower Church in the royal garden, the erection of which he himself directed.

When they had built the church, he sent an ambassador, and a letter from Nino, to Constantine, king of Greece, asking for priests; they came quickly. The king sent Bishop Ioane, two priests, a deacon, a letter from Queen Elene, an *icon* of the Saviour, and the wood of life for Nino. When they arrived, King Mirean, the queen, and all their household received baptism. They asked for a tree that they might make a cross. . . .¹

²[Then the king commanded Abiat'har, and many Jews with him, to come before him; and he inquired of them concerning the tunic, and they told him all that is written above. And King Mirian raised his hands, saying: 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, for] Thou wishest to save us and deliver us from the devil and his dark place, since Thy garment was brought by these Hebrews from the holy city Jerusalem to this city of a strange race, for our fathers ruled in this city at Thy crucifixion.' And

¹ Here there is a leaf wanting in the MS.

² The passage within brackets is filled in from Kart'hl. Tzkh. That which follows, to the end of Nino's prayer, is the same, almost word for word, and has evidently been taken from the same MS.

the king and all Kart'hli betook themselves right speedily to Christianity.

Then the blessed woman Nino said: 'Blessed is God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who sent His holy Word from high heaven, Himself coming from His throne of might, to lowly earth; without doubt born in a body, of the seed of David, born of a woman alone, holy and pure, who was pleasing to Him; and thus He took upon Him our life. He enlightened every being beneath the heavens, and they more readily became believers in Him because He was born as a man. He was worshipped as God; He was baptized, as a servant of the law, with water and with earth. He witnessed for, and glorified the Father and the Holy Ghost on high; He was crucified, buried, and rose again. He mounted into the heights to His Father, and is to come again with glory. To Him praise is fitting. Amen.'

When she had spoken thus, she took with her Jacob the priest, who had come from Greece, and an *erist'hav*, and went away to Tsoben, and called the Mt'heulians, Dchart'halian, Phkhovians, and Tsilcanians, and preached the faith of Christ; but they would not receive it. The *erist'hav* raised his sword a little, and with fear they gave up their idols to be broken. They passed to Ertso¹, and tarried in Zhalet'hi, in the village of Edem, and baptized the Ertso-Thianians. And the Quarians heard this, and fled to Thoshet'hi, but were at last subdued, King Thrdat² baptizing them.

And she became frail, and set out for Mtzkhet'ha. And when she arrived in Ctoet'ha, in the village which is called Bodini, she could go no farther. And there came forth from the city of Uzharma, Rev, the king's son, and Salomê, his wife, and his daughter, to watch over her. The king and his wife, Nana, sent Iovane, the archbishop, to see her and bring her back. But she did not wish to go³, and entreated

¹ Ertso, a small district east of Saguramo. Zhalet'hi is in Ertso.

² ? Mirdat III, of Georgia, brother of Bacur (A.D. 364-379).

³ Kart'hl. Tzkh. : 'But St. Nino set out to go to Ran, in order to convert P'heroz, and when she approached the village of Budi in Cakhethi, she

that after him Jacob the priest should be appointed. And she gave to him the letter written by Queen Helene, who wrote to Nino as queen, apostle, and evangelist. She gave the wood of life to Queen Nana. And Iovane gave Nino of the body and blood of Christ, and she took the provision for her soul's journey, and committed her spirit into the hands of God, in the fifteenth year from her arrival in Kart'hli, from the ascension of Christ three hundred and thirty-eight years, from the beginning five thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight¹.

Then the two cities, Mtzkhet'ha and Uzharma, and all the land of Kart'hli grieved because of her death. They came and buried her body, clad with power, in that place, even in Budi, a village of Ckhoet'hi. King Mirean and all the people went and built the Upper Church (*Zemo ecclesia*) of stone. Four years passed, and King Mirean died, and was buried on the north side of the central southern column. In that column is a piece of the pillar of life. In the second year Queen Nana died, and was buried to the west of the same pillar as King Mirean.

And Bacur, the son of Rev², was appointed king; and Bishop Iovane died, and the priest Jacob, who had come from the same place, was appointed archbishop.

Twenty-three years from the raising of the honourable cross, Rev made a canopy and a tomb in the Lower Church (*Kvemo ecclesia*). And Rev died³, and was buried with his wife. In the tenth year after this, Bacur began to build the church of Tsilcani, and thirty-five years afterwards he died, and was buried in the Lower Church. . . .

stayed there some days; and the people of Cakhet'hi came unto her, inquiring of her, and she taught many.'

¹ ? Evidently for 'ascension' we should read 'birth.'

² Kart'hl. Tzkh. 'Bakar, or Bahkar, the son of Mirian.'

³ In Kart'hl. Tzkh., Rev's death takes place before Mirian's. Kart'hl. Tzkh. says: 'From the conversion of King Mirian, in the twenty-fifth year (*Chronique armén.* 'thirty-fifth') died his son Rev, son-in-law of T'hrdat, king of the Armenians, who gave him his kingdom in his life. He (Rev) was buried in a sepulchre which he himself had built.'

PASSAGE RELATING TO NINO IN THE ARMENIAN
HISTORY OF MOSES OF CHORENE (CH. LXXXVI).

. . . A certain woman named Nuné, one of the scattered companions of St. Ripsime, came in her flight to the land of the Iberians, to their royal city Mtzkhet'ha. By her strict life she gained the gift of healing, through which she healed many that were afflicted, and among others the wife of Mikhran, ruler of Iberia. And when Mikhran asked her by what power she did these wonders, he received from her the knowledge of the gospel of Christ.

At that time it happened that Mikhran went to the chase: in rough country he lost himself in the mountains in dull weather, but not in consequence of a vision, for it is said: 'Darkness He calls forth with His voice' (Job xxxviii. 34), and in another place: 'He darkens the day into night' (Amos v. 8). Such was the darkness with which Mikhran was engirt, and it was to him the cause of everlasting light: for in his terror he remembered what had been said of Terdat, who was struck by God when he was preparing for the chase; Mikhran bethought himself: the same thing might happen to him. Fear-stricken he prayed that the air might be cleared, and that he might return in peace, promising to worship Nuné. His prayer was heard, and he fulfilled his promise.

Then the blessed Nuné demanded faithful men, whom she sent to St. Gregory to ask what he would have her do, seeing that the Iberians had willingly accepted the preaching of the gospel. And she received his command to destroy the idols, following his example, and to raise the sign of the honourable cross, until that day when the Lord should give a pastor to govern them. She immediately cast down the image of the thunderer Aramazd, which stood outside the city, separated therefrom by a great river (Kura). The people were wont at early morn to worship from their housetops that image

aloft before their eyes; those that wished to offer him sacrifice, crossed the river and fulfilled the immolation before the temples.

The satraps of the city arose and said: 'Whom shall we worship instead of the idols?' They were told that they should worship 'the sign of the cross of Christ.' This they made, and set it up to the east of the city on a fair hill, which was also separated from the city by a small river (Aragva). In the morning, according to their custom, people worshipped it from their housetops. But when they went up to the hill and saw a piece of wood, roughly hewn, many said, with contempt, that all their forests were full of such wood, and then went away. But God in His goodness looked down on their error. He sent from the heavens a pillar of cloud, and all the hill was filled with fragrance: a melodious voice sounded, of many singers of psalms, and there appeared a light with a representation of the cross, of the size and shape of the cross of wood: twelve stars stood over the wooden cross; all believed and worshipped. And from that time many were healed by that cross.

But the blessed Nuné set forth, to instruct with her pure lips the other regions of Iberia: she went about everywhere in a dress of exceeding simplicity, having nothing superfluous, a stranger to the world and all that belongs to it, or rather nailed to the cross, exercising her life in continual death, confessing by her word the divine Word, and crowned with her readiness as with a bloody crown; we make bold to say that she, having become an apostle, preached, beginning from the Kekharchians (in Greater Armenia), at the gates of the Alans (? Ossets—Dariel Pass) and Kasbians¹, even unto the bounds of the Maskuts (Massagetae), as thou mayest learn from Agathangelos.

¹ East of Cakhet'hi. Cf. Strabo, iv. 5.

THE ARMENIAN VERSION OF DJOUANSHÊR

TRANSLATED BY F. C. CONYBEARE.

PREFATORY NOTE.

IN Armenian is preserved a history of the Georgians ascribed to one Djouanshêr. That it is a translation of a Georgian writer's work, the occurrence in it of Georgian forms and idioms proves, and it was made not later than the thirteenth century, for it is quoted in the history of Stephanos Ourbelian, who lived in the time of Gregory Anavarzi towards the end of that century.

In chapter xvi (p. 104 of the San Lazaro edition of 1884) this work contains a notice which reveals to us the Georgian sources used. The following is the passage: 'And this brief history was found in the time of confusion, and was placed in the book which is called *The Kharthlis* (or *Qarthlis*) *Tzkhorepa*¹, that is, *The History of the Karthli*. And Djouanshêr found it, written up to the time of King Wakhthang. And Djouanshêr himself continued it up to the present time, and entrusted the (record) of events to those who saw and fell in with him (or them) in his time.'

In spite of the obscurity of the last sentence, it is clear from the above that the Armenian is a translation of Djouanshêr; and as the notice follows immediately after the narrative of the martyrdom of King Artchil II, who reigned from 688-718, the Georgian original was a document of considerable antiquity. Within that original, however, was included a narrative of still earlier date which Djouanshêr merely continued up to his own day. The redaction of this

¹ See Miss Wardrop's preface, p. 4.

earlier narrative belonged to the reign of Wakhthang, and was therefore not later than 483 A. D.

To this earlier nucleus of Djouanshêr's work belongs the episode of the conversion of Iberia by St. Nouna, which I now translate; and we are probably entitled to assume that the Armenian represents a form of the text as it was written down before the end of the fifth century. The general impression left on one's mind, after confronting the Armenian document with the Georgian as translated by Miss Wardrop, is, that the latter has been handed down with great fidelity.

In this connexion it is well to draw the reader's attention to the following points.

1. The marginal numbers inset of my translation of the Armenian show at a glance the correspondence page by page of Djouanshêr's narrative with Miss Wardrop's translation. A glance at them shows that Djouanshêr's narrative was shorter in form and more compact than the existing Georgian text. And this remains certain, even if we admit, as we must, that the Armenian translator considerably abridged his original.

2. The structure of the original document is best preserved in the Armenian. Thus its opening words make it clear, that, when Nino had been three years only in Mtskheta, she communicated to Salome the narrative of her previous life, pp. 1-23.

At the close of this narrative the right transition to Abiathar's narrative is provided by the Armenian alone in Nino's closing words:—'And if thou ask thou shalt learn from Abiathar the truth.'

Abiathar at once begins his story. It continues as far as p. 29, 'by the bridge of the Magi.' Here the Armenian quite rightly puts the episode of the Jews' desiring to stone Abiathar at the conclusion of his story, which he may have repeated to Salome in the Jewish quarter of Mtskheta.

But the Georgian text is dislocated at this point, and defers this episode to p. 31, interpolating it in the middle of the continued narrative of Nino's missionary activity.

That narrative, which rightly speaks of Nino in the third person, continues as far as p. 54, that is, up to the saint's death-bed scene. And here the Armenian, more clearly than

the Georgian, which is confused, relates the genesis of Nino's early travel-document. The bystanders ask Nino for information of her early days, and Nino replies: 'I have related it to the ears of Salome. . . . Have paper and ink brought and write it down from her lips.'

The document that was so written down is chapter viii of Djouanshêr, pp. 1-23 of Miss Wardrop's translation. In it Nino tells her story in the first person according to the oldest Georgian MS. (A.V.), and also according to Djouanshêr's form of narrative. This characteristic trait of the travel-document is lost or obscured in the later Georgian texts.

3. The Armenian helps to bring out the rather primitive, and perhaps Montanist, cast of Nino's Christianity, which doubtless was also the original type of belief introduced into Georgia. For the Armenian often omits traits of the more elaborate and developed Christianity established in the fourth century which the Georgian contains, and *vice versa*, interpolates other similar traits which the Georgian omits. In such cases the Georgian and Armenian, as it were, cancel each other; and we may infer that these traits of a later stage of ecclesiastical development did not stand in the original acts. I give examples: on p. 20 the Armenian omits the dogmatic references to the Trinity in Nino's prayer. On the other hand, in p. 23 the Armenian introduces a similar reference from which the Georgian text is free. So on pp. 47 and 56 the Georgian has the phrases 'the great triune God,' and 'the Trinity, the infinite God.' In the corresponding passages of the Armenian these dogmatic expressions are absent. In p. 34, on the other hand, the Armenian is more dogmatic than the Georgian; also in p. 31: 'My God Jesus, King eternal.'

Again in p. 25 we have the phrase: 'the Son of the Virgin.' In the corresponding Armenian this: 'the poor son of a woman in distress.' So on p. 44 the Georgian has 'born indeed of the seed of David, of a virgin pure and holy'; where the Armenian has the unusual phrase, 'from an only-begotten mother was born the only-begotten God.' The two phrases at least discount each other; and the inference is that later than the fourth or fifth century Georgian scribes retouched the story dogmatically in one way and in one set of passages;

while in Djouanshêr's and the Armenian tradition it was retouched in another way and in a different set of passages.

But both the Georgian documents and the Armenian agree on the following points: that Jesus was 'the heavenly man,' p. 25 (reinforced by the Armenian in p. 30); who 'when he had reached man's estate called himself the Son of God,' p. 27. Both witnesses also lay stress on the baptism of Jesus, p. 45, and this evidently figured as an article in Nino's creed. It was an incident of vital importance in the Ebionite view of Jesus Christ, yet one of which later dogmatic systems lost sight. Lastly, both sources insist that Jesus Christ 'came in the flesh,' p. 41; and this was the position usually urged against the primitive error of the Docetae and Manicheans.

The Armenian makes it less clear that Nino herself baptized; for it omits the very suspicious proviso 'except baptism' contained in the Georgian on p. 23—a proviso which at once suggests to a reader familiar with ecclesiastical documents that she did baptize. The Armenian also ignores the express statement which survives in p. 42 of the Georgian that Nino baptized the king Mirian.

It also refers twice, pp. 38 and 39, to Nino's twelve disciples, where the Georgian only notices them once. More than one heresiarch was accused of profanity for choosing just that number of apostles to aid in the work of propagandism. The assumption by Abiathar upon his conversion of the name Paul is made clearer in the Armenian than in the corresponding Georgian, pp. 30 and 33. It reminds us of the similar custom which prevailed among the Paulicians, and was also not unknown among orthodox believers.

Lastly, it is noticeable that the Armenian text, up to nearly the end of chapter x (= p. 40), calls the saint Nouni; but for the rest of the narrative calls her Ninau or Ninô. Perhaps this change of spelling implies a new documentary stratum in the Georgian original which underlay the Armenian. In general I have kept all differences of spelling of the Armenian text. The name Niophor on p. 10 appears to be the Greek νεωκόρος, mediatized through a Syriac document in which *o* was confused with *ə*. If so, the original acts were written in Syriac.

CHAPTER VIII.

At that time¹ the blessed lady Nouni, the mother of the Wirq² (i.e. Iberians), came to Mtzkhet'ha, and was there three years³. And the queen of the Wirq, Solomoni (? Solomé), asked her whence she was. And Nouni told her thus:—

The original report about me was that once on a time the race of Brandji were at war with Rome; and a certain man, Zabulon by name, a Cappadocian, conquered them by the⁸ might of Christ, and took captive the king and his army. And they, astonished, asked for the grace of baptism, which he bestowed on them, and dismissed them to their country illuminated in Christ.

Zabulon himself also went with them and made the race of⁹ the Brandji Christian. And he came to the king and received from him many presents, then went off to Jerusalem to honour the holy places. And there he found two orphans who were come from Klastat after the death of their parents, who were Christians. The name of one was Houbnal (i.e. Juvenal), and of his sister Susan, who was servant to Niaphor⁴ of¹⁰ Bethlehem. And Zabulon took Susan to himself to wife, and departed to the city of Klastatas. And I was born of them.

And when I was twelve years old they came to Jerusalem. And my father went away into the wilderness, entrusting me to God and to the grace of Christ, that I might devote myself in virginity to the heavenly bridegroom. And I entered the house of Niophor of Armenian race from the city of Dwin,

¹ The last event chronicled was the successful war of Constantine with Mihran, king of Iberia, at the conclusion of which Constantine took Bahqar, Mihran's son, as a hostage, and Trdat, king of Armenia, gave his daughter Bëoun (after marriage called Solomé) to Mihran's son. The chaptering of the Armenian is that of the printed text of Djouanshér.

² Wirq was the Armenian name for the Georgians. The final *q* marks the plural and the correspondence with *Iberi* is clear. The Georgians in Turu knew the Armenians as the *Somkhuri*, the Hellenes or Heathens as *Thsarmarthi* and the Greek tongue as *Berdznuli*.

³ Nino had been three years in Mtzkhet'ha when she told her story to Salome. The text has *amies* = 'months,' which I correct to *am* 'years.' See p. 75 (23).

⁴ Also spelt Niophor. Whether this person was male or female does not appear in the Armenian. It is only clear therefrom that there was one person of the name and not two, and that he (or she) came from Dwin, the old Christian centre of Armenia, on the Araxes near Artaxata.

- and I served him (*or her*) two years, and was continually being informed about the economy of Christ our God, and of how he died (*lit.* how was the end), and of where are the grave-clothes of our Lord. And they taught me that the things written by the prophet were fulfilled in the Lord, and that he
- 11 was crucified and rose, and went up into heaven, and is to come again. And the clothes the wife of Pilate asked for (*or sought*), and believed in Christ; and departed into Pontus to her home. And after a time it fell to Luke the Evangelist, and he knows what he did with them. And as to the napkin, Peter, they say, took it with him; and the seamless tunic reached the shady (*i. e.* Northern) land, and lies in the city of Mtzkhet'ha. But the Lord's cross lies buried in Jerusalem, and is revealed whenever he desires.
- 12 And I having heard all this went to the Patriarch, and he
- 13 blessed me. And I departed to Rome, that peradventure I might win there some share in the grace of Christ. And having set my face sure to the living hope, I found the Wanq (*i. e.* resthouse) of Paul, in which lived virgins, 300 souls.
- 14 And there trials beset us, and we came to Armenia. And the Caesar sent a letter to Trdat; and search was made, and they found us in the troughs of the wine-press. And the king
- 15 after much trouble failed in his efforts to induce the betrothed of Christ Hripsima to wed him; and resorting to the sword he massacred of us thirty-seven souls. And the rest were scattered; but I remained beneath rose trees, which were not yet in blossom. And raising my eyes aloft I saw the souls of the saints passing to heaven. And their commander was a priest; with a fiery host he went to meet them, having in his hand a censer; and with the smell of the incense was the whole world filled. And having censured the saints, he returned with them, and they passed in behind the veil.
- 16 But I cried unto the Lord saying: Wherefore hast thou left me here, my Lord Jesus? And he answered me: Fear thou not, for thou shalt go up to the same place as thy sisters. But do thou rise up and go to the region of the north, where is much harvest to reap, but where labourer is not. And after a little time yonder bush covered with thorns doth bourgeon and blossom with roses.

And I rose up and came to Ourbani of the Armenians, and I wintered there; and in the month of June I came to the mountain of Dshavakheth. And reaching the lake of Pharhnav, I saw there men fishing in the lake, and shepherds on the edge of the lake. And I heard that they swore¹ by Aramazd and by Zadën. For I was acquainted with the tongue of the Armenians, having learned it in the house of Niophor of Dwin. And I asked them whence they were, and they said, from Darb, from Lrban, from Saphoursli, from Qintseri, from Rhapaten of Mtzkhet'ha, where gods are glorified and kings do rule. And this river which runs out of the lake goes thither. And I retired alone and laid down my¹⁷ head and slept. And there was given to me a book in the Roman tongue, sealed with a seal. And the writing of the seal was the name of Jesus Christ. And the man who gave me the letter said to me: Arise, go and preach whatsoever is written therein. And I said to him: Who am I, a woman ignorant and weak? But he said to me: In the grace of Christianity and in the land of life, which is the heavenly (= *ávw*) Jerusalem, there is neither male nor female. And weakness and ignorance is not spoken of, for Christ is the strength of God and the wisdom of God. And Mariam Magdalene announced the resurrection of Christ to the apostles and to many others; and there was no shame to her for speaking nor to them for listening. And I opened the book, and there was in it writ in brief all the power of the gospel, comprised in ten sentences (*lit.* words)².

And I, having read and understood it, arose and prayed to¹⁸ the Lord; and I followed the river from the direction of the west, until the water turned to the east. And I reached Ourbnis, and was there one month; and then I came with merchants to Mtzkhet'ha. And on the day of the feast of Aramazd I followed the king and all the people; and I saw¹⁹ there a man clad in copper cuirass and casque of gold, adorned with two eyes, one an emerald and the other a beryl, having

¹ I.e. made their vows to those gods. All this part of the acts of Nino is astonishingly correct in its topography and, so far as we can check them, in its other allusions.

² The Armenian omits the ten sentences. It was such a manual as a Montanist prophetess might have carried about with her.

a sword in his hand like a lightning-flash, and he moved it, striking fear into the crowd. And they were trembling and saying: Woe unto us, if we have been amiss in sacrifice or have sinned in words with Jew or with Magi, for we shall die at the hand of Aramazd. And there stood on his right hand a gold image named Gatzî, and on his left the silver image called Gayim.

- 20 And I remembered the saying of Houbnal the patriarch of Jerusalem, who said to me, Thou shalt reach a land of men at war with the true God. And I heaved a sigh and wept, and petitioned of God mercy on the erring, and said: God of my father and mother, visit thy wrath on these demon-possessed images, and destroy them, that they may know thee, the-only true God. And there was on a sudden a violent wind, and
- 21 a voice of thunder, and shootings forth of thunderbolts, and hail of the weight of a litre; and a stench horrible and foul, and dense thick gloom, which made the images invisible. And the crowd was dispersed, and entered into hiding. And on the second day the king and all the people went forth, and sought to find the reason of what had happened. Then said some: The God of the Chaldaeans Throudjan¹ and our Aramazd are enemies from the beginning. And once on a time our God destroyed him with water, and now he has taken his revenge. But some said what was true, that, the great God who smote the king of the Armenians, and afterwards healed him along with all Hayastan (i. e. Armenia), he has wrought this wonder.
- 22 And I found the eye of beryl and came under the tree Bantschi, which they call the shelter of King Bartom; and I prayed there for six days. And on the great day of the transfiguration of the Lord, when the Lord showed the image of the Father to the chief apostles and prophets, there came to me a royal person, Shoushan by name, and seeing me she marvelled. And she brought an interpreter that spoke the Roman tongue and asked me questions, pitying

¹ We recognize the name Xisuthrus used by Berosus. But whether the Georgian despoils Eusebius' chronicon or preserves the independent local tradition which Berosus preserves is not clear. I should conjecture that the Book of Nimrod is the proximate Georgian source.

me as a stranger. And she wished to lead me to the palace. But I did not go with her ; but I went thence and found a woman called Anastou, who was wife of the man who took care of the royal garden, and she received me gladly. And I was in their house nine months.

And they had no child, and were for that reason in great ²³ sorrow. And a luminous man said to me : Go into the garden, and from the root of a cedar¹ sapling by the rose-bushes thou shalt take earth, and give it to them to eat in the name of the Lord, and he will give them offspring. And I did so ; and I gave it them in the name of Jesus Christ the God of Sabaoth, who came in lowliness and is to come again in his glory to judge the world according to its deserts. And they listened and believed in Christ, and received the child promised.

And I went forth from their house ; and outside the wall in a grove of tamarisks made myself a station. And there I abode three years, and having fashioned a cross I worshipped before it the holy Trinity by day and night. And day by day I would repair to the Jews, because of their tongue, and to gain information of the Lord's tunic. And the priest Abiathar and his daughter Sidonia believed in the advent of Christ, and six Jewish women with her. And if thou ask thou shalt learn from Abiathar the truth.

And having heard all this, the wise queen wondered and ²⁴ believed in what she said. And when she heard of the great marvels which occurred to her father Trdat, she was all the more strengthened in the faith and glorified God in his infinite glory.

CHAPTER IX.

But the priest Abiathar told his story in the hearing of all in words of the following tenor :—

In the year in which the holy Nouni came to Mtzkhet'ha, I was priest by lot of my race. And there was brought me a writing from Antioch from the Jews there, to the effect that the kingdom was rent in three, and that Romans,

¹ The Armenian word more properly signifies a ' pine ' sapling.

Greeks and Armenians rule us. And that our prophets are silenced and our temple is demolished. And this we know from the Scriptures, that, when our fathers sinned, God was angry and gave them over to captivity. And when they beheld their tribulation, they repented, and cried out to the Lord in prayer; and God was appeased and allowed them
 25 to return and had mercy on them. And seven times this happened in the days of old. But since when our sires crucified the son of a poor (*or* the poor son of a) woman in distress, named Christ, there are now 300 years that the wrath of the Lord is increased upon us; and we cry out to him early and late, and he gives us no answer, nor is appeased towards us. Whence it is right to understand that he is the Son of God, foreshadowed by the Law and the Prophets. And do thou look and examine in thy wisdom out of thine acquaintance with Scripture, to see how all the things written have been fulfilled, and that that man was truly from heaven.

Now I was in great sorrow for many days, and then on examining the Scriptures I found that the time signified by Daniel reached its sum under Augustus Caesar of the Romans. And while I was engaged in this I saw the holy Nouni, and was informed and heard from her lips the words of the writings of our prophets, and the character of his economy in detail and order, all things from the birth until the ascension into heaven. And I believed in sooth that he was the hope of the Gentiles and the salvation of my people Israel. And behold we became worthy, I and my seed, of the water of *Niebazi*¹, which is of Bethlehem, which David longed for, but did not attain to. And the Lord remembered us according to his pleasure in his people, and visited us in his salvation; and we dwelled in the house of the Lord, that we might eternally praise the Lord. For the holy David blessed us; and may God vouchsafe to me to see yet other marvels and blessings in the city by the hand of the holy lady Nouni.

26 And his hearers were glad and said to Abiathar: What-

¹ *Niebazi* is unintelligible. It is evidently a transcription of the word *embazza* which here stands in the Georgian text. The Armenian translator mistook it for a proper name. It = 'of baptism,' or 'of the font,' being in turn a transcription of the word *ἐμβασίς*.

ever thou knowest about this, tell unto us. And he said to them :—

We have heard from our fathers,—what their fathers had related to them,—that in the days of King Herod there ²⁷ came a rumour to the Jews of Mtzkhet'ha, that kings from among the Persians had come and taken Jerusalem ; and the priests of Bouday and Kodi, the Tslarian scribes and Canaanite interpreters set out in headlong flight eastwards, and all the Jews took to mourning. But after a few days tidings were noised abroad that the Persians in Jerusalem were not come for war, but to do homage to a son of a virgin, born of the seed of David, having as their guide from heaven a star reasonable and wise. Whom having found in the wilderness they glorified him as God. For instead of arms they had offerings with them, kingly gold and myrrh of healing and frankincense to offer to God. And having offered these to the child they went their way. And having heard the matter the race of the Jews rejoiced with great joy. And after thirty years a letter came from Jerusalem from Annas the priest to the father of my mother, Elios, that the child Jesus presented by the Magi having become a man called himself Son of God. Come ye who are able that we may execute on him the law of ²⁸ Moses, slaying him.

And Elios the priest departed being skilled in the law, of the family of Eliazar, of the stock of the house of Heli. And he had a mother of the same stock, who charged him, saying : Have no share, my son, in the counsels of the Jews. For he is the message of the prophets and the hidden meaning of the law and the word of the living God. There set out with him also Lounkianus of Karsni, and they came and arrived on the day of the crucifixion. And when the executioner drove in the nails he startled the mother of Ilios because of the prophecy therein, and she said : Unto the peace of the Gentiles, yonder the king of Israel, Saviour of the world. And three times, Woe unto you, slayers of your maker ! But pity thou us, Lord our God.

And then she rested (i. e. died) having believed in Christ in that hour.

But the seamless tunic fell by lot to the Jews of Mtzkhet'ha ;

29 and Ilios brought and bore it to his house. And his sister went out to meet him, and taking (the garment) kissed it and laid it on her bosom ; and gave up her spirit, having three reasons from Christ, the death of the Lord, and her mother's death, and her brother's accord with the Jews.

And Adrik was king of the Georgians, and on hearing of it wondered ; yet did not wish to keep for himself the tunic of one dead. And they kept it beneath the cedar tree of which the original shoot had been brought from Lebanon. And lo, the house of Ilios, which lies west of the bridge of the Magi ¹.

When all the Jews heard this, they were ashamed in themselves, and designed to stone him ; because being expert in his wisdom he truly proved from the Old Testament the divinity of Christ to be glorified with Father and with Spirit. And the king having heard the uproar of the Jews bore hardly on them, and bade them not to hinder that preaching in his land. For he had heard of the wonders which had occurred in Armenia and in Rome.

CHAPTER X.

Then Saint Nouni ventured boldly by means of her disciples who believed to disseminate the faith of Christ by divers signs, which she wrought with the figured cross. And she saw three times in her light sleeping on her knees flocks
30 of black-hued birds descend into the river and issue up again out of it having become white and go into the garden, where they browsed on its flowers. And they would cull a little therefrom and give it to the master of the flower-garden. And she related her dream to Abiathar's daughter, and she said : O new-comer and sojourner, that makest (us) heirs of the garden and tree of life, thine are the good-tidings of our fathers and the work of the heavenly man Jesus and of his innocent blood. But do thou, Jerusalem, spread out thy wings, and gather together those who have won a portion in the heavenly one ; with whom thou wilt also muster us

¹ The Armenian has *Mogtha*, which is the Georgian *gen. pl.*

by the hand of this holy woman, who makes of this spot a garden of delight.

So Saint Nouni increased in self-denial and in continual prayer, and the Gentiles marvelled at her endurance.

In those days a certain woman was going around with her child that was ill with an incurable disease, in hope of finding some one to save the child by device of drugs. And she was herself of evil life and a blasphemer of Christ, and she kept back many from the preaching of Nouni. Yet when she was at an end of all other means, she took and cast the child before Saint Nouni. And the Saint said: Human art of healing I have not, but only my Christ, maker of things visible and invisible. And she laid the child on her mattress and signed it with the cross, saying: My God Jesus, King eternal, heal this child in the name of thy power, that the Gentiles may know that thou art the giver of life to the race of men, who are verily thy creatures; and owe to thee worship and honour and glory everlasting, Amen.

And having said this she gave the child healed and beautified and full of joy to the woman. And she said: There is no God, except thyself, O Christ, lord and ruler of life and death. She departed gladly and told it to all. Then she returned to Nouni and departed not from her.

In those days the queen Nana fell into an incurable sickness; and all who were skilled in the art of healing confessed their defeat, saying, It is impossible that this sickness should be healed by man. And they told the queen about Nouni, and she sent to have her brought to her. And they went and found her at prayer in the thicket of the grove of tamarisks before the cross. And they told her the queen's message. But she said to them: In this hour I let not my heart decline from my Lord. If she desire it, she will come to us. And the royal lady having heard said, Take me up and carry me to her. There went forth after her a great multitude of men and women, and they took and laid her on Nouni's mattress. And she prayed for long and laid her cross upon her square-ways, and in that hour she sat up having been healed. And she arose from the place and went to her house, glorifying Christ God, along with all the multitude. And thenceforth

she was a disciple of the truth and learned the laws of Christ from Saint Nouni and from Abiathar the priest, who also was called Paul in his believing.

- 33 But the king Mihran was full of wonder, and asked of Paul, how God became man, and what were these teachings and the name of Christianity. And he told him as best he could everything in order. And Mihran had a book which told all about the race of Nebrowth¹, and the building of Qalenê; and he had it brought before him, and having read it, he found in it the following passage:—

When they began to build the tower and city Qalenê, there came a voice from on high, which said: I am Miqayel (i.e. Michael), ruler of the eastern parts. Abandon that which ye build, for God will destroy it. Nathless in the last times cometh the king heavenly; and he fulfilleth that for which ye long. And they behold the undespised despised among the peoples, and his love driveth out the fair-seeming of the world. For kings forsake their kingdoms and love poverty, and not that glory which thou seekest, O Nebrowth.

And having read this, the king fell into deep thought, and marvelled that the inner and outer books testify of Christ. But he could not forsake the ancestral cult to which he was accustomed—the sun and fire, and Aramazd and other idols.

- In those days a Magian kinsman of the king fell sick; and Mihran said to Saint Nouni: Thou art a daughter of Aramazd or else the seed of Zadên, who have brought thee hither as a stranger and vouchsafed to thee power of healing, that thou
34 mayest glorify thyself. Now therefore work the cure of this my familiar friend by their name, nor make thyself a mistaken reciter of the faith of the Iaones. For although Throudjan, the god of the Persians, with cloud and hail hath routed and carried them away, yet the place is sure; and such war is a habit of the world-swayers. Nay there remain also the old gods of our fathers, Gayim and Gatzim, and they are

¹ The Book of Nimrod is more than once referred to in the letter of Paul of Taron against Theopistus the Greek; this letter is a monument of the eleventh century, at which time this apocryph still circulated among Armenians; in whose literature or in the Georgian it may yet be discovered. Mr. Rendel Harris states that in an Arabic MS. of Mount Sinai, No. 435, is contained 'The history of Nimrod.' This is probably the apocryph in question.

the shooters forth of the sun's rays, and the givers of rain, and those that cause the works of the field to bear fruit.

The saint made answer and said : I am a captive woman, a creature and a worshipper of the invisible and unknown godhead of Father and Son and Holy Spirit, that is creator of heaven and earth. Who because of his great mercy, giveth life to the despisers of himself and nurture and honour, even as unto thyself. For he hath given to thee mind and words, for thee to know the height of heaven and the positions of the stars and the depth of the sea and the breadth of the earth ; and through these things shalt thou know him who governs and adjusts them. And I declare to thee that the infinite (lit. unreachable) greatness that robes the heaven with vapours and thunders with the voice of the winds and by means of the great leviathan¹ shakes the whole earth, He ³⁵ came down from the heights above in lowliness, and took on himself our nature. He accomplished the period of thirty and three years. And by a senseless race he was rejected and crucified, of his own will and not under constraint. And on the third day he arose and ascended into heaven. And he sent preachers into the world, to believe in his name and live in the worship of God, forsaking vain idols. This is the gospel which I preach to thee, that thou mayest believe, if I should work aught, that it is by his name. And there lies hidden here a raiment of his ; and as they say the sheepskin mantle of Elias who saw God is here. And that you may clearly learn what I say, bring to me the magus of Khorasan, the enemy of the truth. And he shall deny his heresy and in faith profess whatever I give him to say.

And when they had brought him to her there in the garden, below the cedar tree, she turned him to the west² and made him say three times : I renounce thee, Satan. And then she turned him to the east and made him say : I throw myself on thee, holy Trinity, and I turn my face to thee, O crucified God.

And Nouni wept and traced on him the figure of the Lord's cross. And there went forth from him the evil spirit

¹ Arm. kitos, i.e. *κῆτος*.

² This detail, absent in the Georgian, is surely an addition of the Armenian translator.

like smoke. And the man was made whole of the demon and of his sufferings, and believed in Christ with all his household. And the onlookers glorified the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever, Amen.

After this the king went out to hunt towards Mukh-narn. . . .

(The episode which follows is told almost exactly as in pp. 35 foll. I only give the more important differences of the text page by page.)

- 36 P. 36. Omit words 'Let us see Nana . . . be destroyed.'

Ibid. For 'whence he saw' Arm. has 'that they might see.'

Ibid. 'The darkness seized.'] Arm. 'Panic fell on them.'

Ibid. 'Lo, I have called' . . .] The Arm. has the prayer thus:

'Jesus Christ, God of Nouni, win me to thee as thy servant and rescue my soul from hell. For my gods have not been able to help me; and I believe that thou art able, and thine is day and night. O crucified Lord, with thy cross make me alive. For I think that this darkness is not over all, but over us alone who after the advent of the light do still love darkness.

And when he had said this the sun beamed forth with a bright sky. And his soldiers found him. And dismounting they fell on their faces and worshipped the crucified one, saying: Thou art God.' . . .

- 37 P. 37, l. 7 from foot of page. 'He went towards. . .'] Arm. has: 'They went to her and fell down and worshipped her. But she took them firmly, raised them up and turned them towards the east.'

P. 37, last line. 'The next day . . .'] Arm. has as follows:

- 38 'Then Saint Nouni writes before (them) a letter to Helena the royal lady of Rome, and Mihran to the great Constantine, saying: The Lord hath visited the house of the Wirq in his great pity. So do ye send us priests to give us life by water and Spirit. But Saint Nouni herself did not rest from preaching along with twelve women, who were ever with her. And after that the king bethought him of building a church, before the priests should come. And they went into the garden and cut down the cedar tree, and fashioned out of it

six pillars, and they laid the foundations and raised aloft the six pillars. But the seventh, which was biggest of all, they could not move from its place, in spite of their numbers and of the contrivances of machines, until sunset. And then they left it and went away in great wonder. But Saint Nouni with the twelve remained there for the night and prayed with tears. And at midnight there was panic and shocks and thunders, as if the two mountains Armaz and Zadê were crumbling, and the two rivers, the Kour and Arag, were committing havoc and being turned back on the city and fortress. And the women with Nouni were affrighted and began to flee. But the saint said: Fear not, for this is delusion and not real. For the mountains stand firm, and the rivers run in their courses, and in peace sleep the men of the city. But disbelief that was massive as a mountain hath truly crumbled; and the blood of children offered to the idols is forthwith turned back. That is what the rivers signify. And the voices of lamentation are the foul demons that led astray now mourning their destruction. And having said this she exhorted them to diligence, but herself poured out fountains of tears. And before it was yet cock-crow, there was a turmoil and noise of shouting, as if a heavy force were investing the city and took it and overthrew it; and as if the command were given in a voice of power, saying: Khora the sovereign of the Persians gives you the command, and the king of kings Khorakhosrow commandeth. Ye Jews, away with you, scatter and die not. And again (was heard a voice): Mihran the sovereign is slain.

But the blessed lady spread her arms out and said: Depart ye into outer darkness. Lo, the crucified one, your slayer, is come. Go ye unto the region of the north. And in that very hour they disappeared. And close upon dawn appeared a youth all fiery, hidden in unapproachable light, who spoke unto Saint Nina (*sic*) three words. And then he went to the pillar and raised it aloft.

And a certain woman, Sidina¹ by name, saw it all, for she had gone out to Ninau, and she said: What is this, holy

¹ Sidonia is elsewhere the spelling used. It is impossible to say whether the variations of spelling of proper names observable in the Armenian, and kept by

dame. But she answered: Hold thy peace and pray. And lo, they saw the pillar enkindled with light. Gently it came
 41 down into the (place) cut away at its root.

And at daybreak came the sovereign and a great crowd along with him; and they saw that the pillar had shot up, and had come without (work of) hand, and was fixed firm upon its basis. And they lifted up their voices and gave glory to God.

And on that day were many miracles wrought in that place. For there was a Jew blind from birth. They brought him near the column, and his eyes were instantly opened. And then one of the princes, Hamazaspuni, eight years old, a paralytic, was brought by his mother and laid before the pillar on his mattress, and she prayed Ninau for the salvation of the child. And she stretched out her hand to the column, then laid it on the child, and said: Jesus Christ, who camest in the flesh for the salvation of the world, help this child. And at once the child arose and stood upon its feet. And all the multitude who saw this gave praise to God; and fear fell upon all. And the king made a covering for the pillar, and
 42 they completed the church, building it to the glory of God.

CHAPTER XI.

But the emperor Constantine, when he saw the messengers of Mihran, was delighted at the conversion of the Wirq to Christ, the more so because he trusted that they had for good broken off their alliance with the Persians. Likewise also the royal lady Helena. And they glorified God, and sent a bishop called John, and two priests and three deacons, and a cross with them and a saving picture. And they came and illumined with baptism the king and his wife and children and famous men, in a place which is called *Moktha*, and the place was called the Light-giving of the headmen.
 43 And all the Wirq were baptized, except the Mthevouli¹ and

me in translating, is due to the Georgian original or simply to the Armenian tradition. If they stood in the former they might be held to indicate a translation from a language like Syriac or Hebrew, in which the vowels were not expressed.

¹ The Georgian has 'the Mthiuli in the Caucasus,' which is probably the right text.

the Kowkas and the Jews in Mtzkhet'ha. But of the Barabbeans were baptized fifty men ; and the king loved them and gave them Diditzikhê. But Pheroz, who had the house of Rhana as far as Partav, who was son-in-law of Mihran hearkened not to the word of life. And Mihran sent John (Hovhannês) the bishop and a leading man with him to Constantine, and asked for a great number of priests and a piece of the cross of the Lord and for stone-cutters to build churches. And he sent all he asked for and the board of the feet of the Lord, and the nails of the hands, along with furniture and treasure to expend, in order that in his name they might build a church in the land of Kharthli.

And the bishop came to the country of Oushêth and laid 44 the foundation of a church, and there placed the nails and left there builders and treasure. And they went on to Manklis, and there he laid the foundation of a church, and there placed the holy board. And the king heard, and was grieved at their placing the pieces elsewhere than in his royal city, and at the envoys not coming there first. But Saint Ninau said : Take it not amiss, O king, for in all places it is meet to sow the name of the Lord. And here there is preserved great holiness and a memorial of the Lord, the holy tunic. And the king heard from Abiathar all the description of the tunic, and glorified Christ saying : Blessed is the Lord God, who rescued it from his hated enemies the Jews and bestowed it on us aliens afar off in his mercy.

And then the stone-cutters began on the coming of the bishop to build a church outside the city, where is now the bishop's house. And Saint Ninau spoke at the beginning of the work as follows :—

Distributor of glory, Christ, Son of God ; thou didst come in thy fullness and power to the race of David. And from 45 an only-begotten mother wast born the only-begotten God, Light of all, image of the Father, who as in need thereof didst receive baptism by water and by Spirit, wast crucified and buried in the heart of the earth, didst rise on the third day, ascendedst into heaven, and comest to judge the quick and the dead. Do thou become shelter and rampart of all who have hoped in thee ; and to thee praise for ever, Amen.

And some related in that same hour to the bishop that at the foot of a little hill there is a beautiful and fragrant tree; and by the same are healed fawns wounded by the huntsmen, when they strip off and eat its leaves or fruit. And he said to them: Verily this land is ever cared for by the Lord even before it knew him. And the bishop took Rêw the king's son and went and cut down the tree, branches and all, and brought it into the city, on the 25th of March on a Friday. And it was covered with leaves. And they set it up at the door of the
 46 church, and for thirty and seven days it kept from withering as if it grew from its own root. And on the first of May they fashioned three crosses. One of them they set up. And in full view of all the people, there came down from heaven a luminous cross, crowned with stars, and invested the wooden one till the dawn of the morrow. And then two stars came forth, one flying eastwards, and one westwards. And Saint Ninau said: Go ye up into high places and find out whither the
 47 stars go. And they went up and saw that the one star shone on the top of the mountain Thkhothi, which runs out to Kasb, and the other in the land of Kakhethi in Daba. And they took the two crosses, and set them up in the places which the Lord pointed out by the glancing stars. But the chief cross they set up on a rock, which lies opposite the city.
 48 And they ordained the day of the great Zadik as the feast of
 49 the cross for all the house of Kharthli, eight days. And after the days, again the cross gleamed with light and burst out aflame on the fourth day of the week, having on its head a wreath of twelve stars. And at sight of these wonders all the heathen turned to the Lord and were baptized; and being strengthened in the faith gave praise to God out of reverence for the holy cross. For like carbuncles in ores, angels of God hovered round the cross and went up over it.
 50 In those days the son of Rêw . . . ' (The Armenian continues in agreement with the Georgian as translated above, with the following exceptions):

P. 50. 'Raised the canopy'] 'raised a marble canopy.'

Ibid. 'And in consequence . . . cross of Christ'] omit.

51 P. 51. 'And it helped . . . always and for ever'] omit.

Ibid. 'In those days,' &c.] The Armenian is as follows:

‘ In those days the emperor Constantine sent a deacon, who had a letter from the race of Branji, who had been illumined by her father. For they heard that among Armenians and Wirq there beamed forth the sun of righteousness with effulgent sheen, and that mighty works of God were manifested among them. . . .’

P. 52. ‘Nino answered,’ &c.] Armenian runs thus: 52

But Saint Nouni hindered them, saying: The Lord came not with sword and bow, but with cross and gospel. And the bishop and Ninau went off, and the king with them, to Tsrbin, to Dsharthal, to Thkhela, to Tsilkasn, to Gôramaλr. But they received not the word of the Lord. And they went down to Jalêth and to Ertsoyth and preached there. And they heard and were baptized. And the Phkhatziq left their land and went to Thoshêth. And many of the mountaineers remain to this day in idolatry. And Saint Ninau went off 53 into the land of Rana to preach to Pheroz, and tarried hard by the marches of Koukhethi and there fell ill. And Rêw, son of the king, and Solomê his wife, who were in Oudjarma, came to see her. And the king heard and sent the bishop to 54 bring her to Mtzkhet’ha, but she would not come. Then 55 went to her the king and his wife, and Peloujawr Siunetzi, and a number of congregations, and they sat round her and wept.

But she looked up to heaven with unwavering eyes, full of joy. Then the queens said to her: Holy mother, as we heard from thee, the Son of God had multitudes of prophets, and his were also twelve apostles and seventy-two disciples, and of them not one was sent to us, but only thyself, holy dame. Now then tell us the details of thy birth and thy nurture [with us]. And the Saint said to them:—

Since ye would be informed about the suffering handmaid of Christ, who henceforth calls me to himself and to my mother unto eternity; and I have related it into the ears of Solomê, daughter of the king of Armenia, a short sketch of my coming hither: have brought papers and ink¹, and write it

¹ In the Armenian *Quartês yev melan*, that is *chartas* and *mélar*. These words were used in Armenia in the tenth century to signify writing material. Even if the same words had stood in the Georgian text of Djouanahér they would not necessarily imply that that text was a translation from Greek. The use of the Latin names for the months points rather to a Latin original.

down from her lips. And as for the rest ye know it of yourselves, since ye have heard and seen it. And may the peace of the Lord be with you. And I commit unto you Jacob the priest, who shall be bishop after John by the call of the Spirit.

And after that she caused the bishop John to offer the sacrifice and she communicated in the holy sacrament. And having entrusted herself to the heavenly king, she ended her life in Christ. And she was buried in the same place in the
 56 332nd year of the ascension of the Lord, and from the departure of Adam from the garden in the 5832nd year, in the fifteenth year after her entry into Qarthl.

But the emperor Constantine wrote a letter to Mihran, and released his son Bahqar, who was with him as a hostage. And he said:

I Constantine Autocrat, new servant of Jesus Christ, by him liberated from the captivity of Satan, have sent to thee Mihran,
 57 king of the Wirq, thy son. For our Lord will be a guarantee between us for thy remaining loyal and obedient to us. And he doth drive out the scheming *Dev* from thy marches.

So Mihran held great rejoicings with Nana the mother of the child and with all the land to the glory of God.

After that he finished the church of the bishopric and filled it with ornaments. And in those days died Rêw his son, having lived thirty-four years. And in the same year King Mihran fell sick; and called his son, and, after placing the crown on the cross, he then took it thence and placed it on his head, enjoining upon him piety and the ordinances of religion. And he said to his wife: Go thou, and dwell in the tomb of the holy Nouni, and there live. And build a church and honour the spot, and distribute our goods to the poor, dividing them in twain. And behold I go whence I came. And I thank God who hath turned my darkness into light and death into life and left into right. And do ye be diligent and destroy the idols which remain. And the Lord Almighty shall be with you. And having said this he slept. And in the third year after him the queen Nana went to her repose in the Lord.

II.

TEXTS FROM MOUNT ATHOS

[KIRSOPP LAKE.]

TEXTS FROM MOUNT ATHOS.



PREFACE.

THE material which is given and discussed in the following pages is the result of a visit which Mr. G. A. Wathen and myself paid to Mount Athos in the summer of 1899. This visit was undertaken primarily to photograph a MS. of the LXX for the use of the Cambridge editors, and secondarily to inspect and study New Testament and Patristic MSS. For these purposes grants were made by the Trustees of the Revision Surplus Fund at Oxford and of the Hort Fund at Cambridge, to whose liberality I owe a deep debt of gratitude, as I also do to the private generosity of the Regius and Margaret Professors of Theology at Oxford and of Mr. Conybeare.

Our trip was exceedingly enjoyable, and we were able to do a considerable amount of work, thanks to the kindness of His Holiness the Patriarch of Constantinople and of the *Koivóνης* of the monks, who gave us letters of commendation. We also received great hospitality and help from the governing bodies of the monasteries at which we stayed, especially valuable to us being that of Father Chrysostom of the Laura, who most liberally lent us books of reference from his private library and assisted us on many occasions by his great knowledge of the beautiful MSS. which are under his charge.

We were much impressed by the number and beauty of the MSS. which we saw at the Laura. To find that there are still more than 200 MSS. of the Gospels uncatalogued by Gregory and uncollated, 120 of them being vellum MSS. earlier than the fifteenth century, is a surprise, and this feeling is increased if it be remembered that there is also a similar, though not quite so great a mass of MSS. of patristic literature which we were unable, for lack of time, even to take down from their shelves. It is a pity that the catalogue of the Laura made by Father Chrysostom is not accessible in the West, as though still unfinished it is very accurate and valuable. Lambros' catalogue does not, and probably never will, include the Laura library.

Next to the Laura in importance come the libraries at Ivéron and Pantocrator. Ivéron is especially enriched by a collection of Georgian MSS., some of which we photographed for Mr. Conybeare.

We were much assisted at Ivéron by the kindness of the Cambridge University Press, which had given us the sheets of the then unpublished second volume of the catalogue of Spyr. P. Lambros.

Vatopédi, the next in value, has a large and well-arranged library, but the excessive care which the monks bestow upon it renders it difficult to study adequately the nature of its contents.

We also visited the monasteries of St. Dionysius, St. Gregory, and St. Panteleemon (Russico) and the Russian skete of St. Andrew. All these monasteries have libraries, and the MSS. which we saw are noted and described in the catalogue on p. 170. But none of them approach the Laura collection of MSS. in value, and at St. Dionysius and St. Gregory work is not easy. The Russian monasteries have naturally not the wealth of MSS. possessed by the old Greek foundations, but they are delightfully hospitable and anxious to help the traveller in every possible way, and one of the most pleasant evenings which we enjoyed on the mountain was

spent on the balcony of Russico, chatting with Father Cyprian, and watching the last rays of the sun just catch the top of Olympos nearly 100 miles away.

The following pages contain with introductory remarks:—

- i. Description of codex Ψ .
- ii. The text of codex Ψ in St. Mark.
- iii. A collation of codex Ψ in St. Luke and St. John and in the Epistle to the Colossians.
- iv. A collation of codex 1071.
- v. Some chapters of a codex of the *Acta Pilati*.
- vi. A fragment of the *Acta Thomae*.
- vii. A catalogue and description of the Biblical MSS. which we examined.

It is hoped that the last item (in which the great kindness of Dr. Gregory has enabled me to print the numbers which he intends to use for the new MSS.), especially so far as it refers to the library of the Laura, may be useful to scholars visiting Mount Athos until a final and complete catalogue be issued.

I. DESCRIPTION OF CODEX Ψ.

Codex Ψ was first seen by Dr. C. R. Gregory on August 26, 1886, but he was unable to do more than describe it and glance through it. The description and notes which he gives are as follows:—

Ψ. Athous Laurae
saec. VIII vel IX, 21 cm × 15.3 cm, membr, foll. 261, col. 1 (15 cm × 8.7 cm), ll. 31; litterarum altitudo .0175; litterae maiores nigrae; atramentum suffusum; litterae supra lineas; capp-tab; Amm (Mc 233: 16,8), Eus, lect; mus in lect eccles, subscriptiones simplices; fasciculi α—η desunt; fasciculus κς̄ habet nonnisi septem folia, sed nihil textus deest; fasciculo ultimo μᾱ exciderunt folia primum et octavum.

continet *Mc* 9,5 καὶ μωσῇ μίαν—finem *Lc Io* | *Act* | 1.2 *Pe Iac* 1.2.3 *Io Iud Rom—Philem Hebr*—8, 11 καὶ οὐ μὴ | folium excidit | *Hebr* 9,19 ὑπὸ μωνσέωσ—subscr *Hebr*.

Mc 16,8 ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ: †

Πάντα δὲ τὰ παρηγγελμένα τοῖς περὶ τὸν
πέτρον συντόμωσ. ἐξήγγειλαν: Μετὰ
Δὲ ταῦτα. καὶ αὐτὸς ἰσ̄ ἐφάνη ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς
καὶ μέχρι δύσεως ἐξαπέστειλεν δι' αὐτῶν
τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον κήρυγμα τῆς αἰῶ
νίου σωτηρίας ἀμὴν:

ἔστιν καὶ ταῦτα φερόμενα

μετὰ τὸ ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ.

Ἀναστὰς δὲ κ. τ. λ. usque ad versum 20

et sub finem εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ μάρκον.

In codice nostro Marci evangelium eodem fere modo finitur qui e codice L notissimus est; id vero interest quod nihil adnotationis ante πάντα δὲ noster interponit, quod antiquiorem sibi vindicare fontem videretur, nisi fortasse vocabula ἐφάνη, μέχρη, ἀμήν seriore textus conformationem testarentur. Vix est quod dicam Ἄ (τέλος) post ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ: lectionis ecclesiasticae neque vero ipsius evangelii finem indicare. Tituli pariter atque subscriptiones librorum prorsus simplices sunt; sub finem tamen evangelii Iohannis additur: εὐαγγελιστῶν τεσσάρων θεῖοι λόγοι γραφέντες, ὧδε λήξιν ἔσχον τῶν πόνων. Lectorem non latebit Iacobum post epistolam Petri alteram stare, neque id casu, nam desinit Act liber fasc. κζ', fol. 8 recto, et 1 Petr incipit eodem folio verso. Ioh 7,53—8,11 deest. Act 20,28 legit codex τοῦ κυρίου. 1 Io 5,7.8 deest. 1 Tim 3,16 θεὸς ἐφανερώθη.

Perlustravi die 26 mensis Augusti anni 1886. Spero fore ut codicem accuratius excutere possim.

Since 1886 it has been seen but not studied by Dr. Rendel Harris in 1892 when he was inspecting the LXX MSS. in the monasteries of Mount Athos, and by a German scholar, whose name I have unfortunately forgotten, who has left a note in the visitors' book at the Laura to the effect that all the MSS. are of the ordinary type except B 52 and a few others which resemble the KII family. He has not noted that B 52 is cod. Ψ. Probably the MS. has also been seen by various other visitors, but it does not appear to have been studied.

So far as description goes there is nothing to add to Dr. Gregory's account beyond the fact that Ψ is now numbered 172 (B 52) in the Laura catalogue, and I trust that that scholar will not regard as impertinent an expression of admiration for the general accuracy of his summary descriptions, in cases where he is speaking from his own knowledge.

Probably few would dissent from Dr. Gregory's opinion

that the MS. is of the eighth or ninth century, though perhaps the former date is somewhat the more probable.

Mr. Wathen and myself photographed all that remains of the Gospels, not touching the Acts or Epistles because we understood that Herr Lic. von der Goltz and Dr. Wobbermin had collated these for Dr. von Soden, and had found the text ordinary. Mr. Wathen, in order to be satisfied as to the correctness of this judgement, collated the Epistle to the Colossians.

The collation of these photographs, which are now in the Bodleian Library (MS. Gr. Bibl. f. 2) shows that in the Gospels cod. Ψ presents an interesting and valuable text in Mark, and an ordinary text though with some interesting variants in Luke and John. It has therefore been thought best to treat these two parts separately and to print the text of Mark in full, with an introductory analysis of the important readings it contains, but the text of Luke and John in the form of a collation with the Textus Receptus. Mr. Wathen's collation of the Epistle to the Colossians is also printed in the latter way.

II. TEXT OF COD. Ψ IN ST. MARK.

IN attempting to analyse the text of a MS. of the gospel the critic is met at the outset with some difficulty in choosing a standard of comparison.

In many ways the best standard is the *Textus Receptus* as it represents a late and popular text, deviation from, and not agreement with which is important. But owing to the peculiarly mixed character of this text its use is sometimes misleading, and it is therefore advisable to use a purer text which is 'truer to type,' and less mixed in character. This is especially the case when the MS. which has to be analysed appears to possess a good and early text.

I propose therefore in the following pages to use the text of Westcott and Hort as a standard of comparison, because whether it be the true text or not it certainly is constructed on such principles as to present a uniform type throughout, and I shall also give a short list of readings compared with the *Textus Receptus*, the importance of which would otherwise be obscured by the method adopted. I propose to draw a distinction which is arbitrary but convenient between readings found in the *Textus Receptus* and those which are not, because a reading which is found in the *Textus Receptus*, even though there be early authority for it, may have come into the text of any given MS. at a late period owing to the wide prevalence of that form of text.

The classification, then, will be as follows:—

1. Readings where cod. Ψ agrees with the *Textus Receptus*.
2. Readings where cod. Ψ has a text for which the oldest

authority seems to be either D or the Old Latin version and which is not in the Textus Receptus or in the Old Syriac.

3. Readings shared with the Old Syriac against D, the Old Latin, and the Textus Receptus.
4. Readings found in both the Old Latin and Old Syriac but not in the Textus Receptus.
5. Readings found in a small group of Uncials of which L Δ are the most prominent members.
6. Readings in which cod. Ψ supports WH in following a small group of Greek MSS. including B.
7. Peculiar readings.

The authorities which are quoted for the readings mentioned are for the most part taken from Tischendorf's critical edition, but they have been added to in places from Mrs. Lewis' translation of the Sinaitic palimpsest¹ and a few other editions of MSS. which were not accessible to Tischendorf. It should also be noticed that Gregory's notation of minuscules has been adopted throughout, and that therefore the following MSS. appear under a different symbol to that employed by Tischendorf.

472 = c ^{scr}	482 = p ^{scr}
475 = f ^{scr}	565 = 2 ^{po} (WH's 81)
477 = i ^{scr}	84 evgst = y ^{scr}
478 = k ^{scr}	

1. *Readings in cod. Ψ agreeing with the Textus Receptus, merely orthographical variants being neglected.*

Marc IX 7 *post νεφέλης add. λέγουσα* c. ADL(Δ) 1 13-69-124-346 28 33 *al.*; lat-vet &c. **18** *ἀν* *pro* ἐὰν c. CDLN &c. **23** *δύνασαι πιστεῦσαι* c. ADN *al. pl.*; a b c f i *al. syrr* (pesh-hl) **24** *ante* εἰθὺς *add. καὶ* c. ADN &c. **29** *post προσευχῇ add. καὶ νηστεία* c. N^{cb}

¹ I am deeply indebted to Mr. W. C. Allen for very kindly revising my references to this authority.

ACDL *al. omn. exc.* \aleph^{*etca} B; k 30 *παρεπορεύοντο* c. codd *omn. exc.* B* D 42 *post πιστευόντων add. eis émé* c. BLN *éc.*

X 6 *post αἰτοὺς add. ὁ Θεός* c. ADN *al. pler.*; latt syrr 21 *σοι pro σε* c. DN *al. pler.*; Clem 25 *εἰσελθεῖν pro διελθεῖν* c. \aleph ANΔ *al. pler.*; latt 34 *post ἀποκτενοῦσιν add. αἰτόν* c. ACN; lat-vet boh pesh; Orig 35 *δύο* c. \aleph DL *éc.* 35 *αὐτῷ posterius om.* c. AN *al. pler.*; bikcfq 40 *post εὐωνύμων add. μου* c. min *pauc.*; syrr (sin-pesh) aeth

XI 3 *post εἶπατε add. ὅτι* c. \aleph C DL *éc.* 15 *ante ἀγοράζοντας add. τοὺς* c. DΔ *al. pl.*; Orig^{bis} 23 *post αὐτῷ add. ὁ ἐὰν εἶπῃ* c. AN *al. pler.*; a k q 30 *ante Ἰωάννου om.* τὸ c. \aleph PIIX *éc.*

XII 9 *post τί add. οὖν* c. \aleph C DΔ *éc.* 37 *υἱὸς ante αὐτοῦ* c. \aleph AX *éc.*

XIII 31 *οὐ μὴ παρέλθωσιν* c. AC DΔ *éc.* 32 *post ἄγγελοι add. οἱ* c. ACΔ *éc.*

XIV 9 *post εὐαγγέλιον add. τοῦτο* c. ACΔ *al. pl.*; l q sah boh pesh 21 *ἦν post καλὸν* c. \aleph ACD *éc.* 22 *post λαβὼν add. ὁ Ἰησοῦς* c. $\aleph^{et o}$ LΔ *éc.* 30 *μὲ post ἀπαρνήσῃ* c. ANX *éc.* - 38 *εἰσέλθῃτε* c. \aleph^{o} CLΔ *éc.* 44 *ἀπαγάγετε* c. ACNΔ *éc.* 53 *post συνέρχονται add. αὐτῷ* c. BN *éc.* 60 *ante μέσον add. τὸ* c. DM *al. mu.*; boh 71 *ὁμνίειν pro ὁμνῖναι* c. \aleph CΔ *éc.* 72 *om. εὐθὺς* c. ACΔ *al. pler.*; sah boh syr-sin.

XV 6 *ὥνπερ ἡτοῦντο* c. \aleph^{o} CN *éc.* 8 *ἀναβοήσας* 12 *εἶπεν pro ἔλεγεν* c. ADN *éc.* 23 *ὁ pro ὅς* c. ACLΔ *éc.* 40 *ἦν post αἷς* c. AC DΔ *éc.* 45 *σῶμα pro πτώμα* c. ACΔ latt 46 *μνημείῳ pro μνήματι* c. AC D LΔ *éc.*

XVI 17 *παρακολουθήσει* c. AD^{suppl}Δ *éc.* 20 *add. ἀμήν* c. CLΔ *éc.*

It is only necessary to make two observations on this list. (a) Very nearly all these readings are attested by authorities of such age and character as to show that they were in use at a very early period. (β) They are wonderfully few in reality, as the Textus Receptus differs in about 480 places from the text of WH. in these chapters, and therefore one would on *a priori* principles have been inclined to expect more than forty-two such readings in a MS. which belongs to so comparatively late a period as the eighth century.

2. Readings found in either D or the Old Latin, but not in Textus Receptus, or in the Old Syriac ¹.

IX 12 πρῶτος *pro* πρῶτον c. D⁸⁷ N^c Δ⁸⁷ N, 482 1071 **30** ἦθε-
λον *pro* ἦθελεν c. a b k **49** ἀναλωθήσεται *pro* ἀλλ' ἀλισθήσεται
cf. k omnia autem substantia consumitur

X 5 ἀντὶ τὴν ἐντολὴν *add.* Μωυσῆς c. D; k c f g₂; Clem **24** τεκνία
pro τέκνα c. AN, 1-118-209 700 *al. pauc.*; a b ff₂ f

XI 14 φάγη *pro* φάγοι c. DV, 1 13-69-346 *al. pauc.*; Orig^{bis}
17 ὅτι *om.* c. DC, 69 472 478; a k i q ff₂, arm-codd, aeth **21** ἐξη-
ράνθη c. DLΔN, 1-118-209 33 700 *al. pauc.* Orig

XII 33 περισσότερα *pro* περισσότερον cf. k meliora (*nec aliunde
reperit. forma pluralis*)

XIII 14 ἐστηκὸς *pro* ἐστηκότα c. D, 28 **20** ὁ θεός *hoc
loco pro* κύριος c. c k ff₂; Promiss

XIV 7 ποιῆν *pro* ποιῆσαι D*Δ, *al. pauc.* **20** λέγει *pro* εἶπεν
c. D, 565 700; k **36** τοῦτο *ante* τὸ ποτήριον c. DN, 1-118-
209; a q; Hil **65** προφήτευσον ἡμῖν c. F^w; k c f

XV 29 οὐὰ *om.* c. N^{ca} LΔ⁸⁷; d k

XVI 3 ἀπὸ *pro* ἐκ c. DC, *al. pauc.*; Eus-dem Serv-Ant
9 πάντα δὲ κ. τ. λ. c. L⁷ p, 274^{ms}; k, syr-hl-mg boh-cod aeth-codd

3. Readings found in the Old Syriac but not in the best Uncials, the Old Latin, D, or the Textus Receptus. Those readings which are found in a few secondary Greek MSS. as well as the Old Syriac are included in this list.

X 39 λέγουσιν *pro* εἶπον c. syr-sin **40** *post* εὐωνύμων *add.*
μον c. min *pauc.*; syrr (sin-pesh) aeth **47** Ἰησοῦ *om.* c. L, *al. pauc.*;
i mt syr-sin; Clem Orig

XI 27 προσῆλθον αὐτῷ *pro* ἔρχονται πρὸς αὐτὸν c. syr-sin

XII 1 *post* περιέθηκεν *add.* αὐτῷ c. C²N, 28 565 syrr (sin-hl c
obel.) sah arm; Orig

XIII 11 προσμελετᾶτε *pro* προμεριμνᾶτε c. syr-sin *sed* syr-sin
μελετᾶτε *potius quam* προσμελετᾶτε *transferre videtur*

XV 26 γεγραμμένη *pro* ἐπιγεγραμμένη c. syr-sin

¹ It is of course impossible to be quite certain in the case of small variants, especially those which bear on a question of order, whether a reading is in the Old Syriac or not.

4. Readings found in both the Old Latin (or D) and the Old Syriac, but not in the *Textus Receptus*.

XI 6 *post* εἶπεν *add.* αὐτοῖς c. DMΦ, 1-118-209 13-69-124 565 700 *al. pauc.*; syrr (sin-pesh) latt sah boh

XII 18 πρὸς αὐτὸν Σαδδουκαῖοι *hoc ordine* c. D, 28 106; bil q ff₂ g₁ g₂ syr-sin **37** πῶς *pro* πόθεν c. N^{*}M^{*} 1-118-209 33 13-69-346-543 28 565 *al. pauc.*; b sah syr-sin

XIV 41 ἀπέχει *om.* c. k syr-sin (*sed k add.* 'et post pusillum excitavit illos et dixit iam ora &c.' *et* syr-sin *add.* 'The hour is come, the end is at hand.' **52** ἔφυγε γυμνός *hoc ordine* c. LΔ, 184 evgst; k d c sah boh. ? syrr (sin-pesh) aeth *sed* sin 'Fled from them naked.'

54 ἡκολούθει *pro* ἡκολούθησεν c. G, 1-118-209 13-69-124-346-543 565 700 k c q sah boh syrr (sin-pesh) **66** κάτω *om.* c. DI, 69 472 565 *al. pauc.*; a c ff₂ q syr-sin (*codex deficit sed e spatia non habuisse κάτω videtur*) sah boh; Eus-dem

XV 3 *add.* αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο c. ΔNU 13-69-124-346-543 33 131 *al. pauc.*; a c syrr (sin-hl) arm sah-ming aeth; Orig

5. Readings found in a small group of MSS. of which LΔ (the latter being of this type only in St. Mark) are the most consistently present followed by N^{*} N^o C 33 boh.

IX 21 ἐξ οὗ *pro* ὡς c. N^oC*LΔ, 33 61^{ms} 565 **43** εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἀσβεστον *om.* c. N^{ca}LΔ, 240 244 255 700; pesh pers

X 24 εἶπεν *pro* λέγει c. Δ, 565 1071 **27** πάντα γὰρ δυνατὰ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ *om.* c. Δ, 1-209 69 157 al¹⁰; 1 arm-zoh; Clem

XI 18 ἡκουον *pro* ἡκουσαν c. Δ ἐξεπλήσσοντο c. NMA 299 al^e; c vg boh **29** καγὼ ὑμῖν ἐρῶ c. LΔ (N^o) 38; boh

XII 31 ἡ δευτέρα c. Δ **34** εἰ *post* βασιλείας c. N^{ca}Δ

XIII 4 ταῦτα μέλλῃ *hoc ordine* c. L **32** οὔτε *pro* οὐδὲ c. L

XIV 27 διασκοπισθήσονται τὰ πρόβατα c. AΔ **34** λέγειν *pro* λέγει c. ΔEGH **44** ὃν ἐὰν c. LΔN **54** *ante* μακρ. *om.* ἀπὸ c. LΔ **60** ὃ τι *pro* τί c. L

XV 18 αὐτὸν ἀσπάζεσθαι c. Δ

A reading which I am inclined to suspect may belong to the same family as that indicated by this group of MSS. but which lacks the necessary evidence to prove the point is:—

XI 1 καὶ Βηθανίαν *om.* c. 184 evgst; sah

6. Readings where WH.'s text is based on a small group of uncials (not exceeding three in number) which is now increased by cod. Ψ.

IX 9 ἐκ *pro* ἀπὸ c. BD, 33 475 477 **38** ἔφη *pro* ἀπεκρίθη δὲ c. NBA; boh pesh **47** σέ ἐστιν . . . σοί ἐστιν *pro* c. NB

X 7 καὶ προσκολλ. πρὸς τ. γυν. *om.* c. NB syr-sin 48 evgst go **29** ἔφη *pro* ἀποκρ. εἶπεν c. NBA boh **47** Ναζαρηνὸς *pro* Ναζωραῖος c. BLΔ, 1-118-209; latt; Orig

XII 33 τῆς *om.* 1^o c. BUX *al. pauc.*

XIII 2 ἀποκριθεὶς *om.* c. NBL, 33 *al. pauc.*; e sah-boh-syrr (sin-pesh) **6** πολλοὶ *sine* γὰρ c. NBL; aeth **8** ἔσονται λιμοὶ *sine* καὶ c. NBL, 28; boh syr-sin **9** γὰρ *om.* c. BL boh arm aeth
15 καταβάτω *sine* *addit.* c. NBL; c k boh sah pesh

XIV 8 αὕτη *om.* c. NBL 1-209* 13-69-346 28 565; a l boh bhl
35 ἐπιπτεν c. NBL boh **47** ὠτάριον c. NBD, 1-118-209; hl-mg
68 καὶ ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν *om.*¹ c. NBL, 17 evgst; c boh syr-sin

XV 14 ἐποίησεν κακόν c. BCD, 565 49 evgst al³ **24** σταν-
ροῦσιν c. BL; c d ff₂ k l vg syrr sah aeth go

The following reading in cod. Ψ is not found in any MS. but is placed in the margin of WH. *e coniectura.*

XIV 49 ἐκρατεῖτε *cf.* B κραται.

7. Besides these elements there are a few readings in cod. Ψ which are apparently not found elsewhere. The list of those which are not obviously accidental blunders is as follows:—

IX 20 καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα *om.* **28** κατ' ἰδίαν *ante* εἰς οἶκον **31** ἀνόμων *pro* ἀνθρώπων **34** ἐσιώπησαν *pro* ἐσιώπων
37 παιδίων τῶν τοιούτων *hoc ordine* **41** ἂν *om.*

X 17 τί ποιήσας *pro* τί ποιήσω ἵνα **29** ἔφη αὐτοῖς *pro* ἔφη ὁ Ἰησοῦς **39** Ἰησοῦς *om.*

XI 9 ἔλεγον *pro* ἔκραζον **28** λέγοντες *pro* καὶ λέγουσιν

XII 6 *ante* ἀπέστειλεν *add.* καὶ **37** *add.* ἐν πνεύματι **38** *ante* ἀσπασμούς *add.* ζητούντων **44** *ante* ὅλον *add.* καὶ

XIII 1 καὶ ἐκπορευομένων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ *pro* ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ ἐκ διδάσκαλε *om.*

¹ i. e. Ψ agrees in the details of the Denial of St. Peter with B; boh syr-sin.

XIV 1 ἦν δὲ τὰ ἄλγυμα καὶ τὸ πάσχα **12** σοι *pro* ἵνα φάγης
27 *ante* πατάξω *add.* ὅτι **47** ἀρχιερέως Καιάφα **56** κατὰ
τοῦ ἰησοῦ *pro* κατ' αὐτοῦ **61** εὐλογημένου *pro* εὐλογητοῦ
XV 2 *ante* ἀποκριθεὶς *om.* ὁ δὲ **41** αὐτῷ *1° om.*

Some of these look like genuine variants, others are clearly due to palaeographical causes. Obvious instances of purely transcriptional corruption which can be explained on palaeographical grounds are the following:—

IX 31 ἀνόμων due to a misreading of ἀνῶν, the almost invariable way of writing ἀνθρώπων.

X 29 ἔφη αὐτοῖς which, curiously enough, is explained by another unsupported reading found only in **N**, ἔφη αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, which if written in the usual manner would be ἔφη αὐτῷ ὁ ἰς

XIV 47 Καιάφα which seems to be due to the combined effect of a knowledge of the high priest's name and the recurrence of the same letters in the next words—καὶ ἀφείλεν.

It is also probable that the omission in **IX 20** is due to the scribe's eye skipping over a complete line, the lines being arranged thus:—

ἠνεγκαν αὐτον προς αὐτον
καὶ ἰδων αὐτον το πνᾶ
εὐθὺς συνεσπαραξεν αὐτον

If this be so it probably also explains the reading in **IX 28**, where the lines would be arranged thus:—

καὶ εἰσελθοντος αὐτου
εἰς οἶκον οἱ μαθηται αὐτου
κατ ἰδιαν ἐπηρώτων αὐτον

Here the scribe would seem to have been affected by the recurring αὐτου and to have mixed up the lines. Other places in which this explanation may possibly be right are **X 23** and **XIV 56**. In the former case the arrangement of lines would be:—

εἰς τὴν βασιλειαν τοῦ θῷ
εἰσελευσονται οἱ δε

but that this is the explanation is rendered much less likely

by the fact that Clement of Alexandria has got the passage with the same transposition as cod. Ψ.

In the latter case *κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ* takes the place of *κατ' αὐτοῦ*. Perhaps this is merely an accident, but if the length of line suggested be right, the arrangement of the archetype would have been something like :—

κατὰ τοῦ ἰῶ μαρτυρίαν
εἰς τὸ θανατώσαι αὐτόν
καὶ οὐχ ἠυρίσκον πολ
λοὶ γὰρ εὐψευδομαρτυροῦν
κατὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰσαὶ αἱ

and it is possible that the scribe's eye confused the first and last *κατὰ*.

Of course none of these four cases of suggested *line-error* are certain, but their evidence is cumulative, and is made much stronger if one remembers that these are the only cases in cod. Ψ of serious omissions or transpositions which have no support in other MSS., that such mistakes are generally due to *line-error*, and that they can all without undue manipulation be explained with varying degrees of probability as due to *line-errors* made by a scribe who was using an archetype in which the average length of line was about nineteen to twenty-two letters.

There is therefore at least a presumption in favour of the theory that cod. Ψ is copied from a MS. which contained nineteen to twenty-two letters in each line.

KATA MARKON.

- IX 6 . . . καὶ Μωσῇ μίαν καὶ Ἑλῖα μίαν. οὐ γὰρ ᾔδει τί ἀποκριθῇ,
7 ἔκφοβοι γὰρ ἐγένοντο. καὶ ἐγένετο νεφέλη ἐπισκιάζουσα αὐτοῖς,
καὶ ἐγένετο φωνὴ ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης λέγουσα Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου
8 ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐξάπινα περιβλεψάμενοι οὐκέτι
9 οὐδένα ἴδον εἰ μὴ τὸν Ἰησοῦν μόνον μεθ' ἑαυτῶν. Καὶ καταβαι-
νόντων αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους διεστείλατο αὐτοῖς ἵνα μὴδενὶ ἂ ἴδον
διηγήσωνται, εἰ μὴ ὅταν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῇ.
10 καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐκράτησαν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς συζητοῦντες τί ἐστὶν τὸ ^{πῃ}
11 ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστήναι. καὶ ἐπηρώτων αὐτὸν λέγοντες Ὅτι ^{πῶ}
12 λέγουσιν οἱ γραμματεῖς ὅτι Ἑλῖαν δεῖ ἐλθεῖν πρῶτον ; ὁ δὲ ἔφη
αὐτοῖς Ἑλῖας ἐλθὼν πρῶτος ἀποκατιστάνει πάντα, καὶ πῶς
γέγραπται ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἵνα πολλὰ πάθῃ καὶ
13 ἐξουδενηθῇ ; ἀλλὰ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι καὶ Ἑλῖας ἐλήλυθεν, καὶ
ἐποίησαν ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα ὅσα ᾔθελον, καθὼς γέγραπται ἐπ' αὐτόν.
14 Καὶ ἐλθόντες πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς ἴδον ὄχλον πολλὸν περὶ αὐτοὺς ^ῃ
15 καὶ γραμματεῖς συζητοῦντας πρὸς αὐτόν. καὶ εὐθὺς πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος
ἰδόντες αὐτὸν ἐξεθαμβήθησαν, καὶ προστρέχοντες ἡσπάζοντο αὐτόν.
16 καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτούς Τί συζητεῖτε πρὸς αὐτούς ; καὶ ἀπεκρίθη
17 αὐτῷ εἰς ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου Διδάσκαλε, ἤνεγκα τὸν υἱόν μου πρὸς σέ, ^{ῃα}
18 ἔχοντα πνεῦμα ἁλαλόν· καὶ ὅπου ἂν αὐτὸν καταλάβῃ ῥήσσει
αὐτόν, καὶ ἀφρίζει καὶ τρίζει τοὺς ὀδόντας καὶ ξηραίνεται· καὶ εἴπα
19 τοῖς μαθηταῖς σου ἵνα αὐτὸν ἐκβάλωσιν, καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσαν. ὁ δὲ
ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτοῖς λέγει Ὡ γυνεὰ ἄπιστος, ἕως πότε πρὸς ὑμᾶς
20 ἔσομαι ; ἕως πότε ἀνέξομαι ὑμῶν ; φέρετε αὐτὸν πρὸς με. καὶ
ἤνεγκαν αὐτὸν πρὸς αὐτόν. εὐθὺς οὖν ἔσπαρξεν αὐτόν, καὶ πεσὼν
21 ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκυλίετο ἀφρίζων. καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν τὸν πατέρα

At the top of f. 1^v $\frac{x}{\Delta}$ τῶν νηστειῶν and $\alpha\tilde{\rho}$ is put in the margin opposite διδάσκαλε, v. 17, and $\frac{7}{\beta}$ is put in the text, but above the line, after ἀναστήσεται, v. 31.

αὐτοῦ, Πόσος χρόνος ἐστὶν ἐξ οὗ τοῦτο γέγονεν αὐτῷ ; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν 22
 Ἐκ παιδιόθεν· καὶ πολλάκις καὶ εἰς πῦρ αὐτὸν ἔβαλεν καὶ εἰς ὕδατα
 ἵνα ἀπολέσῃ αὐτόν· ἀλλ' εἴ τι δύνη, βοήθησον ἡμῖν σπλαγχνισθεὶς
 ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ Τό εἰ δύνασαι πιστεῦσαι, 23
 πάντα δυνατὰ τῷ πιστεύοντι. καὶ εὐθὺς κράξας ὁ πατήρ τοῦ 24
 παιδίου ἔλεγεν Πιστεύω· βοήθησόν μου τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ 25
 Ἰησοῦς ὅτι ἐπισυντρέχει ὁ ὄχλος ἐπετίμησεν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ
 ἀκαθάρτῳ λέγων αὐτῷ Τὸ ἅλαον καὶ κωφὸν πνεῦμα, ἐγὼ
 ἐπιτάσσω σοι, ἔξελθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ μηκέτι εἰσέλθῃς εἰς αὐτόν.
 καὶ κράξας καὶ πολλὰ σπαράξας ἔξῃλθεν· καὶ ἐγένετο ὥσερ νεκρὸς 26
 ὥστε τοὺς πολλοὺς λέγειν ὅτι ἀπέθανεν. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς κρατήσας 27
 τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ἤγειρεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἀνέστη. καὶ εἰσελθόντος 28
 αὐτοῦ κατ' ἰδίαν εἰς οἶκον οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπηρώτων αὐτόν Ὅτι
 ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἠδυνήθημεν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτό ; καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Τοῦτο 29
 τὸ γένος ἐν οὐδενὶ δύναται ἐξελεῖν εἰ μὴ ἐν προσευχῇ καὶ
 νηστείᾳ.

Κἀκεῖθεν ἐξελθόντες παρεπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καὶ οὐκ 30
 ἦβελον ἵνα τις γυνὴ ἐδίδασκεν γὰρ τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ 31
 ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι Ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται εἰς χεῖρας
 ἀνόμων, καὶ ἀποκτενοῦσιν αὐτόν, καὶ ἀποκτανθεὶς μετὰ τρεῖς
 ἡμέρας ἀναστήσεται. οἱ δὲ ἡγνούν τὸ ῥῆμα, καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτὸν 32
 ἐπερωτῆσαι.

Καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Καφαρναούμ. Καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ γενόμενος ἐπηρώτα 33
 αὐτοὺς Τί ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ διελογίζεσθε ; οἱ δὲ ἐσιώπησαν, πρὸς 34
 ἀλλήλους γὰρ διελέχθησαν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τίς μείζων. καὶ καθίσας 35
 ἐφώνησεν τοὺς δώδεκα καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς Εἴ τις θέλει πρῶτος
 εἶναι ἔσται πάντων ἔσχατος καὶ πάντων διάκονος. καὶ λαβὼν 36
 παιδίον ἔστησεν αὐτὸ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐναγκαλισάμενος αὐτὸ
 εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Ὁς ἂν ἐν τῶν παιδίων τῶν τοιούτων δέξῃται ἐπὶ 37
 τῷ ὀνόματί μου, ἐμὲ δέχεται· καὶ ὁς ἂν ἐμὲ δέχῃται, οὐκ ἐμὲ
 δέχεται ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με. Ἐφη αὐτῷ ὁ 38
 Ἰωάννης Διδάσκαλε, ἴδαμέν τινα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου δαιμόνια
 ἐκβάλλοντα, καὶ ἐκωλύομεν αὐτόν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν. ὁ δὲ 39
 Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν Μὴ κωλύετε αὐτόν, οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῷ

31. ἀνόμων] The writing seems rather fainter, and perhaps the word was partially sponged out. It is impossible to be certain from the photograph.

ὀνόματί μου ὃς οὐ ποιήσει δύναμιν καὶ δυνήσεται ἰαχὺ κακολογήσαι
 40 με· ὃς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν καθ' ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἔστιν. Ὁς γὰρ ⁴⁷/₅
 41 ποτίσει ὑμᾶς ποτήριον ὕδατος ἐν ὀνόματι ὅτι Χριστοῦ ἔστέ, ἀμὴν
 42 λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐ μὴ ἀπολέσῃ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ὃς ἂν ⁴⁸/_β
 σκανδαλίσῃ ἓνα τῶν μικρῶν τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς ἐμὲ καλὸν
 ἔστιν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον εἰ περίκειται μύλος ὄνικος περὶ τὸν τράχηλον
 43 αὐτοῦ καὶ βέβληται εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. Καὶ ἂν σκανδαλίσῃ σε ἡ ^ρ/₅
 χεὶρ σου, ἀπόκοψον αὐτήν· καλὸν ἔστιν σε κυλλὸν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς
 45 τὴν ζωὴν ἢ δύο χεῖρας ἔχοντα ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὴν γέενναν. καὶ
 ἂν ὁ πούς σου σκανδαλίσῃ σε, ἀπόκοψον αὐτόν· καλὸν ἔστιν σε
 εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν χωλὸν ἢ τοὺς δύο πόδας ἔχοντα βληθῆναι
 47 εἰς τὴν γέενναν. καὶ ἂν ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου σκανδαλίσῃ σε, ἐκβαλε
 αὐτόν· καλὸν σέ ἐστιν μονόφθαλμον εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν
 48 τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ δύο ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντα βληθῆναι εἰς γέενναν, ὅπου ὁ ^{ρα}/_ε
 49 σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτᾷ καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν οὐ σβέννυται· πᾶς
 50 γὰρ πυρὶ ἁλισθήσεται καὶ πᾶσα θυσία ἀναλωθήσεται. Καλὸν τὸ ^{ρβ}/_β
 ἅλας· ἂν δὲ τὸ ἅλας ἀναλον γένηται, ἐν τίνι αὐτὸ ἀρτύσετε ;
 ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἅλα, καὶ εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἀλλήλοις.

ⲫ Καὶ ἐκείθεν ἀναστὰς ἔρχεται εἰς τὰ ὄρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ πέραν ^{ργ}/₅
 τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, καὶ συμπορεύονται πάλιν ὄχλοι πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ ὥς
 2 εἰσὼθει πάλιν ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς. Καὶ προσελθόντες Φαρισαῖοι
 ἐπηρώτων αὐτὸν εἰ ἔξεστιν ἀνδρὶ γυναῖκα ἀπολῦσαι, πειράζοντες
 3 αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Τί ὑμῖν ἐνετείλατο Μωσῆς ;
 4 οἱ δὲ εἶπον Ἐπέτρεψε Μωσῆς βιβλίον ἀποστασίου γράψαι καὶ
 5 ἀπολῦσαι. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Πρὸς τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν
 6 ὑμῶν ἔγραψεν ὑμῖν Μωσῆς τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην· ἀπὸ δὲ ἀρχῆς
 7 κτίσεως ἄρσεν καὶ θήλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεός· ἕνεκεν τούτου
 8 καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ
 9 ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν· ὥστε οὐκέτι εἰσὶν δύο ἀλλὰ μία ^{ρδ}/_θ
 10 σὰρξ· ὁ οὖν ὁ θεὸς συνέζευξεν ἄνθρωπος μὴ χωριζέτω. Καὶ εἰς ^{ρδ}/_θ
 11 τὴν οἰκίαν πάλιν οἱ μαθηταὶ περὶ τούτου ἐπηρώτων αὐτόν. καὶ ^{ρε}/_β
 λέγει αὐτοῖς Ὁς ἂν ἀπολύσῃ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ γαμήσῃ
 12 ἄλλην μοιχᾷται, ἡ ταύτην καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἀπολύσασα τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς
 γαμήσῃ ἄλλον μοιχᾷται.

^{ρα}/_ε in most MSS. is given to v. 44.

^{ρς}
^β Καὶ προσέφερον αὐτῷ παιδία ἵνα αὐτῶν ἀψηται· οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ 13
ἐπετίμησαν αὐτοῖς. Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἠγανάκτησεν καὶ εἶπεν 14
αὐτοῖς Ἄφετε τὰ παιδία ἔρχεσθαι πρὸς με, μὴ κωλύετε αὐτά,
τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ. ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, 15
ὅς ἂν μὴ δέξηται τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς παιδίον, οὐ μὴ
εἰσέλθῃ εἰς αὐτήν. καὶ ἐναγκαλισάμενος αὐτὰ κατηνύογει τιθεὶς 16
τὰς χεῖρας ἐπ' αὐτά.

^{ρς}
^β Καὶ ἐκπορευομένον αὐτοῦ εἰς ὁδὸν προσδραμὼν εἰς καὶ γουνυπε- 17
τήσας αὐτὸν ἐπηρώτα αὐτόν Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσας ζωὴν
αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω; ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ Τί με λέγεις 18
ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἰς ὁ θεός. τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας Μὴ 19
φονεύσης, Μὴ μοιχεύσης, Μὴ κλέψῃς, Μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσης, Τίμα
τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα. ὁ δὲ ἔφη αὐτῷ Διδάσκαλε, ταῦτα 20

^{ργ}
^β πάντα ἐφύλαξάμην ἐκ νεότητός μου. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐμβλέψας 21
αὐτῷ ἠγάπησεν αὐτόν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ἐν σοι ὑστερεῖ· ὕπαγε ὅσα
ἔχεις πώλησον καὶ ὁδὸς πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἔξεις θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ
^{ρδ}
^β δεῦρο ἀκολουθεῖ μοι. ὁ δὲ στυγνάσας ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ ἀπῆλθεν 22
λυπούμενος, ἦν γὰρ ἔχων κτήματα πολλὰ. Καὶ περι- 23

βλεψάμενος ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγει τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ Πῶς δυσκόλως
οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.
οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ ἐθαμβοῦντο ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς 24
πάλιν ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Τεκνία, πῶς δύσκολόν ἐστιν εἰς τὴν
βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν· εὐκοπώτερόν ἐστιν κάμηλον διὰ 25
τρυμαλιῶς ραβδόος εἰσελθεῖν ἢ πλούσιον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ
θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν. οἱ δὲ περισσῶς ἐξεπλήσσοντο λέγοντες πρὸς 26
αὐτόν Καὶ τίς δύναται σωθῆναι; ἐμβλέψας αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς 27
λέγει Παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἀδύνατον ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ θεῷ. Ἦρ- 28

ξατο λέγειν ὁ Πέτρος αὐτῷ Ἰδοὺ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν πάντα καὶ
^{ρς}
^β ἠκολουθήσαμέν σοι. ἔφη αὐτοῖς Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν 29
ὅς ἀφήκεν οἰκίαν ἢ ἀδελφούς ἢ ἀδελφὰς ἢ πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ἢ
γυναῖκα ἢ τέκνα ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ καὶ ἕνεκεν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ἔαν μὴ 30
λάβῃ ἑκατονταπλασίονα νῦν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ οἰκίας καὶ ἀδελφούς
καὶ ἀδελφὰς καὶ μητέρας καὶ τέκνα καὶ ἀγροὺς μετὰ διωγμῶν, καὶ

17. καὶ 2° is very faint, and seems to have been sponged out.

24. A contemporary hand has written in the margin τοὺς πεποιθότας ἐπὶ χρήμασιν.

29. τέκνα] + ἢ ἀγροὺς written below the line perhaps by the first hand.

30. τέκνα] + καὶ γυναῖκας in the margin, perhaps written by the first hand.

31 ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τῷ ἐρχομένῳ ζωὴν αἰώνιον. πολλοὶ δὲ ἔσονται
πρῶτοι ἔσχατοι καὶ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι. μα
β

32 Ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀναβαίνοντες εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ ἦν ριβ
β
προάγων αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἔθαμβοῦντο, οἱ δὲ ἀκολουθοῦντες
ἐφοβοῦντο. καὶ παραλαβὼν πάλιν τοὺς δώδεκα ἤρξατο αὐτοῖς
33 λέγειν τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτῷ συμβαίνειν ὅτι Ἰδοὺ ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς
Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδοθήσεται τοῖς ἀρχιε-
ρεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς γραμματεῦσιν, καὶ κατακρυσύουσιν αὐτὸν θανάτῳ
34 καὶ παραδώσουσιν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καὶ ἐμπαΐξουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ
ἐμπτύσουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ μαστιγώσουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀποκτενεύουσιν
αὐτόν, καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστήσεται.

35 Καὶ προσπορεύονται αὐτῷ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωάννης οἱ υἱοὶ ριγ
ς
Ζεβεδαίου λέγοντες Διδάσκαλε, θέλομεν ἵνα ὡς αἰτήσωμέν σε
36 ποιήσης ἡμῖν. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Τί θέλετέ με ποιήσω ὑμῖν ; οἱ δὲ
37 εἶπαν αὐτῷ Δὸς ἡμῖν ἵνα εἰς σου ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ εἰς ἐξ ἀριστερῶν
38 καθίσωμεν ἐν τῇ δόξῃ σου. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Οὐκ οἴδατε τί
αἰτεῖσθε· δύνασθε πιεῖν τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ πίνω, ἢ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ
39 ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθῆναι ; οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ Δυνάμεθα. ὁ δὲ
εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Τὸ μὲν ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ πίνω πίεσθε καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα
40 ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθήσεσθε, τὸ δὲ καθίσαι ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἢ
41 ἐξ εὐωνύμων μου οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν δοῦναι, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡτοίμασται. καὶ ριδ
β
ἀκούσαντες οἱ δέκα ἤρξαντο ἀγανακτεῖν περὶ Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωάννου.
42 καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγει αὐτοῖς Οἴδατε ὅτι
οἱ δοκοῦντες ἄρχειν τῶν ἐθνῶν κατακυριεύουσιν αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ
43 μεγάλοι αὐτῶν κατεξουσιάζουσιν αὐτῶν. οὐχ οὕτως δὲ ἔστιν ἐν
ὑμῖν· ἀλλ' ὅς ἂν θέλῃ μέγας γενέσθαι ἐν ὑμῖν, ἔσται ὑμῶν διάκονος,
44 καὶ ὅς ἂν θέλῃ εἶναι πρῶτος ἐν ὑμῖν, ἔσται πάντων δούλος· καὶ
45 γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθεν διακονηθῆναι ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι ριε
δ
καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν.

46 Καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς Ἱερειχώ. Καὶ ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ ρις
β
Ἱερειχῶ μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὄχλου ἱκανοῦ ὁ υἱὸς Τιμαίου
47 Βαρτίμαιος τυφλὸς προσαίτης ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν. καὶ ἀκούσας
ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζαρηνὸς ἔστιν ἤρξατο κρᾶζειν καὶ λέγειν Ὅτι
48 Δαυεὶδ, ἐλέησόν με. καὶ ἐπετίμων αὐτῷ πολλοὶ ἵνα σιωπήσῃ·
49 ὁ δὲ πολλῶ μάλλον ἔκραζεν Ὅτι Δαυεὶδ, ἐλέησόν με. καὶ στὰς

ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν Φωνήσατε αὐτόν. καὶ φωνοῦσι τὸν τυφλὸν λέγοντες αὐτῷ Θάρσει, ἔγειρε, φωνεῖ σε. ὁ δὲ ἀποβαλὼν τὸ 50 ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ ἀναπηδήσας ἦλθεν πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν. καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς 51 αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν Τί σοι θέλεις ποιήσω; ὁ δὲ τυφλὸς εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ῥαββουνί, ἵνα ἀναβλέψω. καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ὑπαγε, 52 ἢ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε. καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνέβλεψεν, καὶ ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ.

$\frac{\rho\iota\zeta}{\beta}$ Καὶ ὅτε ἐγγίξουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἰς Βηθφαγὴ πρὸς τὸ Ὅρος **XI** ὧν Ἑλαιῶν, ἀποστέλλει δύο τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς 2 Ὑπάγετε εἰς τὴν κώμην τὴν κατέναντι ὑμῶν, καὶ εὐθὺς εἰσπορευόμενοι εἰς αὐτὴν εὐρήσετε πῶλον δεδεμένον ἐφ' ὃν οὐδεὶς σὺν πά 3 ἀνθρώπων ἐκάθισεν· λύσατε αὐτόν καὶ φέρετε. καὶ ἕάν τις ὑμῶν 3 εἴπῃ Τί ποιεῖτε τοῦτο; εἴπατε ὅτι Ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ χρειαν $\frac{\rho\iota\eta}{\beta}$ ἔχει· καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἀποστελεῖ ὧδε. καὶ ἀπῆλθον καὶ εὗρον 4 πῶλον δεδεμένον πρὸς θύραν ἕξω ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀμφοδίου, καὶ λύουσιν αὐτόν. καὶ τινες τῶν ἐκεῖ ἐστηκότων ἔλεγον αὐτοῖς Τί ποιεῖτε 5 λύοντες τὸν πῶλον; οἱ δὲ εἶπαν αὐτοῖς καθὼς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ 6 Ἰησοῦς· καὶ ἀφήκαν αὐτούς. καὶ φέρουσιν τὸν πῶλον πρὸς τὸν 7 Ἰησοῦν, καὶ ἐπιβάλλουσιν αὐτῷ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ πολλοὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν ἔστρωσαν εἰς τὴν ὁδόν, 8 ἄλλοι δὲ στιβάδας κόψαντες ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν. καὶ οἱ προάγοντες 9 $\frac{\rho\iota\theta}{\varsigma}$ καὶ οἱ ἀκολουθοῦντες ἔλεγον

Ὡσαννά·

Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου·

Εὐλογημένη ἡ ἐρχομένη βασιλεία τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Δαυεὶδ· 10

Ὡσαννά ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.

$\frac{\rho\kappa}{\varsigma}$ Καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἰς τὸ ἱερόν· καὶ περιβλεψάμενος 11 πάντα ὀψίας ἤδη οὔσης τῆς ὥρας ἐξῆλθεν εἰς Βιθανίαν μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα.

Καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον ἐξελθόντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Βιθανίας ἐπεινάσεν. 12 καὶ ἰδὼν συκὴν ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἔχουσαν φύλλα ἦλθεν εἰ ἄρα τι 13 εὐρήσει ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐπ' αὐτὴν οὐδὲν εὗρεν εἰ μὴ φύλλα, ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς οὐκ ἦν σύκων. καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτῇ Μηκέτι 14 εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἐκ σοῦ μηδεὶς καρπὸν φάγῃ. καὶ ἤκουον οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ. 15

$\frac{\rho\kappa\alpha}{\alpha}$ Καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. Καὶ εἰσελθὼν 15 εἰς τὸ ἱερόν ἤρξατο ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς πωλοῦντας καὶ ἀγοράζοντας ἐν

- τῷ ἱερῷ, καὶ τὰς τραπέζας τῶν κολλυβιστῶν καὶ τὰς καθέδρας τῶν
 16 πωλούντων τὰς περιστερὰς κατέστρεψεν καὶ οὐκ ἦφιεν ἵνα τις
 17 διενέγκῃ σκεῦος διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ ἐδίδασκεν καὶ ἔλεγεν Οὐ
 γέγραπται Ὁ οἶκός μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται πᾶσιν τοῖς
 18 ἔθνεσιν; ὑμεῖς δὲ πεποιήκατε αὐτὸν σπήλαιον ληστῶν. καὶ $\frac{\rho\kappa\beta}{\alpha}$
 ἦκουον οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς, καὶ ἐζήτουν πῶς αὐτὸν
 ἀπολέσωσιν· ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ αὐτόν, πᾶς γὰρ ὁ ὄχλος ἐξεπλήττετο
 19 ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ὅταν ὀψὲ ἐγένετο, ἐξεπορεύοντο ἔξω $\frac{\rho\kappa\gamma}{\iota}$
 20 τῆς πόλεως. Καὶ παραπορευόμενοι πρῶι εἶδον τὴν
 21 συκὴν ἐξηραμμένην ἐκ ῥιζῶν. καὶ ἀναμνησθεὶς ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν
 22 αὐτῷ· Ῥαββί, ἴδε ἡ συκὴ ἣν κατηράσω ἐξηράνθη. καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ $\frac{\rho\kappa\delta}{\Delta}$
 23 Ἰησοῦς λέγει αὐτοῖς Ἐχετε πίστιν θεοῦ· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ὃς
 ἂν εἴπῃ τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ Ἄρθητι καὶ βλήθητι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν,
 καὶ μὴ διακριθῇ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ πιστεύῃ ὅτι ὃ λαλεῖ
 24 γίνεται, ἔσται αὐτῷ ὃ ἐὰν εἴπῃ. διὰ τοῦτο λέγω ὑμῖν, πάντα ὅσα $\frac{\rho\kappa\epsilon}{\delta}$
 προσεύχεσθε καὶ αἰτείσθε, πιστεύετε ὅτι ἐλάβετε, καὶ ἔσται ὑμῖν.
 25 καὶ ὅταν στήκετε προσευχόμενοι, ἀφίετε εἴ τι ἔχετε κατὰ τινος, ἵνα $\frac{\rho\kappa\varsigma}{\epsilon}$
 καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἀφῇ ὑμῖν τὰ παραπτώματα
 ὑμῶν.
 27 Καὶ ἔρχονται πάλιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. Καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ περι- $\frac{\rho\kappa\zeta}{\beta}$
 28 πατοῦντος αὐτοῦ ἔρχονται πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμμα-
 τεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι λέγοντες αὐτῷ Ἐν ποίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ταῦτα
 • ποιεῖς; ἢ τίς σοι ἔδωκεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἵνα ταῦτα
 29 ποιῇς; ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Ἐπερωτήσω ὑμᾶς ἓνα λόγον,
 καὶ ἀποκριθῆτέ μοι, καὶ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐρῶ ἐν ποίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ταῦτα ποιῶ·
 30 τὸ βάπτισμα Ἰωάννου ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἢ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων; ἀποκριθῆτέ
 31 μοι. καὶ διελογίζοντο πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς λέγοντες Ἐὰν εἴπωμεν Ἐξ
 32 οὐρανοῦ, ἐρεῖ Διὰ τί οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε αὐτῷ; ἀλλ' εἴπωμεν
 Ἐξ ἀνθρώπων φοβού τὸν λαόν, ἅπαντες γὰρ εἶχον τὸν
 33 Ἰωάννην ὄντως ὅτι προφήτης ἦν. καὶ ἀποκριθέντες τῷ Ἰησοῦ
 λέγουσιν Οὐκ οἶδαμεν. καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγει αὐτοῖς Οὐδὲ ἐγὼ
 XII λέγω ὑμῖν ἐν ποίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ταῦτα ποιῶ. Καὶ ἤρξατο
 αὐτοῖς ἐν παραβολαῖς λαλεῖν Ἀμπελῶνα ἄνθρωπος ἐφύτευσεν, $\frac{\rho\kappa\eta}{\beta}$
 καὶ περιέθηκεν αὐτῷ φραγμὸν καὶ ὥρυξεν ὑπολήνιον καὶ ὑποκόδησεν

32. Spaces are left in the text as shown above, but an apparently contemporary hand has added *μεθα* after *φοβον*.

πύργον, καὶ ἐξέδοτο αὐτὸν γεωργοῖς, καὶ ἀπεδήμησεν. καὶ ἀπ- 2
 έστειλεν πρὸς τοὺς γεωργοὺς τῷ καιρῷ δοῦλον, ἵνα λάβῃ ἀπὸ τῶν
 καρπῶν τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος· καὶ λαβόντες αὐτὸν ἔδειραν καὶ ἀπέστειλαν 3
 κενόν. καὶ πάλιν ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄλλον δοῦλον· καὶ ἐκείνους 4
 ἐκεφαλίσωσαν καὶ ἠτίμασαν. καὶ ἄλλον ἀπέστειλεν· κἀκείνους 5
 ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους, οὓς μὲν δέροντες οὓς δὲ ἀποκτεν-
 νόντες. ἔτι ἓνα εἶχεν, υἱὸν ἀγαπητόν· καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν 6
 ἔσχατον πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγων ὅτι Ἐντραπήσονται τὸν υἱόν μου.
 ἐκείνοι δὲ οἱ γεωργοὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς εἶπαν ὅτι Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ 7
 κληρονόμος· δεῦτε ἀποκτείνωμεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἡμῶν ἔσται ἡ κληρο-
 νομία. καὶ λαβόντες ἀπέκτειναν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἔξω 8
 τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος. τί οὖν ποιήσει ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος ; 9
 ἐλεύσεται καὶ ἀπολέσει τοὺς γεωργούς, καὶ δώσει τὸν ἀμπελῶνα
 ἄλλοις. οὐδὲ τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην ἀνέγνωτε 10

Λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες,

οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας·

παρὰ Κυρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη,

11

καὶ ἔστιν θαυμαστὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν ;

$\frac{\rho\kappa\theta}{\alpha}$ Καὶ ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν κρατῆσαι, καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν τὸν ὄχλον, ἔγνωσαν γὰρ 12
 ὅτι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν παραβολὴν εἶπεν. καὶ ἀφέντες αὐτὸν ἀπῆλθον.

$\frac{\rho\lambda}{\beta}$ Καὶ ἀποστέλλουσιν πρὸς αὐτόν τινὰς τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ τῶν 13
 Ἑρωδιανῶν ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀγρεύσωσιν λόγῳ. καὶ ἐλθόντες λέγουσιν 14
 αὐτῷ Διδάσκαλε, οἶδαμεν ὅτι ἀληθὴς εἶ καὶ οὐ μέλει σοι περὶ
 οὐδενός, οὐ γὰρ βλέπεις εἰς πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ἐπ'
 ἀληθείας τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ διδάσκεις· ἔξεστιν δοῦναι κῆνσον
 Καίσαρι ἢ οὐ; δώμεν ἢ μὴ δώμεν; ὁ δὲ εἰδὼς αὐτῶν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν 15
 εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Τί με πειράζετε; φέρετέ μοι δηνάριον ἵνα ἴδω. οἱ 16
 δὲ ἤνεγκαν. καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς Τίνος ἡ εἰκὼν αὕτη καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφή;
 οἱ δὲ εἶπαν αὐτῷ Καίσαρος. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Τὰ 17
 Καίσαρος ἀπόδοτε Καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ. καὶ ἐξεθαύ-
 μαζον ἐπ' αὐτῷ.

Καὶ ἔρχονται πρὸς αὐτὸν Σαδδουκαῖοι, οἵτινες λέγουσιν ἀνά- 18
 στασιν μὴ εἶναι, καὶ ἐπρωτῶν αὐτὸν λέγοντες Διδάσκαλε, Μωυσῆς 19
 ἔγραψεν ἡμῖν ὅτι ἐάν τις ἀδελφὸς ἀποθάνῃ καὶ καταλίπῃ γυναῖκα
 καὶ μὴ ἀφῇ τέκνον, ἵνα λάβῃ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ
 ἐξαναστήσῃ σπέρμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ. ἐπτα ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν· καὶ 20

ὁ πρῶτος ἔλαβεν γυναῖκα, καὶ ἀποθνήσκων οὐκ ἀφήκεν σπέρμα·
 21 καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἔλαβεν αὐτήν, καὶ ἀπέθανεν μὴ καταλιπὼν σπέρμα,
 22 καὶ ὁ τρίτος· ὡσαύτως καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ οὐκ ἀφήκαν σπέρμα· ἔσχατον
 23 πάντων καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἀπέθανεν. ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει τίνος αὐτῶν ἔσται
 24 γυνή; οἱ γὰρ ἑπτὰ ἔσχον αὐτήν γυναῖκα. ἔφη αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς
 Οὐ διὰ τοῦτο πλανᾶσθε μὴ εἰδότες τὰς γραφὰς μηδὲ τὴν δύναμιν
 25 τοῦ θεοῦ; ὅταν γὰρ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῶσιν, οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε γαμί-
 26 ζονται, ἀλλ' εἰσὶν ὡς ἄγγελοι οἱ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· περὶ δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν
 ὅτι ἐγείρονται οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ Μωσέως ἐπὶ τῆς βάτου πῶς
 εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς λέγων Ἐγὼ ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ
 27 ὁ θεὸς Ἰακώβ; οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς νεκρῶν ἀλλὰ ζώντων· πολλὸν πλανᾶσθε.
 28 Καὶ προσελθὼν εἰς τῶν γραμματέων ἀκούσας αὐτῶν συζητοῦντων, ^{ρλα}
 εἰδὼς ὅτι καλῶς ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς, ἐπερώτησεν αὐτόν Ποία ἐστὶν
 29 ἐντολὴ πρώτη πάντων; ἀπεκρίθη Ἰησοῦς ὅτι Πρώτη ἐστὶν
 30 Ἄκουε, Ἰσραὴλ, Κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου κύριος εἰς ἐστί, καὶ ἀγαπήσεις
 Κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς
 31 σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου. ἡ
 δευτέρα αὕτη Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. μείζων
 32 τούτων ἄλλη ἐντολὴ οὐκ ἔστιν. Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ γραμματεὺς ^{ρλβ}
 Καλῶς, διδάσκαλε, ἐπ' ἀληθείας εἶπας ὅτι εἰς ἐστὶν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν
 33 ἄλλος πλην αὐτοῦ· καὶ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὸν ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας καὶ ἐξ
 ὅλης τῆς συνέσεως καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος καὶ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν τὸν
 πλησίον ὡς ἑαυτὸν περισσώτερά ἐστιν πάντων τῶν δλοκαυτωμάτων
 34 καὶ θυσιῶν. καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰδὼς αὐτὸν ὅτι νουνεχῶς ἀπεκρίθη ^{ρλγ}
 εἶπεν αὐτῷ Οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας εἰ τοῦ θεοῦ. Καὶ ^β
 35 οὐδεὶς οὐκέτι ἐτόλμα αὐτὸν ἐπερωτῆσαι. Καὶ ^{ρλδ}
 ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἔλεγεν διδάσκων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ Πῶς λέγουσιν ^β
 36 οἱ γραμματεῖς ὅτι ὁ Χριστὸς υἱὸς Δαυεὶδ ἐστίν; αὐτὸς Δαυεὶδ
 εἶπεν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ

Εἶπεν Κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου

ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς σου ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν σου·

37 αὐτὸς Δαυεὶδ ἐν πνεύματι καλεῖ αὐτὸν κύριον, καὶ πῶς υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐστίν;

38 Καὶ ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος ἤκουεν αὐτοῦ ἡδέως. Καὶ ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ ^{ρλε}
 αὐτοῦ ἔλεγεν Βλέπετε ἀπὸ τῶν γραμματέων τῶν θελούντων ἐν ^β
 στολαῖς περιπατεῖν καὶ ζητούντων ἀσπασμοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς

26. τῆς] ης apparently in rasura by a later hand.

καὶ πρωτοκαθεδρίας ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καὶ πρωτοκλισίας ἐν τοῖς 39
 $\frac{\rho\lambda\varsigma}{\beta}$ δέιπνοις, οἱ κατεσθίοντες τὰς οἰκίας τῶν χηρῶν καὶ προφάσει 40
 μακρὰ προσευχόμενοι· οὗτοι λήφονται περισσώτερον κρίμα.

Καὶ καθίσας ἀπέναντι τοῦ γαζοφυλακίου θεώρει πῶς ὁ ὄχλος 41
 βάλλει χαλκὸν εἰς τὸ γαζοφυλακεῖον· καὶ πολλοὶ πλούσιοι ἐβαλλον
 πολλά· καὶ ἔλθοῦσα μία χήρα πτωχὴ ἔβαλεν λεπτὰ δύο, ὃ ἐστὶν 42
 κοδράντης. καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ εἶπεν 43
 αὐτοῖς Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἡ χήρα αὕτη ἡ πτωχὴ πλεῖον πάντων
 ἔβαλεν τῶν βαλλόντων εἰς τὸ γαζοφυλακεῖον· πάντες γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ 44
 περισσεύοντος αὐτοῖς ἔβαλον, αὕτη δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὑστερήσεως αὐτῆς
 πάντα ὅσα εἶχεν ἔβαλεν, καὶ ὅλον τὸν βίον αὐτῆς.

$\frac{\rho\lambda\varsigma}{\beta}$ Καὶ ἐκπορευομένων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ λέγει αὐτῷ εἰς τῶν XIII
 μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ Ἴδε ποταποὶ λίθοι καὶ ποταπαὶ οἰκοδομαί. καὶ ὁ 2

$\frac{\rho\lambda\eta}{\beta}$ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ Βλέπεις ταύτας τὰς μεγάλας οἰκοδομάς; οὐ
 μὴ ἀφεθῇ ὧδε λίθος ἐπὶ λίθον ὃς οὐ μὴ καταλυθῇ. Καὶ καθη- 3
 μένου αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ Ὅρος τῶν Ἑλαιῶν κατέναντι τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπρωῶτα
 αὐτὸν κατ' ἰδίαν Πέτρος καὶ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἀνδρέας
 εἶπον ἡμῖν πότε ταῦτα ἔσται, καὶ τί τὸ σημεῖον ὅταν ταῦτα μέλλῃ 4
 συντελεῖσθαι ἅπαντα. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἤρξατο λέγειν αὐτοῖς Βλέ- 5
 πετε μὴ τις ὑμᾶς πλανήσῃ· πολλοὶ ἐλεύσονται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί 6
 μου λέγοντες ὅτι Ἐγὼ εἰμι, καὶ πολλοὺς πλανήσουσιν. ὅταν δὲ 7
 ἀκούσητε πολέμους καὶ ἀκοὰς πολέμων, μὴ θροεῖσθε· δεῖ γενέσθαι,
 ἀλλ' οὕτω τὸ τέλος. ἐγερθήσεται γὰρ ἔθνος ἐπ' ἔθνος καὶ βα- 8

$\frac{\rho\lambda\theta}{\alpha}$ σιλεία ἐπὶ Βασιλείαν, ἔσονται σεισμοὶ κατὰ τόπους, ἔσονται λιμοί·
 ἀρχὴ ὧδίνων ταῦτα. βλέπετε δὲ ὑμεῖς ἑαυτούς· παραδώσουσιν 9
 ὑμᾶς εἰς συνέδρια καὶ εἰς συναγωγὰς δαρήσεσθε καὶ ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνων
 $\frac{\rho\mu}{\varsigma}$ καὶ βασιλέων σταθήσεσθε ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς. καὶ 10
 $\frac{\rho\mu\alpha}{\beta}$ εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη πρῶτον δεῖ κηρυχθῆναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. καὶ 11
 ὅταν ἄγωσιν ὑμᾶς παραδιδόντες, μὴ προσμελετᾶτε τί λαλήσητε,
 ἀλλ' ὃ ἐὰν δοθῇ ὑμῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦτο λαλεῖτε, οὐ γὰρ ἐστε
 ὑμεῖς οἱ λαλοῦντες ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον. καὶ παραδώσει 12
 ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν εἰς θάνατον καὶ πατὴρ τέκνον, καὶ ἐπαναστή-
 σονται τέκνα ἐπὶ γονεῖς καὶ θανατώσουσιν αὐτούς· καὶ ἔσεσθε 13

$\frac{\rho\mu\beta}{\epsilon}$ μισούμενοι ὑπὸ πάντων διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου. ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς
 τέλος οὗτος σωθήσεται. Ὅταν δὲ ἴδῃτε τὸ Βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώ- 14
 $\frac{\rho\mu\gamma}{\varsigma}$ σεως ἐστηκὸς ὅπου οὐ δεῖ, ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοεῖτω, τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ

15 Ἰουδαία φευγέτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὄρη, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος μὴ κατα-
 16 βάτω μηδὲ εἰσελθέτω τι ἄραι ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ εἰς τὸν
 17 ἄγρον μὴ ἐπιστρεψάτω εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω ἄραι τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ. οὐαὶ $\frac{\rho\mu\theta}{\beta}$
 δὲ ταῖς ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσαις καὶ ταῖς θηλαζούσαις ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς
 18 ἡμέραις. προσεύχεσθε ἵνα μὴ γένηται ἡ φυγὴ ὑμῶν χειμῶνος· $\frac{\rho\mu\epsilon}{\beta}$
 19 ἔσονται γὰρ αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι θλίψις ὅλα οὐ γέγονεν ἀπ' $\frac{\rho\mu\varsigma}{\beta}$
 ἀρχῆς κτίσεως ἣν ἔκτισεν ὁ θεὸς ἕως τοῦ νῦν καὶ οὐ μὴ γένηται.
 20 καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐκολόβωσεν ὁ θεὸς τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας, οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη $\frac{\rho\mu\varsigma}{\beta}$
 πᾶσα σὰρξ. ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς οὓς ἐξελέξατο ἐκολόβωσεν
 21 τὰς ἡμέρας. Καὶ τότε ἔάν τις ὑμῖν εἴπῃ Ἴδε ὧδε ὁ Χριστὸς $\frac{\rho\mu\eta}{\beta}$
 22 Ἴδε ἐκεῖ, μὴ πιστεύετε· ἐγερθήσονται γὰρ ψευδόχριστοι καὶ ψευ- $\frac{\rho\mu\theta}{\beta}$
 δοπροφήται καὶ δώσουσιν σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα πρὸς τὸ ἀποπλανᾶν
 23· εἰ δυνατόν ἐκλεκτοὺς· ὑμεῖς δὲ βλέπετε· προεῖρηκα ὑμῖν πάντα.
 24 Ἀλλὰ ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν ἐκείνην ὁ ἥλιος $\frac{\rho\nu}{\beta}$
 25 σκοτισθήσεται, καὶ ἡ σελήνη οὐ δώσει τὸ φέγγος αὐτῆς, καὶ οἱ
 ἀστέρες ἔσονται ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πίπτοντες, καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ ἐν
 26 τοῖς οὐρανοῖς σαλευθήσονται. καὶ τότε ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ
 ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐν νεφέλαις μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς καὶ δόξης·
 27 καὶ τότε ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπισυνάξει τοὺς $\frac{\rho\nu\alpha}{\beta}$
 ἐκλεκτοὺς ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων ἀπ' ἄκρου γῆς· ἕως ἄκρου
 28 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς συκῆς μάθετε τὴν
 παραβολὴν· ὅταν ἦδῃ ὁ κλάδος αὐτῆς ἀπαλὸς γένηται καὶ τὰ
 29 φύλλα ἐκφύῃ, γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐγγὺς τὸ θέρος ἐστίν· οὕτως καὶ
 ὑμεῖς, ὅταν ἴδῃτε ταῦτα γινόμενα, γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ
 30 θύραις. ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἡ γενεὰ ταύτη μέχρι
 31 οὗ ταῦτα πάντα γένηται. ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσονται, οἱ
 32 δὲ λόγοι μου οὐ μὴ παρέλθωσιν. Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἡ $\frac{\rho\nu\beta}{\beta}$
 τῆς ὥρας οὐδεὶς οἶδεν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ οὔτε ὁ
 33 υἱός, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ. βλέπετε ἀγρυπνεῖτε καὶ προσεύχεσθε, οὐκ $\frac{\rho\nu\gamma}{\beta}$
 34 οἴδατε γὰρ πότε ὁ καιρὸς ἐστίν· ὥς ἄνθρωπος ἀπόδημος ἀφείλ $\frac{\rho\nu\delta}{\beta}$
 τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ δούς τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἐκάστω $\frac{\rho\nu\epsilon}{\beta}$
 35 τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῷ θυρωρῷ ἐνετείλατο ἵνα γρηγορῇ. γρη- $\frac{\rho\nu\epsilon}{\beta}$
 γορεῖτε οὖν, οὐκ οἴδατε γὰρ πότε ὁ κύριος τῆς οἰκίας ἔρχεται,
 36 ἡ ὁψὲς ἡ μεσονύκτιον ἡ ἀλεκτοροφωνίας ἡ πρωί, μὴ ἐλθὼν
 37 ἐξαίφνης εὗρῃ ὑμᾶς καθεύδοντας· ὁ δὲ ὑμῖν λέγω πᾶσιν λέγω,
 γρηγορεῖτε.

$\frac{\rho\nu\epsilon}{\alpha}$ $\frac{\rho\nu\zeta}{\varsigma}$ ἮΝ δὲ τὰ ἄζυμα καὶ τὸ πάσχα μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας. Καὶ ἐξή- XIV
 τουν οἱ ἄρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς πῶς αὐτὸν ἐν δόλῳ κρατή-
 σαντες ἀποκτείνωσιν, ἔλεγον γάρ Μη ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ, μή ποτε ἔσται ²
 θόρυβος τοῦ λαοῦ.

$\frac{\rho\nu\eta}{\alpha}$ Καὶ ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Βηθανίᾳ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ Σίμωνος τοῦ λεπροῦ ³
 κατακειμένου αὐτοῦ ἦλθεν γυνὴ ἔχουσα ἀλάβαστρον μύρου νάρδου
 πιστικῆς πολυτελοῦς· συντρίψασα τὴν ἀλάβαστρον κατέχευεν
 αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ. ἦσαν δέ τινες ἀγανακτοῦντες πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ⁴
 Εἰς τί ἡ ἀπώλεια αὕτη τοῦ μύρου γέγονεν; ἐδύνατο γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ ⁵
 μύρον πραθῆναι ἐπάνω δηναρίων τριακοσίων καὶ δοθῆναι τοῖς
 πτωχοῖς· καὶ ἐνεβριμῶντο αὐτῇ. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν Ἀφετε ⁶
 αὐτήν· τί αὐτῇ κόπους παρέχετε; καλὸν ἔργον εἰργάσατο ἐν ἐμοί·
 $\frac{\rho\nu\theta}{\alpha}$ πάντοτε γὰρ τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν, καὶ ὅταν θέλητε ⁷
 πάντοτε δύνασθε αὐτοῖς εὖ ποιεῖν, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐ πάντοτε ἔχετε· ὁ ⁸
 ἔσχεν ἐποίησεν, προέλαβεν μυρίσαι τὸ σῶμά μου εἰς τὸν ἐντα-
 φιασμόν. ἀμὴν δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅπου ἐὰν κηρυχθῇ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ⁹
 τοῦτο εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ὁ ἐποίησεν αὕτη λαληθήσεται εἰς
 $\frac{\rho\epsilon}{\beta}$ μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς.

Καὶ Ἰούδας ὁ Ἰσκαριῶθ ὁ εἰς τῶν ¹⁰
 δώδεκα ἀπῆλθεν πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς ἵνα αὐτὸν παραδῷ αὐτοῖς.
 οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐχάρησαν καὶ ἐπήγγειλαν αὐτῷ ἀργύριον δοῦναι. ¹¹
 καὶ ἐζήτει πῶς αὐτὸν εὐκαίρως παραδῷ.

Καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν ἁζύμων, ὅτε τὸ πάσχα ἔθουν, λέγουσιν ¹²
 αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ Ποῦ θέλεις ἀπελθόντες ἐτοιμάσωμέν σοι
 τὸ πάσχα; καὶ ἀποστέλλει δύο τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγει ¹³
 αὐτοῖς Ὑπάγετε εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἀπαντήσῃ ὑμῖν ἄνθρωπος
 κεράμιον ὕδατος βαστάζων· ἀκολουθήσατε αὐτῷ, καὶ ὅπου ἐὰν ¹⁴
 εἰσέλθῃ εἰπατε τῷ οἰκοδεσπότῃ ὅτι Ὁ διδάσκαλος λέγει Ποῦ
 ἐστὶν τὸ κατάλυμά μου ὅπου τὸ πάσχα μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν μου
 φάγω; καὶ αὐτὸς ὑμῖν δείξει ἀνώγειον μέγα ἐστρωμένον ἐτοιμον· ¹⁵
 καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐτοιμάσατε ἡμῖν. καὶ ἐξῆλθον οἱ μαθηταὶ καὶ ἦλθον εἰς ¹⁶
 τὴν πόλιν καὶ εὗρον καθὼς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἡτοίμασαν τὸ
 πάσχα.

$\frac{\rho\epsilon\alpha}{\beta}$ Καὶ ὀψίας γενομένης ἔρχεται μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα. ¹⁷
 $\frac{\rho\epsilon\beta}{\beta}$ καὶ ἀνακειμένων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσθιόντων ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν Ἀμὴν ¹⁸
 λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἰς ἐξ ὑμῶν παραδώσει με ὁ ἐσθίων μετ' ἐμοῦ.
 $\frac{\rho\epsilon\gamma}{\beta}$ ἤρξαντο λυπεῖσθαι καὶ λέγειν αὐτῷ εἰς κατὰ εἰς Μητί ἐγώ; ¹⁹
 $\frac{\rho\epsilon\gamma}{\beta}$ ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτοῖς Εἰς τῶν δώδεκα, ὁ ἐμβαπτόμενος μετ' ἐμοῦ εἰς ²⁰

- 21 τὸ τρύβλιον· ὅτι ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπάγει καθὼς γέγραπται $\frac{\rho\epsilon\delta}{5}$
 περὶ αὐτοῦ, οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ δι' οὗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
 παραδίδοται· καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος
 22 ἐκείνος. Καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν λαβὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἄρτον $\frac{\rho\epsilon\epsilon}{\alpha}$
 εὐλογῆσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπεν Λάβετε, τοῦτο
 23 ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμά μου. καὶ λαβὼν ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν $\frac{\rho\epsilon\varsigma}{\beta}$
 24 αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔπιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Τοῦτο
 ἐστὶν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ ἐκχυνόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν·
 25 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐκέτι σὺ μὴ πῖω ἐκ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς
 ἀμπέλου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω καινὸν ἐν τῇ
 26 βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ. Καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ $\frac{\rho\epsilon\varsigma}{5}$
 27 Ὅρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν. Καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι
 Πάντες σκανδαλισθήσεσθε, ὅτι γέγραπται ὅτι Πατάξω τὸν ποι- $\frac{\rho\epsilon\eta}{5}$ $\frac{\rho\epsilon\theta}{\delta}$
 28 μένα, καὶ διάσκορπισθήσονται τὰ πρόβατα· ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὸ ἐγερ-
 29 θῆναι με προάξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν. ὁ δὲ Πέτρος λέγει αὐτῷ $\frac{\rho\sigma}{\delta}$
 30 Εἰ καὶ πάντες σκανδαλισθήσονται, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγώ, καὶ λέγει
 αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς Ἀμὴν λέγω σοι ὅτι σὺ σήμερον ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ
 31 πρὶν ἢ δις ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι τρίς ἀπαρνήσῃ με. ὁ δὲ ἐκπερισσῶς $\frac{\rho\sigma\alpha}{\delta}$
 ἐλάλει Ἐὰν δέ με συναποθανεῖν σοι, σὺ μὴ σε ἀπαρῆγομαι.
 32 Καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς χωρίον οὗ τὸ ὄνομα Γεσσιμανή, καὶ λέγει τοῖς $\frac{\rho\sigma\beta}{\delta}$
 33 μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ Καθίσате ὧδε ἕως προσεύξομαι. καὶ παραλαμ- $\frac{\rho\sigma\gamma}{5}$
 βάνει τὸν Πέτρον καὶ τὸν Ἰάκωβον καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ,
 34 καὶ ἤρξατο ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι καὶ ἀδημονεῖν, καὶ λέγειν αὐτοῖς Περι- $\frac{\rho\sigma\delta}{\delta}$
 λυπὸς ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἕως θανάτου· μένετε ὧδε καὶ γρηγορεῖτε.
 35 καὶ προσελθὼν μικρὸν ἐπιπτεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ προσηύχετο ἵνα εἰ
 36 δυνατόν ἐστιν παρέλθῃ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ ὥρα, καὶ ἔλεγεν Ἀββὰ ὁ $\frac{\rho\sigma\tau}{\alpha}$
 πατήρ, πάντα δύναται σοι· παρένεγκαι τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἀπ' $\frac{\rho\sigma\theta}{\beta}$
 37 ἐμοῦ· ἀλλ' οὐ τί ἐγὼ θέλω ἀλλὰ εἰ τί σύ. καὶ ἔρχεται καὶ $\frac{\rho\sigma\varsigma}{\beta}$
 εὐρίσκει αὐτοὺς καθεύδοντας, καὶ λέγει τῷ Πέτρῳ Σίμων, καθεύδεις;
 38 οὐκ ἴσχυσας μίαν ὥραν γρηγορῆσαι; γρηγορεῖτε καὶ προσεύχεσθε,
 ἵνα μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς πειρασμόν· τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα πρόθυμον ἡ δὲ σὰρξ $\frac{\rho\sigma\eta}{\delta}$
 39 ἀσθενής. καὶ πάλιν ἀπελθὼν προσηύξατο τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων εἰπών.
 40 καὶ πάλιν ἐλθὼν εὗρεν αὐτοὺς καθεύδοντας, ἦσαν γὰρ αὐτῶν οἱ $\frac{\rho\sigma\theta}{5}$
 ὀφθαλμοὶ καταβαρυνόμενοι, καὶ οὐκ ᾔδεισαν τί ἀποκριθῶσιν αὐτῷ.
 41 καὶ ἔρχεται τὸ τρίτον καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς Καθεύδετε λοιπόν καὶ $\frac{\rho\pi}{\alpha}$
 27. σκανδαλισθήσεσθε] A contemporary hand has added in the margin ἐν ἐμοί.

ἀναπαύεσθε· ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα, ἰδοὺ παραδίδοται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
 εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν. ἐγείρεσθε ἄγωμεν· ἰδοὺ ὁ παρα- 42
^{ρπα}_α διδούς με ἤγγικεν. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος 43
 παραγίνεται Ἰούδας εἰς τῶν δώδεκα καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄχλος μετὰ
 μαχαιρῶν καὶ ξύλων παρὰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ γραμματέων καὶ τῶν
^{ρπβ}_β πρεσβυτέρων. δεδῶκει δὲ ὁ παραδιδούς αὐτὸν σύσσημον αὐτοῖς 44
 λέγων Ὁν ἐὰν φιλήσω οὗτός ἐστιν· κρατήσατε αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπα-
 γάγετε ἀσφαλῶς. καὶ ἔλθων εὐθὺς προσελθὼν αὐτῷ λέγει Ῥαββί, 45
 καὶ κατεφίλησεν αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ ἐπέβαλον τὰς χεῖρας ἐπ' αὐτόν καὶ 46
^{ρπγ}_α ἔκράτησαν αὐτόν. εἰς δὲ τῶν παρεστηκότων σπασάμενος τὴν 47
 μάχαιραν ἔπαισεν τὸν δούλον τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Καϊάφα καὶ ἀφείλεν
^{ρπδ}_α αὐτοῦ τὸ ὠτόριον. καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοὺς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Ὡς 48
 ἐπὶ ληστὴν ἐξήλλατε μετὰ μαχαιρῶν καὶ ξύλων συλλαβεῖν με·
 καθ' ἡμέραν ἤμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διδάσκων καὶ οὐκ ἔκρα- 49
^{ρπε}_β τείτέ με· ἀλλ' ἵνα πληρωθῶσιν αἱ γραφαί. καὶ ἀφέντες αὐτὸν 50
^{ρπε}_γ ἔφυγον πάντες. Καὶ νεανίσκος τις συνηκολούθει αὐτῷ περιβεβλη- 51
 μένος σινδόνα ἐπὶ γυμνοῦ, καὶ κρατοῦσιν αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ καταλιπὼν 52
 τὴν σινδόνα ἔφυγεν γυμνός.
^{ρπζ}_α Καὶ ἀπήγαγον τὸν Ἰησοῦν πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα, καὶ συνέρχονται 53
 αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς.
^{ρπη}_β καὶ ὁ Πέτρος μακρόθεν ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ ἕως ἔσω εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τοῦ 54
 ἀρχιερέως, καὶ ἦν συνακαθήμενος μετὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν καὶ θερμαινό-
^{ρπθ}_β μενος πρὸς τὸ φῶς. οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ὅλον τὸ συνέδριον ἐζήτουν 55
 κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ μαρτυρίαν εἰς τὸ θανατώσαι αὐτόν, καὶ οὐχ
 ἠϋρίσκον· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐψευδομαρτύρουν κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἴσαι 56
^{ρ῁}_α αἱ μαρτυρίαι οὐκ ἦσαν. καὶ τινες ἀναστάντες ἐψευδομαρτύρουν 57
 κατ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντες ὅτι Ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι 58
 Ἐγὼ καταλύσω τοῦτον τὸν χειροποίητον τὸν ναὸν καὶ διὰ τριῶν
 ἡμερῶν ἄλλον ἀχειροποίητον οἰκοδομήσω· καὶ οὐδὲ οὕτως ἴση ἦν ἡ 59
 μαρτυρία αὐτῶν. καὶ ἀναστὰς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἔστη εἰς τὸ μέσον καὶ 60
 ἐπηρώτησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγων Οὐκ ἀποκρίνη οὐδέν ὃ τι οὗτοί
 σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν; ὁ δὲ ἐσιώπα καὶ οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο οὐδέν.
^{ρ῁α}_α πάλιν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπηρώτα αὐτὸν καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς 61
 ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογημένου; ὁ δὲ Ἰησοὺς εἶπεν Ἐγὼ εἰμι, καὶ 62
 ὤψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ δεξιῶν καθήμενον τῆς δυνάμεως
^{ρ῁β}_β καὶ ἐρχόμενον μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς 63

διαρρήξας τοὺς χιτῶνας αὐτοῦ λέγει Τί ἔτι χρείαν ἔχομεν μαρ-^{ρ4γ}
 64 τύρων; ἡκούσατε τῆς βλασφημίας; τί ὑμῖν φαίνεται; οἱ δὲ πάντες ^β
 65 κατέκριναν αὐτὸν ἔνοχον εἶναι θανάτου. Καὶ ἤρξαντο τινες ἐμ-^{ρ4δ}
 πτύειν αὐτῷ καὶ περικαλύπτειν αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ κολαφίζειν ^α
 αὐτὸν καὶ λέγειν αὐτῷ Προφήτευσον ἡμῖν. καὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται
 66 ραπίσμασιν αὐτὸν ἔλαβον. Καὶ ὄντος τοῦ Πέτρου ἐν ^{ρ4ε}
 67 τῇ αὐλῇ ἔρχεται μία τῶν παιδισκῶν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ ἰδοῦσα τὸν ^α
 Πέτρον θερμαινόμενον ἐμβλέψασα αὐτῷ λέγει Καὶ σὺ μετὰ τοῦ
 68 Ναζαρηνοῦ ἦσθα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ· ὁ δὲ ἡρνήσατο λέγων Οὔτε οἶδα
 οὔτε ἐπίσταμαι σὺ τί λέγεις. καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω εἰς τὸ προαύλιον. ^{ρ4ε}
 69 καὶ ἡ παιδίσκη ἰδοῦσα αὐτὸν ἤρξατο πάλιν λέγειν τοῖς παρεστῶσιν ^α
 70 ὅτι Οὗτος ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐστίν. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἡρνεῖτο. καὶ μετὰ
 μικρὸν οἱ παρεστῶτες ἔλεγον τῷ Πέτρῳ Ἀληθῶς ἐξ αὐτῶν
 71 εἶ, καὶ γὰρ Γαλιλαῖος εἶ· ὁ δὲ ἤρξατο ἀναθεματίζειν καὶ ὀμνύειν
 72 ὅτι Οὐκ οἶδα τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον ὃν λέγετε. καὶ ἐκ δευτέρου ^{ρ4ς}
 ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν· καὶ ἀνεμνήσθη ὁ Πέτρος τὸ ῥῆμα ὡς εἶπεν ^β
 αὐτῷ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι Πρὶν ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι δις τρίς με ἀπαρνήσῃ,
 καὶ ἐπιβαλὼν ἔκλαιεν.

ΧV Καὶ εὐθὺς πρῶτῳ συμβούλιον ποιήσαντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς μετὰ τῶν ^{ρ4η}
 πρεσβυτέρων καὶ γραμματέων καὶ ὅλον τὸ συνέδριον δῆσαντες τὸν ^β
 2 Ἰησοῦν ἀπήνεγκαν καὶ παρέδωκαν Πιλάτῳ. καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτὸν ^α
 ὁ Πιλάτος Σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων; ἀποκριθεὶς ^σ
 3 αὐτῷ λέγει Σὺ λέγεις. καὶ κατηγοροῦν αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς πολλά, ^α
 4 αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο. ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος πάλιν ἐπηρώτα αὐτὸν ^α
 5 λέγων Οὐκ ἀποκρίνη οὐδέν; ἴδε πόσα σου κατηγοροῦσιν. ὁ δὲ
 Ἰησοῦς οὐκ ἐτι οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίθη, ὥστε θαυμάζειν τὸν Πιλάτον.
 6 Κατὰ δὲ ἑορτὴν ἀπέλυνεν αὐτοῖς ἓνα δέσμιον ὃν περ ἤτουντο. ἦν ^{σβ}
 7 δὲ ὁ λεγόμενος Βαραββᾶς μετὰ τῶν στασιαστῶν δεδεμένος οἷτινες ^β
 8 ἐν τῇ στάσει φόνον πεποιήκασιν. καὶ ἀναβοήσας ὁ ὄχλος ἤρξατο ^δ
 9 αἰτεῖσθαι καθὼς ἐπολεῖ αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς
 10 λέγων Θέλετε ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν τὸν βασιλεῖα τῶν Ἰουδαίων; ἐγί-
 νωσκεν γὰρ ὅτι διὰ φθόνον παραδεδώκεισαν αὐτὸν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς.
 11 οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς ἀνέσεισαν τὸν ὄχλον ἵνα μᾶλλον τὸν Βαραββᾶν ^{σδ}
 12 ἀπολύσῃ αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος πάλιν ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ^α
^{σε}
^α

68. A contemporary or slightly later hand adds in the margin καὶ ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν.
 2. Ἰουδαίων is written in rasure.

Τί οὖν ποιήσω ὃν λέγετε τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων; οἱ δὲ 13
 πάλιν ἔκραζαν Σταύρωσον αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος ἔλεγεν Τί 14
 γὰρ ἐποίησεν κακόν; οἱ δὲ περισσῶς ἔκραζαν Σταύρωσον αὐτόν.
 ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος βουλόμενος τῷ ὄχλῳ τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῆσαι ἀπέλυσεν 15
 αὐτοῖς τὸν Βαραββᾶν, καὶ παρέδωκεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν φραγελλώσας
 ἵνα σταυρωθῇ.
 Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἀπήγαγον αὐτὸν ἔσω τῆς αὐλῆς, ὃ ἐστὶν πραι- 16
 τώριον, καὶ συνκαλοῦσιν ὅλην τὴν σπεῖραν. καὶ ἐνδιδύσκουσιν 17
 αὐτὸν πορφύραν καὶ περιτιθέασιν αὐτῷ πλέξαντες ἀκάνθινον
 στέφανον· καὶ ἤρξαντο αὐτὸν ἀσπάζεσθαι Χαῖρε, βασιλεῦ τῶν 18
 Ἰουδαίων· καὶ ἐτυπτον αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν καλᾶμψ καὶ ἐνέπτουν 19
 αὐτῷ, καὶ τιθέντες τὰ γόνατα προσεκύνουν αὐτῷ. καὶ ὅτε ἐνέ- 20
 παιξαν αὐτῷ, ἐξέδυσαν αὐτὸν τὴν πορφύραν καὶ ἐνέδυσαν αὐτὸν τὰ
 ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἐξάγουσιν αὐτὸν ἔξω ἵνα σταυρώσω- 21
 σιν αὐτόν· καὶ ἀγαγεῖν οὖσιν παράγοντά τινα Σίμωνα Κυρηναῖον 22
 ἐρχόμενον ἀπ' ἀγροῦ, τὸν πατέρα Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ῥούφου, ἵνα
 ἄρῃ τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ. καὶ φέρουσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Γολγοθὰν 23
 τόπον, ὃ ἐστὶν μεθερμηνευσόμενον Κρανίου Τόπος. καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ 24
 ἐσμυρνισμένον οἶνον, ὃ δὲ οὐκ ἔλαβεν. καὶ σταυροῦσιν αὐτὸν καὶ 25
 διαμερίζονται τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, βάλλοντες κλῆρον ἐπ' αὐτὰ τίς τί
 ἄρῃ. ἦν δὲ ὥρα τρίτη καὶ ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτόν. καὶ ἦν ἡ ἐπιγραφή 26
 τῆς αἰτίας αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένη Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. Καὶ
 σὺν αὐτῷ σταυροῦσιν δύο ληστές, ἓνα ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἓνα ἐξ 27
 εὐωνύμων αὐτοῦ. Καὶ οἱ παραπορευόμενοι ἐβλασφήμουν αὐτὸν 29
 κινούμενους τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν καὶ λέγοντες Ὁ καταλύων τὸν ναὸν
 καὶ οἰκοδομῶν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις, σῶσον σεαυτὸν καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ 30
 σταυροῦ. ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἐμπαίζοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους 31
 μετὰ τῶν γραμματέων ἔλεγον Ἄλλους ἔσωσεν, ἑαυτὸν οὐ δύναται
 σῶσαι· ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰσραὴλ καταβάτω νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ 32
 σταυροῦ, ἵνα ἴδωμεν καὶ πιστεύσωμεν. καὶ οἱ συνεσταυρωμένοι
 μετ' αὐτοῦ ὠνείδιζον αὐτόν. Καὶ γενομένης ὥρας ἑκτῆς 33
 σκότος ἐγένετο ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης. καὶ τῇ ἐνάτῃ 34
 ὥρᾳ ἐβόησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς φωνῇ μεγάλῃ Ἐλωὶ, ἔλωὶ, λεμὰ σαβαχθανι;
 ὃ ἐστὶν μεθερμηνευσόμενον Ὁ θεός μου, ὁ θεός μου, εἰς τί 35
 ἐγκατέλιπές με; καὶ τινες τῶν παρεστηκότων ἀκούσαντες ἔλεγον
 Ἴδε Ἥλιον φωνεῖ. δραμὼν δέ τις γεμίσας σπόγγον ὄξους περι-

θείς καλάμφ ἐπότιζεν αὐτόν, λέγων Ἀφετε ἴδωμεν εἰ ἔρχεται $\frac{\sigma\kappa\gamma}{\alpha}$
 37 Ἥλίας καθελείν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀφείς φωνὴν μεγάλην $\frac{\sigma\kappa\delta}{\beta}$
 38 ἐξέπνευσεν. Καὶ τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ ἐσχίσθη εἰς δύο ἀπ' $\frac{\sigma\kappa\epsilon}{\beta}$
 39 ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω. Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ κεντυρίων ὁ παρεστηκὼς ἐξ ἔναν-
 τίας αὐτοῦ ὅτι οὕτως ἐξέπνευσεν εἶπεν Ἀληθῶς οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος $\frac{\sigma\kappa\epsilon}{\beta}$
 40 υἱὸς θεοῦ ἦν. Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες ἀπὸ μακρόθεν θεωροῦσαι, ἐν $\frac{\sigma\kappa\epsilon}{\epsilon}$
 αἷς ἦν καὶ Μαριάμ ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου τοῦ μικροῦ
 41 καὶ ἡ Ἰωσή μήτηρ καὶ Σαλώμη, αἱ ὅτε ἦν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ ἡκολού-
 θουν καὶ δικήνουν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ συναναβάσαι αὐτῷ
 εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.
 42 Καὶ ἥδη ὀψίας γενομένης, ἐπεὶ ἦν παρασκευή, ὃ ἐστὶν προσάβ- $\frac{\sigma\kappa\zeta}{\alpha}$
 43 βατον, ἐλθὼν Ἰωσήφ ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας εὐσχήμων βουλευτής, ὃς
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν προσδεχόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, τολμήσας
 εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς τὸν Πιλάτον καὶ ᾐτήσατο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.
 44 ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος ἐθαύμασεν εἰ ἥδη τέθνηκεν, καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν
 45 κεντυρίωνα ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτὸν εἰ πάλαι ἀπέθανεν· καὶ γνοὺς ἀπὸ $\frac{\rho\kappa\eta}{\alpha}$
 46 τοῦ κεντυρίωνος ἐδώρησατο τὸ σῶμα τῷ Ἰωσήφ. καὶ ἀγοράσας
 σινδόνα καθελὼν αὐτὸν ἐνέκλισεν τῇ σινδόνι καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸν ἐν
 μνημείῳ ὃ ἦν λελατομημένον ἐκ πέτρας, καὶ προσεκύλισεν λίθον $\frac{\rho\kappa\theta}{\beta}$
 47 ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν τοῦ μνημείου. Ἡ δὲ Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ
 Μαρία ἡ Ἰωσήτος ἐθεώρουν ποῦ τέθειται.
 XVI Καὶ διαγενομένου τοῦ σαββάτου Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ $\frac{\rho\lambda}{\eta}$
 Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου καὶ Σαλώμη ἡγόρασαν ἀρώματα ἵνα ἐλθοῦσαι
 2 ἀλείψωσιν αὐτόν. καὶ λίαν πρῶι τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων $\frac{\rho\lambda\alpha}{\alpha}$
 3 ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου. καὶ ἔλεγον
 πρὸς ἑαυτάς, Τίς ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν τὸν λίθον ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας
 4 τοῦ μνημείου; καὶ ἀναβλέψασαι θεωροῦσιν ὅτι ἀποκεκύλισται
 5 ὁ λίθος, ἦν γὰρ μέγας σφόδρα. καὶ εἰσελθοῦσαι εἰς τὸ μνη-
 μεῖον ἴδον νεανίσκον καθήμενον ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς περιβεβλημένον $\frac{\rho\lambda\beta}{\beta}$
 6 στολὴν λευκὴν, καὶ ἐξεθαμβήθησαν. ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐταῖς Μὴ
 ἐκθαμβείσθε· Ἰησοῦν ζητεῖτε τὸν Ναζαρηνὸν τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον·
 7 ἡγέρθη, οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε· ἴδε ὁ τόπος ὅπου ἔθηκαν αὐτόν· ἀλλὰ

At the top of f. 14 is κ (v suprascr.) Ἰ ἀπο του πασ (χ suprascr.) η τ (ω suprascr.) παθὼν εὐαγγ (ε suprascr.) and v. 43 ἐλθὼν is marked ἀρ (χ suprascr.) in the margin. At the end of v. 47 is noted τ (ε suprascr.) τ (ω suprascr.) πα (θ suprascr.). At the beginning of xvi. 1, is ἀρ (χ suprascr.), and in the margin εὐαγγ (ε suprascr.) ἐω (θ suprascr.) ἀνασ (τ suprascr.).

ὑπάγετε εἴπατε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ ὅτι Προάγει
 ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν· ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ὄψεσθε, καθὼς εἶπεν ὑμῖν.
 ρλγ
 7 καὶ ἐξελθοῦσαι ἔξυγον ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου, εἶχεν γὰρ αὐτὰς τρόμος 8
 καὶ ἔκστασις· καὶ οὐδὲν οὐδὲν εἶπον, ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ· πάντα δὲ
 τὰ παρηγγελμένα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πέτρον συντόμως ἐξήγγειλαν·
 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἰησοὺς ἐφάνη ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς καὶ μέχρι
 δύσεως ἐξαπέστειλεν δι' αὐτῶν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον κήρυγμα
 τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας, ἀμήν.

ἔστιν καὶ ταῦτα φερόμενα

μετὰ τὸ ἐφοφοῦντο γάρ·

Ἀναστὰς δὲ πρῶτῃ πρώτῃ σαββάτου ἐφάνη πρῶτον Μαρίᾳ τῇ 9
 Μαγδαληνῇ, παρ' ἧς ἐκβεβλήκει ἑπτὰ δαιμόνια. ἐκείνη πορευ- 10
 θεῖσα ἀπήγγειλεν τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ γενομένοις πενθοῦσι καὶ κλαίουσιν·
 ἐκείνοι ἀκούσαντες ὅτι ζῇ καὶ ἐθεάθη ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἠπίστησαν. Μετὰ 11
 δὲ ταῦτα δυσὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν περιπατοῦσιν ἐφανερῶθη ἐν ἐτέρᾳ μορφῇ 12
 πορευομένοις εἰς ἀγρόν· ἀκείνοι ἀπελθόντες ἀπήγγειλαν τοῖς 13
 λοιποῖς· οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις ἐπίστευσαν. Ὑστερον ἀνακειμένοις αὐτοῖς 14
 τοῖς ἑνδεκα ἐφανερῶθη, καὶ ὠνείδισεν τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῶν καὶ
 σκληροκαρδίαν ὅτι τοῖς θεασαμένοις αὐτὸν ἐγγεγερμένον οὐκ ἐπί-
 στευσαν. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Πορευθέντες εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἀπαντα 15
 κηρύξατε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει. ὁ πιστεύσας καὶ βα- 16
 πτισθεὶς σωθήσεται, ὁ δὲ ἀπιστήσας κατακριθήσεται. σημεῖα δὲ 17
 τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἀκολουθήσει ταῦτα, ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου δαιμόνια
 ἐκβαλοῦσιν, γλώσσαις λαλήσουσιν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ὄφεις 18
 ἄρουσιν καὶ θανάσιμόν τι πῖωσιν οὐ μὴ αὐτοὺς βλάψει, ἐπὶ
 ἄρρώστους χεῖρας ἐπιθήσουσιν καὶ καλῶς ἔξουσιν. Ὁ μὲν οὖν 19
 κύριος μετὰ τὸ λαλήσαι αὐτοῖς ἀνελήφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ
 ἐκάθισεν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐκείνοι δὲ ἐξελθόντες ἐκήρυξαν 20
 πανταχοῦ, τοῦ κυρίου συνεργοῦντος καὶ τὸν λόγον βεβαιοῦντος διὰ
 τῶν ἐπακολουθούντων σημείων. ἀμήν.

εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον

8. τ (ε suprascr.) is added after γάρ.

9. In the margin is written ἀναστασιμ (ο suprascr.) ἔωθιν (ο suprascr.)
 ἀρ (χ suprascr.). There is no corresponding τέλος.

III. THE TEXT OF COD. Ψ IN ST. LUKE AND ST. JOHN AND COLOSSIANS.

As the text of cod. Ψ is much less interesting in these Gospels than it is in the fragment which remains of St. Mark, it has been thought sufficient to give a collation of the text of the codex with Lloyd's reprint of the text of Stephanus, ed. 1550. It will be seen that there are a fair number of variants, but that few of them are of first-rate importance.

ST. LUKE.

I 1 παρέδωσαν 3 ἄνωθεν *om.* 5 *ante* βασιλέως *om.* τοῦ
καὶ γυνὴ αὐτῷ 6 ἐναντίον *pro* ἐνώπιον 7 ἦν *ante* ἡ 9
Θεοῦ *pro* Κυρίου 10 ἦν τοῦ λαοῦ 15 Θεοῦ *pro* Κυρίου
20 ἄχρις ἧς 21 αὐτὸν *post* ναῶ 25 οὕτως 26 ἀπὸ
pro ὑπὸ 28 ὁ ἄγγελος *om.* εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναῖξιν *om.*
29 ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ λόγου διαταράχθη διελογίζετο ἐν ἑαυτῇ λέγουσα
36 γήρει 38 Μαρία 39 ὀρινῇ 41 ἡ Ἑλισάβετ
post Μαρίας 50 γενεὰν καὶ γενεὰν 55 ἕως αἰῶνος 56 ὥς
pro ὥσει 61 ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας 65 ὀρινῇ 66 ἀκούοντες
75 τῆς ζωῆς *om.* 78 ἡμῶν *pro* αὐτῶν

II 3 ἑαυτοῦ *pro* ἰδίαν 4 Ναζαρέθ 8 τῇ ποιμνῇ 9 Θεοῦ
pro Κυρίου 12 καὶ κείμενον ἐν φάτνῃ 18 ἀκούοντες 20 ὑπέ-
στρεψαν ἴδον 21 αὐτὸν *pro* τὸ παιδίον 22 Μωυσέως
25 ἦν ἅγιον 26 πρὶν ἢ ἂν 30 ἴδον 35 δὲ *om.* 36 ἔτη
post μετὰ ἀνδρὸς 37 ἕως *pro* ὥς 38 αὕτη *om.* 39 ἑαυτῶν
Ναζαρέθ 40 σοφίᾳ 51 Ναζαράθ

III 1 δὲ *om.* Ἀβιδυνῆς 2 ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως 8 δόξῃτε *pro*
ἀρξήσθε 12 εἶπαν 14 ποιήσωμεν 23 ἀρχόμενος τριάκοντα
24 υἱὸς *ante* ὥς ἐνομίζετο Ἠλεί 25 Ἑσλίμ 26 Σεμεεί
27 Ἰωανάν 32 Ἰωβήδ 33 Ἀράμ, τοῦ Ἰωράμ 34 Θάρρα
35 Σερούχ 37 Ἰαρέθ

IV 1 πλήρης *ante* πνεύματος 4 ὁ *supra lineam* 6 καὶ
φ' εἰς θέλω δίδωμι αὐτῇν *om.* 7 πᾶσα *pro* πάντα 8 ὁ Ἰησοῦς

εἶπεν 9 *ante* υἱὸς *om.* ὁ 12 ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ 16 Ναζαρέθ
 17 τοῦ προφήτου Ἡσαίου 18 εἵνεκεν εὐαγγελίσασθαι 20 οἱ
 ὀφθαλμοὶ ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ 22 οὐχὶ 23 γενάμενα Καφαρναούμ
 25 ὅτι πολλοὶ 26 Σάρεφθα τῆς Σιδωνίας 27 ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ
ante ἐπὶ Ναϊμὰν 29 τῆς 2^ο *om.* 33 λέγον 35 εἰς
 μέσον 38 ἡ *om.* 42 ἐπεξήτουν 44 εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς

V 2 ἶδεν πλοίαρμα 5 χαλάσωμεν 6 πλῆθος ἰχθύων
 7 τοῖς 2^ο *om.* ἐπλήσθησαν 14 Μωνοῦς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς *pro*
αὐτοῖς 19 *ante* ποίας *om.* διὰ 20 ἀφένται 21 εἰς
pro μόνος 23 ἔγειρε 24 παραλυτικῷ ἔγειρε 26 ἴδομεν
 28 πάντα *pro* ἅπαντα 29 *ante* Λευὶς *om.* ὁ πολλὸς τελωνῶν
 30 τῶν τελωνῶν 31 ἰσχύοντες *pro* ὑγιαίνοντες 36 σχίσαι
 συμφωνήσει ἐπίβλημα *om.* 37 ὁ οἶνος ὁ νέος

VI 3 ὁ Ἰησοῦς *ante* πρὸς ὅτε *pro* ὁπότε 5 εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ
 Ἰησοῦς 7 παρετηροῦντο αὐτὸν *om.* *ante* σαββάτῳ *om.* τῷ
 θεραπεύει κατηγορήσωσιν *pro* εὕρωσι κατηγορίαν 8 ἔγειρε
 καὶ *pro* ὁ δὲ 9 ὑμᾶς τι, *pro* ὑμᾶς, τί 10 εἶπεν αὐτῷ *pro*
 εἶπε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ οὕτω *om.* ἀπεκατεστάθη ὑγιὲς *om.*
 11 ἐλάλουν *pro* διελάλουν 17 ὁ ὄχλος 18 καὶ 2^ο *om.* 19 ἐξή-
 τουν 23 χάριτε τὰ αὐτὰ *pro* ταῦτα 26 τὰ αὐτὰ *pro*
 ταῦτα 27 ἀλλὰ 28 καὶ *om.* 34 γὰρ οἱ *om.*
 35 τοῦ *om.* 36 ἵνα *pro* καὶ οὐ 44 σταφυλὰς τρυγῶσι
 45 ἄνθρωπος 2^ο *om.* τοῦ 3^ο *om.* τῆς 2^ο *om.*

VII 1 Καφαρναοὺμ 2 ἐμελλεν 3 οὗτος ἀκούσας περὶ
 4 παρέξη τούτῳ 6 φίλους ὁ ἑκατοντάρχης μου *ante* ὑπὸ
 7 ἀλλὰ μόνον 10 εἰς τὸν οἶκον οἱ πεμφθέντες 12 μονο-
 γενὴς υἱὸς ἦν *om.* 13 ἐπ' αὐτήν 17 *ante* πάσῃ *om.* ἐν
 19 ἕτερον *pro* ἄλλον 20 ἕτερον *pro* ἄλλον 21 δὲ *om.*
 22 ὅτι *om.* καὶ χωλοὶ 27 οὗτος γὰρ 28 γὰρ *om.*
 τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ *om.* 31 εἶπε δὲ ὁ Κύριος *om.* 35 πάντων *om.*
 38 ὀπίσω *ante* παρὰ τοῖς δάκρυσι *ante* ἤρξατο τῆς κεφαλῆς *om.*
 ἐξέμαξεν 41 χρεοφειλέται 42 ἀγαπήσει αὐτόν 44 μοι
 ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας τῆς κεφαλῆς *om.* 47 ἀφένται 48 ἀφένται

VIII 2 Μαριάμ 8 καλὴν *pro* ἀγαθὴν 13 τὸν λόγον *ante*
 μετὰ χαρᾶς 16 λυχνίαν 17 μὴ γνωσθῇ *pro* οὐ γνωσθήσεται
 21 αὐτόν *om.* 23 συνεπληροῦτο 24 ἐπαύσατο γαλήνῃ
 μεγάλῃ 25 ἐστιν 1^ο *om.* πρὸς ἀλλήλους λέγοντες 26 ἀντί-
 περα 27 αὐτῷ 2^ο *om.* 29 παρήγγειλεν ἐδεσμεύετο δαι-
 μονίου *pro* δαίμονος 30 ὄνομά ἐστιν 33 εἰσηλθον 34 ἀπελ-
 θόντες *om.* 39 σοι ἐποίησεν 43 ἰατροῖς *pro* εἰς ἰατροὺς βίον
 αὐτῆς 44 ὅπισθεν *om.* 45 τίς μου ἤψατο *pro* τίς ἀψάμενός

μον 2° 47 αὐτῷ 2° om. 51 ἐλθὼν Ἰωάννην καὶ Ἰάκωβον
54 ἔγειρε

IX 1 ἀποστόλους *pro* μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ 2 ἀσθενεῖς 3 ῥάβδον
5 δέχονται καὶ 2° om. 7 γενόμενα 8 τις *pro* εἰς
10 πάντα ὅσα ἔρημον πόλεως om. *et* καλούμενον *pro* καλουμένης
11 ἀποδεξάμενος 16 ἠλόγησεν παραθεῖναι 17 πάντες
αὐτε καὶ ἐχορτάσθησαν ἦραν *pro* ἦρθη sed non κοφίνους
20 Πέτρος εἶπε ὁ 24 ἐὰν *pro* ἂν 25 ὠφελήσει 27 ἐστώτων
γεύσονται 30 Μωσῆς 31 ἤμελλε 33 Πέτρος εἶπε ὁ
σοὶ μίαν Μωσῇ Ἠλία μίαν 35 ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν ᾧ ἠιδό-
κησα 36 Ἰησοῦς εἶπε ὁ 38 ἐβόησεν διδάσκαλε om.
ἐπιβλέψαι 40 αὐτὸ ἐκβάλωσιν 41 ἕως πότε *pro* καὶ 2°
μοι τὸν υἱόν σου ὤδε 43 εἶπεν δὲ 46 τίς αὐτῶν δοκεῖ εἶναι
μείζων 48 ἂν *pro* ἐὰν bis οὕτως *pro* οὕτος 49 ἐν *pro*
ἐπὶ τὰ om. 50 ὑμῶν bis 55 καὶ εἶπεν . . . σῶσαι
57 ἐὰν *pro* ἂν 62 ὁ Ἰησοῦς πρὸς αὐτὸν

X 1 ἤμελλεν 2 ἐκβάλῃ 4 βαλλάντιον 6 μὲν om.
8 ὁ om. 13 Χοραζεῖν καθήμενοι 14 ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ *pro*
κρίσει 21 εὐδοκία ἐγένετο 22 μοι παρεδόθη 24 ἴδον
32 τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον 35 αὐτῷ om. 36 πλησίον δοκεῖ σοι
39 Μαριάμ 42 Μαρία γὰρ

XI 4 ἀφίμεν παντὶ τῷ 5 ἐρεῖ *pro* εἶπη 8 φίλον αὐτοῦ
11 ἡ *pro* εἰ 13 αὐτε ἐξ οὐρανοῦ om. ὁ 15 τῷ ἄρχοντι 17 μερι-
σθεῖσα καθ' ἑαυτήν 19 αὐτοὶ αὐτε κριταὶ 23 σκορπίζει με
25 σχολάζοντα σεσαρωμένον 31 Σολωμῶνος bis 34 καὶ 1° om.
36 τι om. 41 ἅπαντα *pro* πάντα 42 ἀλλὰ 50 ἐκδικηθῇ
pro ἐκζητηθῇ 54 αὐτὸν καὶ om.

XII 4 ἀποκτεινόντων 5 ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν αὐτε γένεσαν
om. τὴν 6 πωλοῦνται 8 ἐὰν *pro* ἂν 11 μερμυήσῃτε
15 αὐτῷ *pro* αὐτοῦ 2° 16 ὑψόφωρσεν 28 σήμερον ἐν ἀγρῷ ὄντα
29 πίετε 31 αὐτοῦ *pro* τοῦ Θεοῦ 32 ὑψόκησεν 33 βαλ-
λάντια 37 ὁ κύριος ἐλθὼν 39 ὀρυγῆναι τὴν οἰκίαν 40 οὖν
om. 42 ὁ *pro* καὶ δοῦναι 47 αὐτοῦ *pro* ἑαυτοῦ
ἡ *pro* μηδὲ 49 ἐπὶ *pro* εἰς 53 ἐπὶ *pro* ἐφ' 54 νεφέλην
εἶπε τὴν λέγετε ὅτι 56 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς 58 βάλλῃ

XIII 1 Πιλάτος hoc accentu, et sic passim 2 ὑπὲρ *pro* παρὰ
3 πάντως *pro* πάντες 4 δεκαοκτώ 6 πεφτυεμένην
αὐτε ἐν τῷ 7 ἔκκοψον οὖν 8 κόπρια 11 δεκαοκτώ
18 οὖν *pro* δὲ 19 αὐτοῦ *pro* ἑαυτοῦ 20 καὶ om. 26 ἄρξῃθε
27 αὐτε ἐργάται om. οἱ 29 αὐτε βορρᾶ om. ἀπὸ 34 ἀπο-
κτείνουσα 35 λέγω δὲ *pro* ἀμὴν δὲ λέγω

XIV 1 σαββάτων *pro* σαββάτῳ 3 εἰ *om.* 7 κεκλιμένους
 10 ἀνάπεσε 12 ἀνταπόδομά σοι 18 πάντες παραιτεῖσθαι
 ἐξελθὼν ἰδεῖν 21 ἐκεῖνος *om.* 23 μου ὁ οἶκος 26 μου εἶναι
 μαθητῆς 28 εἰς *pro* τὰ πρὸς 29 αὐτῷ *om.* 31 συμβαλεῖν
post βασιλεῖ 32 πόρρω αὐτοῦ 33 εἶναι μου 34 δὲ καὶ

XV 1 αὐτῷ ἐγγίζοντες 4 ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα ἕως οὐ
 7 ἔσται *post* ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ 9 συγκαλεῖ 14 τοῦ ὑστερεῖσθαι
 17 ἔφη *pro* εἶπε λιμῷ ὤδε 19 καὶ *om.* 20 οὐ μακρὰν
 22 *ante* στολὴν *om.* τὴν 23 ἐνεγκόντες 24 ἦν 2^ο *om.* 26 τοῦτο
pro ταῦτα 28 ἠθέλησεν 32 καὶ 3^ο *om.* ἦν 2^ο *om.*

XVI 5 αὐτοῦ *pro* ἑαυτοῦ 6 βάδους *pro* βάτους τὰ γράμ-
 ματα 7 τὰ γράμματα 9 ἐκλίπη 12 δώσει ὑμῖν
 14 καὶ 1^ο *om.* 15 ἐστιν *om.* 20 ἦν *om.* ὅς *om.* εἰλκω-
 μένος 22 τοῦ *om.* 26 ἔνθεν *pro* ἐντεῦθεν 29 λέγει δὲ
 Μωυσῆα 30 μετανοήσωσι 31 Μωυσέως ἄν *pro* ἐάν

XVII 1 πλὴν οὐαὶ *pro* οὐαὶ δὲ 2 ἕνα *post* τούτων 3 δὲ *om.*
 4 ἀμαρτήσῃ τῆς ἡμέρας 2^ο *om.* πρὸς σε *pro* ἐπὶ σε 6 ἔχετε
pro εἴχετε 7 εὐθὺς *om.* 9 ἔχει χάριν αὐτῷ *om.* 10 ὅτι 2^ο *om.*
 20 ἐπερωτιθεῖς 24 ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ *om.* 27 ἐγαμί-
 ζοντο καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν ἕως *pro* καὶ 1^ο 28 καθὼς *pro* καὶ ὡς
 30 τὰ αὐτὰ *pro* ταῦτα 33 ὅς δ' ἂν *pro* καὶ ὅς ἐάν αὐτὴν 2^ο *om.*
 ζωοποιήσει *pro* ζωογονήσει 34 εἰς *pro* ὁ εἰς 35 ἀλιθεύσαι

XVIII 1 προσεύχεσθαι αὐτοὺς 4 ἤθελεν 7 αὐτῷ *pro*
 πρὸς αὐτὸν μακροθυμεῖ 11 ταῦτα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὡς *pro* ὥσπερ
 13 εἰς 2^ο *om.* 14 ἡ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὁ *pro* ὁ δὲ 18 αὐτόν τις
 20 σου 2^ο *om.* 24 εἰσελεύσονται *post* θεοῦ 25 εἰσελ-
 θεῖν 2^ο *om.* 27 ἐστι *post* θεῷ 29 ἀδελφούς, ἡ ἀδελφάς
 33 τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ 39 σιγήσῃ *pro* σιωπῇσῃ 42 αὐτῷ *litteris*
minuoribus supra lineam scriptum est

XIX 1 ἄρχων τῆς συναγωγῆς ὑπῆρχεν *pro* ἦν ἀρχιελὼνης καὶ
 οὗτος ἦν πλούσιος *om.* 4 προσδραμὼν συκομοραίαν 5 καὶ
 ἰδὼν αὐτὸν εἶπε 8 τοῖς πτωχοῖς δίδωμι 11 εἶναι αὐτὸν
 13 ἐν ᾧ *pro* ἕως 15 τίς *om.* διεπραγματεύσαντο 22 δὲ *om.*
 23 μου τὸ ἀργύριον ἐπὶ τράπεζαν ἂν *om.* αὐτὸ ἔπραξα
 34 εἶπον ὅτι 35 ἐπιρῖψαντες 42 σου 2^ο *om.* 43 παρεμ-
 βαλοῦσιν 44 λίθον ἐπὶ λίθον 46 γέγραπται ὅτι

XX 1 ἐκείνων *om.* 2 σοι ἔδωκεν *pro* ἐστὶν ὁ δούς σοι 6 πεπει-
 σμένον 11 ἕτερον πέμψαι 12 τρίτον πέμψαι δοῦλον 14 δεῦτε *om.*
 16 εἶπαν 24 εἶπαν 27 οἵτινες λέγουσι *pro* οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες
 28 ἡ *pro* ἀποθάνῃ 33 ἔσται *pro* γίνεταί 39 εἶπαν 40 γὰρ
pro δὲ 46 ἐν στολαῖς περιπατεῖν 47 οἱ κατεσθίνοντες

XXI 1 ἴδεν τὰ δῶρα αὐτῶν *post* γαζοφυλάκιον **2** καὶ **1^ο** *om.*
 λεπτὰ δύο **3** πλείω *pro* πλείον **5** ἀναθέμασιν **6** ἄ
surtranscriptum λίθον *pro* λίθῳ οὐ μὴ καταλυθῇ **8** οὖν *om.*
10 ἐπ' **12** πάντων *pro* ἀπάντων ἀπαγομένους **14** θέτε
pro θέσθε ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις **23** τῷ λαῷ *pro* ἐν τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ
24 τὰ ἔθνη πάντα **25** ἤχους *pro* ἡχοῦσης **27** δυνάμει
 πολλῆς καὶ δόξης **30** ἤδη *om.* **32** πάντα ταῦτα **34** βαρη-
 θῶσι **35** αἰφνίδιος **36** κατισχύσητε *pro* καταξιωθῆτε

XXII 6 αὐτοῖς *post* ὄχλου **10** εἰς ἣν *pro* οὗ **12** ἀνώγαιον
18 γενήματος **22** πορεύεται *post* ὠρισμένον **26** γινέσθω
30 καθήσθε **32** ἐκλίπη **34** μὴ **1^ο** *om.* **35** οὐθενός
 βαλλάντιον **39** αὐτοῦ *om.* **42** γινέσθω **43** ἀπὸ τοῦ
 οὐρανοῦ **44** γενάμενος καὶ ἐγένετο *pro* ἐγένετο δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς **45**
 κοιμωμένους αὐτοὺς **47** δὲ *om.* αὐτοὺς *pro* αὐτῶν **52** ἐξήλθετε
53 ἐστιν ὑμῶν **54** αὐτὸν **2^ο** *om.* **57** γύναι *post* αὐτόν
60 αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος **ὁ 2^ο** *om.* **62** ὁ Πέτρος **66** αὐτῶν
pro ἐαυτῶν **71** μαρτύρων *pro* μαρτυρίας

XXIII 2 ἔθνος ἡμῶν **8** ἐξ ἱκανοῦ θέλων **11** καὶ ὁ Ἡρώδης
12 ὁ τε Ἡρώδης καὶ ὁ Πιλάτος **17** ἀπολύειν αὐτοῖς *post* ἑορτὴν
19 γεγενημένην *pro* γενομένην ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ **25** αὐτοῖς *om.*
26 τοῦ **1^ο** *om.* **27** καὶ **2^ο** *om.* **29** ἐξέθρεψαν *pro* ἐθίλασαν
33 ἦλθον *pro* ἀπῆλθον **33** εὐνύμων *pro* ἀριστερῶν **35** σὺν
 αὐτοῖς *om.* **36** καὶ **2^ο** *om.* **38** ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεγραμμένη **44** ἐνάτης
45 ἐσχίσθη *post* ναοῦ **46** παρατίθεμαι **47** ἐδόξαζεν
48 τὰ στήθη αὐτῶν **49** ἰστήκεισαν συνακολουθοῦσαι

XXIV 4 ἄνδρες δύο αἰσθήσασιν **10** ἣν *pro* ἦσαν
 Μαгдаλινῇ ἢ Ἰακώβου **18** ἐν **1^ο** *om.* **20** τε *om.* **29** κέ-
 κλικεν ἤδη **34** ὄντως ἀντε ἡγέρθη **44** λόγοι μου **47** ἀρξά-
 μενος **50** Βιθανίαν ἠελόγησεν

Ad finem evangelii εὐαγγέλιον κατα Λουκαν *litteris magnis*
scriptum.

ST. JOHN.

Titul. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἰωάννην.

I 17 Μωύσεως **19** Λευίτας πρὸς αὐτόν **20** ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμὶ
21 σὺ ἀντε Ἥλίας **24** οἱ *om.* **25** οὐδὲ *pro* οὔτε *bis* **27** οὐκ
 εἰμὶ ἐγὼ **28** Βηθανίᾳ *pro* Βηθαβαρᾶ **29** ὁ Ἰωάννης *om.*
31 τῷ *om.* **35** πάλιν *om.* **37** οἱ δύο αὐτοῦ **40** ὤφεσθε
pro ἴδετε ἦλθον οὖν δὲ *om.* **42** Μεσίαν **43** ἤγαγον
 δὲ *om.* **46** Ναζαρέθ **47** Ναζαρέθ **50** εἶπεν *pro* λέγει
51 ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅψῃ

- II 6 λίθιναι ὑδρίαι κείμεναι *post* Ἰουδαίων 9 οἱ δὲ *pro* καὶ
 17 καταφάγεταί 19 ὁ *om.* 22 αὐτοῖς *om.*
 III 2 αὐτὸν *pro* τὸν Ἰησοῦν δύναται *ante* ταῦτα 3 ὁ *om.*
 4 ὁ *om.* 5 ὁ *om.* 8 ἡ *pro* καὶ 2^ο 10 ὁ *om.* 14 Μωσῆς
 16 ἔχει *pro* ἔχῃ 19 αὐτῶν πονηρά 20 *post* αὐτοῦ *add.* ὅτι
 πονηρά εἰσιν 21 εἰσιν *pro* ἔστιν 23 Σαλεῖμ
 IV 1 ἡ *om.* 3 πάλιν *om.* 9 οὔσης *post* Σαμαρείτιδος
 13 Ἰησοῦς *sine* ὁ 15 ἔρχομαι 20 τῷ ὅρῳ τούτῳ προσ-
 κυνεῖν δεῖ 21 γύναι *post* μοι 25 Μεσίας ἐκείνος
 ἔλθῃ 27 ἐθαύμαζον 30 οὖν *om.* 31 δὲ *om.* 34 ποιήσω
pro ποιῶ 35 τετράμηνος 36 καὶ 1^ο *om.* *ita ut* ἥδη ὁ θερίζων
legatur καὶ 3^ο *om.* 37 ὁ 2^ο *om.* ἔστιν 2^ο *om.* 44 ὁ
 Ἰησοῦς *om.* 45 ὅσα *pro* ἃ 50 ὃν *pro* ᾧ ὁ Ἰησοῦς
 51 ὑπῆντησαν 52 εἶπον οὖν ἐχθὲς *pro* χθὲς
 V 1 ἡ ἑορτῇ 2 Βηρσαιά 4 ἐλουέτο *pro* κατέβαινον
 5 ἐκεῖ ἄνθρωπος ἀσθενεῖα αὐτοῦ 7 βάλη 8 ἔγειρε
m. prim. sed nunc ἔγειραι *κράβαττόν et sic passim* 10 καὶ
 οὐκ *κράβαττόν σου* 14 σοί τι 25 ἀκούσωσι
 27 καὶ 2^ο *om.* 38 ἐν ὑμῖν μένοντα 44 ἀλλήλων *in rasura*
scriptum est et quamvis litteras erasas legere non possum ἄνω
scriptum esse a spatio arbitror 45 Μωσῆς 46 Μωσεί
 VI 2 ἐθεώρουν αὐτοῦ *om.* 5 τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς
 ἀγοράσωμεν 6 ἡμελλε 9 ἐν *om.* ὃς *pro* ὁ 10 ἀνέπεσαν
 ἄνδρες *sine* οἱ ὡς *pro* ὥσει 11 ὄχλοις *pro* ἀνακειμένους
 15 πάλιν *om.* 17 Καφαρναούμ οὕτω πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐληλύθει ὁ
 Ἰησοῦς 21 αὐτὸν λαβεῖν ἐγένετο τὸ πλοῖον 22 ἐκείνο
 εἰς ὃ ἐνέβησαν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ *om.* πλοῖον *pro* πλοιάριον 2^ο
 23 πλοῖα ἦλθεν *pro* ἦλθε πλοιάρια 24 ἶδεν καὶ 1^ο *om.*
 πλοιάρια Καφαρναοῦμ 26 ἴδετε 29 πιστεύετε 35 οὖν
pro δὲ 39 πατὴρ *om.* ἐν *om.* 40 πέμψαντός με πατὴρ
 ἐγὼ αὐτὸν 41 ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς 42 οὗτος λέγει
 44 ἀγὼ 45 Θεοῦ *sine* τοῦ 46 ἑώρακέν τις 50 ἀπόλθαι
 51 ζήσει ἣν ἐγὼ δώσω *om.* 54 ἀναστήσω ἐγὼ 55 ἀληθής
bis 57 ζήσει 58 ζήσει 60 ὁ λόγος οὗτος 63 λελά-
 ληκα 66 τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ἀπῆλθον 68 οὖν *om.*
 71 Ἰσκαριώτου παραδιδόναι αὐτὸν
 VII 1 μετὰ ταῦτα *om.* 4 ποιεῖ τι 6 ἔτοιμός ἐστι
 8 ταύτην *om.* ὁ ἐμός καιρὸς 12 ἣν περὶ αὐτοῦ 19 Μωσῆς
 22 Μωσῆς Μωσέως 23 Μωσέως 24 κρίνετε
 26 ἀληθῶς *om.* 28 ὁ Ἰησοῦς *ante* ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ 29 δὲ *om.*
 31 ποιήσει τούτων 32 οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι 33 αὐτοῖς

om. 35 ποῦ οὖν 39 Ἅγιον om. 40 ἀκούσαντες τῶν
λόγων τούτων 42 οὐχ προ οὐχὶ ἔρχεται ὁ Χριστός
43 ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ 46 ἐλάλησεν οὕτως 50 πρὸς
αὐτὸν νυκτός 51 πρῶτον 52 ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας προφήτης
οὐκ ἐγείρεται 53 *usque ad VIII* 11 ἀμάρτανε om.

VIII 12 ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς 14 ἡ ποῦ ὑπάγω *ad fin.*
vers. 19 ἂν ἤδειτε 20 ὁ Ἰησοῦς om. γαζοφυλακείῳ
26 λαλῶ προ λέγω 28 ὑψώσῃται μου om. 29 ὁ πατήρ
om. 44 τοῦ πατρὸς καθὼς καὶ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ 46 ἐλέγξει
δὲ om. 51 τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον 52 γεύσῃται 53 σὺ 2^ο om.
59 καὶ διελθὼν ἐπορεύετο καὶ παρήγεν οὕτως

IX 3 Ἰησοῦς εἶπε ὁ 8 προσαίτης προ τυφλὸς 10 πῶς
οὖν ἠνεώχθησαν 11 οὖν προ δὲ 16 οὐκ ἔστιν οὗτος παρὰ
Θεοῦ ὁ ἄνθρωπος 17 λέγουσιν οὖν ἀνέωξε 20 οἶδαμεν
bis scriptum sed loco priore punctis damnatum - 21 αὐτὸν ἐρωτή-
σατε, ἡλικίαν ἔχει αὐτὸς περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λαλῆσαι 26 οὖν προ δὲ
27 μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ 28 οἱ δὲ ἐλοιδόρησαν μαθητῆς εἰ
29 Μωσεῖ 30 τούτῳ γὰρ τὸ θαυμαστόν 31 ὁ Θεὸς
ἀμαρτωλῶν 36 καὶ τίς 37 δὲ om. 40 μετ' αὐτοῦ
ὄντες 41 οὖν om.

X 3 φωνεῖ προ καλεῖ 4 πάντα προ πρόβατα 1^ο 7 ὅτι
om. 8 ἦλθον πρὸ ἐμοῦ 10 περισσύτερον προ περισσὸν
12 ὁ δὲ μισθωτὸς 16 ἀκούουσι προ ἀκούσουσι γενήσονται
17 με ὁ πατήρ 18 οὐδεὶς γὰρ 22 τότε προ δὲ 26 ὅτι
οὐκ προ οὐ γὰρ 29 ὁ δέδωκέ μοι πάντων μεῖζων 32 ἔργα
καλὰ ἐμὲ λιθάζετε 34 ὅτι ἐγὼ 39 αὐτὸν πάλιν
41 ἐποίησε σημεῖον 42 πολλοὶ ἐπίστευσαν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ

XI 9 ὥραί εἰσιν 11 ἐξυπνήσω 17 ἐν τῷ μνημείῳ ἔχοντα
20 Ἰησοῦς εἶπε ὁ 24 ἡ Μάρθα 32 Ἰησοῦς εἶπε ὁ
αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς πόδας μου ἀπέθανεν 38 αὐτὸ προ
αὐτῷ 39 τετελευτηκότος 44 κηρίαις 47 ποιεῖ σημεῖα
52 ἔθνους δὲ μόνον 54 αὐτοῦ om. 57 καὶ om.

XII 2 ἀνακειμένων σὺν αὐτῷ 4 Ἰσκαριώτου 6 ἔμελλεν
προ ἔμελεν 7 ἄφετε αὐτήν ἵνα τηρήσῃ 12 Ἰησοῦς
εἶπε ὁ 16 πρότερον προ πρῶτον 18 ἤκουσαν 25 ἀπολύει
προ ἀπολέσει 26 τις διακονῇ καὶ υἱ. om. 29 ἐστῇκώς
προ ἐστὼς 30 ἡ φωνὴ αὐτῇ 34 οὗτος om. 35 ἐν
ὑμῖν προ μεθ' ὑμῶν ὥς προ ἔως 36 ὥς προ ἔως
40 ἐπώρωσεν στραφῶσι καὶ ἰάσομαι 41 ὅτι ἶδεν 43 εἴπερ
προ ἤπερ 49 δέδωκεν 50 οὕτως

XIII 2 γινομένου καρδίαν ἵνα παραδῶ αὐτὸν, Ἰούδας Σίμωνος

Ἰσκαριώτου 8 μου τοὺς πόδας 10 οὐκ ἔχει χρεῖαν εἰ
 μὴ *pro* ἡ 12 καὶ *om.* 20 ἂν *pro* ἑάν 23 δὲ *om.*
 ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν 24 τίς ἂν εἴη *om.* τίνος *pro* οὐ 25 ἀνα-
 πεσῶν 26 Ἰσκαριώτου 27 εἰς *om.* τάχειον 28 δὲ
om. 30 ἐξῆλθεν εὐθέως 36 ἐγὼ ὑπάγω 37 Πέτρος
sine ὁ

XIV 3 τόπον ὑμῖν εἶτε *pro* ἦτε 7 πατέρα μου ἂν ἤδειτε
 10 ἐν ἐμοὶ *sine* ὁ 13 αἰτήσεται 14 τοῦτο *pro* ἐγὼ
 16 καγὼ 21 τοῦ πατρός μου *pro* μου 23 Ἰησοῦς *sine* ὁ
 28 εἶπον 2^ο *om.* μου 1^ο *om.* 31 οὕτως

XV 2 καρπὸν πλείονα 6 τὸ πῦρ 9 ὑμᾶς ἠγάπησα
 11 ἡ *pro* μείνη 16 αἰτήτε 24 ἐποίησεν 25 ἐν τῷ νόμῳ
 αὐτῶν γεγραμμένος

XVI 3 οἶδαςι *pro* ἔγνωσαν 7 οὐ μὴ ἔλθῃ *pro* οὐκ ἐλεύσεται
 10 ὑπάγω πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου *om.* 12 ὑμῖν λέγειν
 13 ἀκούσει *pro* ἂν ἀκούσῃ 15 λαμβάνει *pro* λήψεται 16 οὐκ ἐτι
pro οὐ καὶ ὅτι ὑπάγω 17 ἐγὼ *om.* 18 τί ἐστι τοῦτο
 τὸ *om.* 22 νῦν μὲν λύπην ἔχετε 23 ἑάν τι *pro* ὅσα ἂν
 29 αὐτῷ *om.* 32 κάμῃ 33 ἔχετε *pro* ἔχετε

XVII 2 δώσει 7 ἔγνωσαν *pro* ἔγνωκαν εἰσιν *pro* ἐστιν
 11 οὐκ ἐτι καγὼ ᾧ *pro* οὓς ἡμεῖς ἐν ἐσμέν 13 ἑαυτοῖς
 19 ὥσιν καὶ αὐτοὶ 20 πιστευόντων 22 καγὼ 24 δέδωκάς
pro ἔδωκάς

XVIII 4 ἰδὼν *pro* εἰδὼς 6 ὅτι *om.* 7 ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτοὺς
 15 ἄλλος *sine* ὁ 16 ἐκεῖνος *pro* ὁ ἄλλος 20 λελάληκα
 τῇ *om.* 22 παρεστῶτων ὑπηρετῶν παρεστηκώς *om.*
 24 ἀπέστειλεν οὖν 26 ὁ συγγενὴς *pro* συγγενὴς ὢν 28 πρῶι
pro πρῶία 29 φησι *pro* εἶπε 30 κακοποιῶν 33 ὁ
 Πιλάτος (*hoc accentu passim*) πάλιν 34 ἀπεκρίνατο *pro*
 ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ 36 Ἰησοῦς *sine* ὁ ὑπηρεταί
 οἱ ἐμοὶ ἠγωνίζοντο ἂν 37 Ἰησοῦς *sine* ὁ ἐγὼ 1^ο *om.* 39 ὑμῖν 2^ο
om. ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν 40 πάλιν *om.*

XIX 1 ὁ Πιλάτος ἔλαβε 3 ἐδίδοσαν 4 οὐδεμίαν
 αἰτίαν ἐν αὐτῷ 5 ἰδοὺ *pro* ἶδε 6 ἶδον ὑμεῖς αὐτὸν
 7 ἡμῶν *om.* υἱὸν Θεοῦ ἑαυτὸν 9 Ἰησοῦς *om.* 10 ἐξουσίαν
 2^ο *om.* *sed add. m. s. in margine* 11 αὐτῷ *pro* ὁ κατ' ἐμοῦ
 οὐδεμίαν 12 ὁ Πιλάτος ἐζήτει ἐκραύγασαν ἑαυτὸν ποιῶν
 14 ὥρα ἦν ὡς τρίτη 17 οὖν *pro* δὲ Ἑβραϊστὶ δὲ *pro* ὅς
 λέγεται Ἑβραϊστὶ 20 ὁ τόπος τῆς πόλεως Ῥωμαϊστὶ,
 Ἑλληνιστί 21 τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰμι 23 ἄραφος 25 Μαριάμ
 ἡ τοῦ Κλοπᾶ Μαριάμ 26 αὐτοῦ *om.* 27 ἶδε

ὁ μαθητὴς αὐτὴν 28 ἤδη πάντα 29 οὖν *om.* σπόγγον
οὖν μεστὸν τοῦ ὄξους ὑσσώπῳ 31 ἐπεὶ παρασκευὴ ἦν αὐτῇ ἵνα
τοῦ σαββάτου ἐκείνου 33 ἴδον 34 ἐξῆλθεν εὐθύς
36 πιστεύητε δὲ *pro* γὰρ 38 ὁ 1^ο *et* 2^ο *om.* αὐτοῦ *pro*
τοῦ Ἰησοῦ 39 αὐτὸν *pro* τὸν Ἰησοῦν 42 αὐτόν *pro* τὸν
Ἰησοῦν

XX 3 καὶ ὁ Πέτρος 4 τάχειον 5 τὰ ὀθόνια κείμενα
μέντοιγε 11 Μαριὰμ 15 ἔθικας αὐτόν 16 Ῥαβουνί
ad finem versus add. καὶ προσέδραμεν ἄψασθαι αὐτοῦ
17 Ἰησοῦς *sine* ὁ 21 καὶ εἶπεν *pro* εἶπεν οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς *om.*
23 ἀφένονται 25 αὐτοῖς *om.* 28 καὶ 1^ο *om.* 29 Θωμᾶ *om.*

XXI 1 ὁ Ἰησοῦς πάλιν 3 ἐνέβησαν εὐθύς *om.* 4 ἐγνωσαν
pro ἥδειςαν 5 ἔχῃτε 6 *post* εὐρήσετε *add.* οἱ δὲ εἶπον δι'
ὅλης νυκτὸς κοπιάσαντες οὐδὲν ἐλάβομεν ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ σῷ ῥήματι βαλοῦμεν
ἴσχυον *pro* ἴσχυσαν 11 ἐνέβη οὖν *pro* ἀνέβη μεγάλων
ἰχθύων 13 οὖν *om.* 17 καὶ λέγει Κύριε 18 ζώση
οἴσῃ 25 ἃ *pro* ὅσα *ad finem evangelii* Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ
Ἰωάννην *et statim postea*

εὐαγγελιστῶν τεσσάρων θείοι λόγοι

γραφέντες ὧδε λήξιν ἔσχον τῶν πόνων

litteris magnis scripta sunt

COLOSSIANS.

I 2 καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ *om.* 6 *post* καρποφ. *add.* καὶ
αὐξανόμενον 10 ἐν τῇ ἐπιγνώσει 14 διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ *om.*
16 ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς *sine* τὰ 20 δι' αὐτοῦ *om.* ἔσται τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς
γῆς 22 παραστήσαι 24 παθήμασι *sine* μου Χριστοῦ
ἐν τῷ σώματί μου ὅς ἐστι 27 γνῶναι *pro* γνωρίσαι

II 1 ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν 2 τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ
3 γνώσεως *sine* τῆς 7 ἐν πίστει ἐν αὐτῇ 12 ἐκ νεκρῶν
13 ὄντας τοῖς 20 εἰ *sine* οὖν σὺν Χριστῷ 23 ἐθελοθρησκία

III 4 τότε καὶ ὑμεῖς φανερωθήσεσθε ἐν δόξῃ σὺν αὐτῷ 5 τὰ
μέλη *sine* ὑμῶν 7 ἐν τούτοις 12 οἰκτιρμοῦ 15 ἐκλήθητε
ἐν σώματι ἐνί 16 ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν τῷ Θεῷ 18 ἰδίοις
om. 20 ἐν κυρίῳ 22 ὀφθαλμοδουλίαις φοβούμενοι τὸν
Κύριον 23 καὶ 1^ο *om.* ἂν *pro* ἔαν 25 κομίσηται

IV 3 διὸ καὶ 6 ἀποκρίνασθαι 9 γνωρίσουσι

IV. CODEX EVANG. 1071.

OF all the minuscule MSS. which we saw in the libraries of the monasteries on Mount Athos the one now numbered 104 A in the Laura catalogue was far the best, indeed it was the only one which presented any great features of interest. It was not difficult to identify it as the MS. which Dr. Gregory has numbered 1071 in his catalogue in the Prolegomena to Tischendorf's ed. maj. viii.

Dr. Gregory's description is as follows:—

'1071 in Ath. Laurae; saec xii, 28.3 × 19.5 membr, coll. 2, ll 26. 27, Carp. Eus.-t, capp-t, capp, titl, sect, (Mc 234: 16, 9) can, syn, men, subser ut Λ, στιχ; *Ενν*; Lc 22, 43. 44 deerat, m. ser. add. in mg.: Joh. 8, 6 κάτω κεκυφώς τῷ δακτύλῳ κατέγραφεν: 8, 9 ἕκαστος δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐξήρχετο ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ὥστε πάντας ἐξελεῖν et multa alia. In Calabria nisi fallor exaratus, manibus duabus, partim litteris Neritinis. Vidi 27 Aug. 1886.'

There is only a little to be added in the way of technical description, but the following points may be noted.

(1) According to our notes the summary account should also contain *lect. pict.* I much regret, in the light of subsequent investigation, that we did not look more carefully into the nature of the lections. Probably they are the ordinary ones, but I cannot speak with certainty, and considering that a connexion perhaps exists between this MS. and Codex Bezae, it would be worth while for the next scholar who goes to the Laura to look into the question more carefully. I should be inclined to guess that, as Dr. Gregory did not notice the presence of any lection marks, they are not a complete system, but only a few which caught our eye, or rather, as

I judge from the handwriting of the note on this point, Mr. Wathen's eye.

The pictures are not illuminated, and are unlike those in any MS. which I saw on Mount Athos, but I have since seen in the Bodleian a MS. (MS. Douce 70), the pictures of which remind me of those in cod. 1071. Probably the explanation that they were prepared for illumination, but never finished, is as true for 1071 as it certainly is for Douce 70. In the picture before the fourth Gospel it is important to note that the Latin words *In principio erat verbum* appear on the page of the open book which St. John is represented as holding.

(2) I feel sure that it was written by three rather than by two hands, whose work was distributed as follows:—

Scribe A wrote quaternions 1, 7 and 8 containing the introductory matter (Carp. Eus.-t. Capp-t and, I think, syn. men.), and Mt 22, 13—end of Capp-t. to Mark.

Scribe B wrote quaternions 2 and 9-23, containing Mt 1, 1-7, 26 *ἡκοδόμησεν* and Mc 1, 1 to the end of the Gospels.

Scribe C wrote quaternions 3-6, containing Mt 7, 26—Mt 22, 13 *δῆσαν*.

It is noticeable that in the seventeenth quaternion scribe B has inserted two conjugate leaves between the seventh and eighth folia of the gathering. If there is no other irregularity in the make-up of the MS. this gives a total of 186 folia, but our notes say that the MS. contained 181 folia. As this discrepancy did not strike us until we had left the mountain, it is impossible to do more than record the fact without offering any explanation.

(3) *Litterae Neritinae* means the writing of the school of Nardo, or Neritum, near Rossano, the existence of which is recorded by De Ferrariis in his tract *De Situ Iapygiae*¹.

¹ In hac urbe de qua nunc loquimur et gymnasium quondam fuit Graecarum disciplinarum tale, ut cum Mesapii Graeci laudare Graecas litteras volunt Neritinas esse dicant. Sunt enim hae litterae perpulchrae et castigatae et iis, quibus nunc utuntur impressores, Orientalibus ad legendum aptiores.—Antonius Galateus (De Ferrariis), *De Situ Iapygiae*, ed. 1558, p. 122.

I think that Dr. Gregory here alludes to the writing of the scribe B, but I do not feel sure, as I only know *Litterae Neritinae* through description. However, I do not feel the least hesitation in affirming a complete agreement with Dr. Gregory in his belief that the MS. came from Italy. The Latin words in the picture of St. John are evidence that it came from a district where Latin was more or less known, and the handwriting has a peculiar stiffness¹, very difficult to describe, but easy to recognize, which is often characteristic of Italian MSS. I much regret that, for some reason which we could not understand, we were not allowed to photograph even a specimen of this MS.

The Provenience and History of the Codex.

It will be seen from the foregoing remarks that the codex came from S. Italy or Sicily—there is little difference between the two regions, palaeographically considered. It remains to be seen whether the exact home of the MS. can be found, and the explanation of its being taken to Mount Athos be discovered. Father Chrysostom, when the problem was put to him, affirmed that the answer was easy and certain. There had been, he said, in the twelfth century, a movement of *rapprochement* between S. Italy and Constantinople, which had resulted in the foundation of a monastery on Mount Athos, endowed by the Greek merchants connected with Amalfi, and therefore called 'Αμαλφινῶν. This monastery was afterwards known, doubtless when the connexion with Italy had been broken, as τὸ Μορφινόν—an obvious corruption of the earlier title. After a period of prosperity it fell into ruins, and its library and lands were taken over by the Laura. The ruined tower on the top of a precipitous and thickly-wooded hill may be seen on the right hand of the path as one approaches the Laura from Ivéron.

¹ See Batiffol's essay in *L'Abbaye de Rossano*.

The only reference to this monastery which I have been able to find in books about Mount Athos is in De Vogüé's *Syrie, Palestine et Mont Athos*, a little book which gives a charming and most lifelike description of the 'Holy Mountain.' He says on p. 263: 'En même temps (the closing years of the twelfth century) à l'instigation d'Innocent III une tentative est faite pour latiniser le principal centre monastique de l'orthodoxie. Les Amalfitains ces infatigables pionniers qu'on retrouve à l'avant-garde de toutes les entreprises occidentales en Orient fondent le couvent catholique d'Omorphonô dont les ruines abritent aujourd'hui des chevriers sous un toit de lierre dans un des sites les plus pittoresques de la presqu'île.' Unfortunately he gives no authority for this statement, and I have not been able as yet to find any. The ancient 'Chronicon Amalfitanum' published by Muratori is mutilated at this point, but one of the few fragments relating to this period recounts a mission to Constantinople, and the obtaining of the body of St. Andrew from that city. This at least shows the Amalfitans in the neighbourhood of Athos, and dealing in monastic 'properties.' It should also be noticed that the period in question is that of the Montferrats and the Roman kingdom of Thessalonica, when a Latinising movement is quite probable. Therefore there can be little doubt that Father Chrysostom's suggestion is a very reasonable one, but caution demands a statement of countervailing considerations.

If Dr. Gregory is right in identifying part of cod. 1071 as written in the hand characteristic of the school of Nardo, it weakens the case for Amalfi, because Nardo is close to Rossano, not to Amalfi, and there is some, though not very good evidence, that there was in the twelfth century a monastery on Mount Athos definitely connected with Calabria. This evidence is found in the life of St. Bartholomew¹ of Simeri, near Rossano. St. Bartholomew was a person who in early life became a kind of hermit in the mountains near Rossano,

¹ Printed in the *Bollandist Acta SS. Sept.* vol. viii.

and afterwards founded several monasteries in the district, including St. Mary's of Patira. He is said to have made a journey to Constantinople, and to have been very well received by the Court, especially by a pious noble named Calimeris, who gave him many valuable presents, and—the chronicler continues—*ὅπερ εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον ὄρος ἐκέκτητο μοναστήριον ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατέρος ἡμῶν καὶ οὐρανοφάντορος Βασιλείου αὐτῷ ἐδωρήσατο, εὐεργετῆσθαι μᾶλλον ἐκ τούτου ἢ εὐεργετῆν μάλα εἰκότως οἰόμενος, οὐδὲρ τὴν προστασίαν ταῖς πολλαῖς ἐκείνου δυσωπηθεῖς ἱκεταῖς ὁ μέγας ἀναδεξάμενος πολλῆς ὠφελείας τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀσκηταῖς ἐγένετο πρόξενος λόγους ὁμοῦ καὶ ἔργοις ῥυθμίσας αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸ μέλπιον (l. βέλτιον)*—then some details recounting Bartholomew's departure and his appointment of a successor—*διὸ καὶ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ὡς φασὶ τὸ μοναστήριον 'τοῦ Καλαβροῦ' παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἐπονομάζεται.*

Again, there does not seem to be any entirely trustworthy evidence as to the existence of this monastery. It is not mentioned (nor is τὸ Μορφινόν) by John Comnenus¹ in his description of Mount Athos, but this does not prove more than that it did not exist in the seventeenth century when John Comnenus wrote. The whole question of these two monasteries ought to be inquired into by the next scholar who visits the mountain.

At present one can only say that cod. 1071 was probably once in the library of either τὸ Μορφινόν or the monastery of τοῦ Καλαβροῦ, whither it was imported either from Amalfi or from the neighbourhood of Rossano. The importance of this fact will probably be considered to lie in the light it may possibly throw on the locality in which the Codex Bezae was preserved in the twelfth century, for, as will be shown later, there is in the text of the *pericope adulterae* in cod. 1071 a point of close connexion with the Codex Bezae.

¹ Printed in Montfaucon's *Palaeographia Graeca*.

Evidence other than textual which connects Cod. 1071 with other MSS.

This is given by the stichometric enumerations and subscriptions which are found at the end of the Gospels. They are as follows:—

At the end of St. Matthew: *Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἐγγράφη καὶ ἀντεβλήθη ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις παλαιῶν ἀντιγραφῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀγίῳ Ὁρει ἀποκειμένων. στχ. βφ (2500).*

At the end of St. Mark: *Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον ἐγγράφη καὶ ἀντεβλήθη ὁμοίως ἐκ τῶν ἐσπουδασμένων. στχ. αφζ (1590).*

They are omitted at the end of the two other Gospels. This indication of provenience, whatever it may mean, groups cod. 1071 with the following MSS. at least, and probably with others.

Λ¹ (ix) in the Bodleian: brought from 'the East' by Tischendorf in 1853. Probably therefore originally part of the library of St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai.

20 (xi) at Paris: brought from the East in 1669.

117 (xv) in the British Museum: apparently nothing is known of its history except that it once belonged to Bentley.

157 (xii) in the Vatican Library: written, perhaps in 1128, for the Emperor John II Porphyrogenitus, presumably therefore in Constantinople.

164 (xi) in the Barberini Library: a palimpsest. Written by Leo, priest and scribe, and purchased in 1168 at Jerusalem by a certain Bartholomew. Probably therefore written in some Eastern monastery.

262 (x ? xii) at Paris: probably written in Italy, but afterwards sent to Constantinople, and brought back in 1735.

428 (xiii) at Munich: history apparently unknown.

565 (ix) at St. Petersburg: said to have been written by

¹ Λ of course has not got the subscription to Matthew, and in the other MSS. quoted sometimes one of the Gospels lacks the subscription.

the Empress Theodora; afterwards in the monastery of Houth Khan in Pontus.

566 (ix) at St. Petersburg: the other half of cod. A, which Tischendorf seems to have separated as he did in other cases.

829 (xii ? xi) at Grotta Ferrata: almost certainly written in S. Italy or Sicily. Dr. Gregory's question whether it may not be 'consanguineus familiae 13,' i.e. a member of the Ferrar group, may be definitely answered in the negative.

The scanty information which may thus be gathered from catalogues about these MSS. suggests that the group to which they belong may be divided into two—an Eastern and an Italian branch. To the former belong A, 20, 157, 164, 565, 566 (which may perhaps be subdivided into Constantinopolitan and Sinaitic branches); to the latter belong 262, 829, 1071.

The question remains to be decided, what is the original home of the family. I think that Sinai is the most likely place. This conclusion is reached from a consideration of the subscription. This it will be remembered runs as follows:—

Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἐγράφη καὶ ἀντεβλήθη ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις παλαιῶν ἀντιγραφῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀγίῳ Ὄρει ἀποκειμένων.

At first this appears to identify¹ Jerusalem and the Ἱερόν Ὄρος. But there seems no reason for thinking that any monastery at Jerusalem was ever called a holy mountain. Τὸ Ἱερόν Ὄρος, according to Father Chrysostom, for whose great learning and instinct on such points I learnt while at the Laura to have the greatest respect, felt confident that it meant neither Jerusalem nor (considering the early date of A 566, 565) Athos, but definitely Sinai. He boldly emended ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις into ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμειτῶν, adding (what is perfectly true) that the terminations of words in colophons are often so abbreviated that they may mean almost anything.

¹ This seems to be Bousset's view in his *Text-kritische Studien*.

I think therefore that probably Sinai is the original home, and that the subscription means that the archetype of the group came originally from Jerusalem, and was, at the time when it was used, preserved in the library at Sinai.

The Text of this Family.

At present it is impossible to say whether any members of the family have preserved the original text. The majority have undoubtedly reverted to the ordinary Antiochian type, but 157, 565, 1071 (especially 565), have texts of some value, and A 566, 262, 829 have a certain number of interesting readings. To work the subject out fully would be a long and delicate piece of work, but the impression which I have at present is that no close genealogical connexion can be shown to exist between any of the MSS. in this group at all similar to that found in the Ferrar group or the group which is headed by cod. 1. It is possible that further study may reveal a more remote connexion, and may even connect them with other well-known MSS. which do not possess this interesting colophon, which would then acquire a further importance.

An attempt has been made by Dr. W. Bousset, in his *Text-kritische Studien*, to deal with the subject somewhat on these lines. He considers that all these MSS. belong to a large group headed by the uncials KΠ(M) which he thinks may be connected more or less closely with Jerusalem, and have affinities with the text of Origen. There is no question that KΠ(M) possess a peculiar text which may represent some definite recension, but it may be doubted whether MSS. like 157, 565, 1071 can be rightly claimed as belonging to this group. They have some points in common with it, but they have many more in which they disagree, not only with it, but also among themselves. The whole problem raised is full of difficulties, and at present no adequate solution has been offered. If however any advance is possible, it is probable that it will be made by dealing with the smaller and definite families first, and afterwards bringing them together into larger groups.

The Text of Cod. 1071.

The collation with Lloyd's text of the whole of St. Mark, and of several chapters from the other Gospels, which is given in the following pages, will probably be sufficient to give a fair impression of the character and value of the codex. It must however be understood that this is not based on photographs, but only on a necessarily hurried collation, which was made at the Laura by Mr. Wathen and myself, and naturally must have suffered from the haste with which it was made. We did not collect orthographical variants simply as such: the spelling of cod. 1071 is very bad, offering in this respect a great contrast to the mass of the MSS. in the libraries on Mount Athos. I have not attempted any full analysis of the different readings, but at the conclusion of the collation I have drawn attention to some of the more interesting variants, and especially to the text of the *pericope adulterae*.

ST. MATTHEW.

V 1 *post* ἀνέβη *add.* ὁ Ἰησοῦς 13 βληθὲν ἔξω καταπατεῖσθαι
 18 ἰῶτα ἐν τῇ κεραίᾳ *post* νόμου *add.* καὶ τῶν προφητῶν
 19 ἐντολῶν μου τούτων 20 ὑμῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη 22 εἶπη
 τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ μωρέ 25 μετ' αὐτοῦ *ante* εἰ 28 ἐπιθυ-
 μίσαι αὐτήν 29 σκανδαλίζει σε *ante* ὁ δεξιός 32 μοιχευ-
 θῆναι *pro* μοιχᾶσθαι 36 ποιῆσαι *ante* λευκὴν 39 δεξιὰν
 εἶπε σου 40 *post* ἱματίων *add.* σου 42 δῶς *pro* δίδου
 44 *om.* καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοὺς μισούντας ὑμᾶς 47 φίλους *pro*
 ἀδελφούς οἱ ἐθνικοὶ *pro* τελῶναι 48 ὡς *pro* ὥσπερ
 ὁ οὐράνιος *pro* ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς

VI 1 προσέχετε δὲ 3 γινῶ *pro* γνώτω 4 ὅπως ἡ σου
 ἐλεημοσύνη ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ αὐτὸς ἀποδώσει *omissis verbis omniūbus*
quas inter ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ 1^o *et* ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ 2^o *interponenda sint*
 5 προσεύχεσθε εἰ ἔσεσθε *pro* προσεύχη κ.τ.λ. 14 ὑμεῖς *pro*
 ὑμῖν 20 οὐδὲ βρώσις οὔτε κλέπτουσιν 23 ὀφθαλμοὺς
 εἶπε σου 24 *post* οὐδεὶς *add.* οἰκῆτης 26 οὔτε . . . οὔτε . . .
 οὔτε 28 οὐ κοπιῶσιν οὐδὲ νήθουσιν 32 ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα
 τὰ ἔθνη ἐπιζητοῦσιν

XXI 3 ἀποστέλλει 8 αὐτῶν *pro* ἑαυτῶν 13 ποιή-
 σατε αὐτὸν 14 χωλοὶ καὶ τυφλοὶ 18 *post* ἐπανάγων

add. ὁ Ἰησοῦς 22 αἰτεῖσθε *pro* αἰτήσητε 24 *post* αὐτοῖς
add. ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν 26 *post* διατί *om.* οὖν *post* ἐὰν *om.*
δὲ 28 *post* ἀνθρώπος *add.* τις σήμερον *post* ἐργάζου
30 ἐτέρω *pro* δευτέρῳ 38 *post* υἱὸν *add.* αὐτὸν
XXIII 5 γὰρ *pro* δὲ 10 ὑμῶν *post* ἐστιν 19 *post*
μερίζον (?) *add.* ἐστι 20 καὶ ἐν τῷ καθημένῳ ἐν πᾶσι 21 κατοικί-
κῆσαντι

ST. MARK.

I 2 καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν Ἡσαΐα τῷ προφῆτι 5 *post* Ἱερο-
σολυμίται *add.* πάντες 7 κύψας *om.* 9 ἐκείναις *post* ἡμέραις
10 ὡς *pro* ὥσεί 15 *ante* λέγων *om.* καὶ 16 αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σίμωνος
17 γενέσθαι *om.* 19 *post* δίκτυα *add.* αὐτῶν 21 εὐθὺς *pro*
εὐθέως 23 *ante* λέγων *add.* φωνῇ μεγάλῃ 25 αὐτῶν *pro* αὐτοῦ
26 φωνήσας *pro* κράξαν 27 ἅπαντες πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς λέγοντας
τί ἐστι τοῦτο εἰ τίς ἢ κ.τ.λ. 33 καὶ ἦν ὅλη ἡ πόλις
35 ἀναστὰς ἀπῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς 36 ὁ τε Σίμων 37 σε *ante*
ζητοῦσιν 42 ἡ λέπρα αὐτοῦ 45 δύνασθαι *ante* αὐτὸν
φανερῶς *post* εἰς πόλιν πάντοθεν

II 1 εἰσῆλθεν πάλιν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν οἴκῳ *pro* εἰς οἶκον
3 φέροντες *ante* πρὸς αὐτὸν 5 σου αἱ ἁμαρτίαι σου *ut vid. sed*
coll. est amphibolia 8 αὐτοὶ διαλογίζονται 9 σου *post* κράβ-
βατόν 10 ἀφίεναι *post* ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς 11 ἔγειρε ἄρον *sine*
καὶ 12 ἐνώπιον *pro* ἐναντίον 13 *post* πάλιν *add.* ὁ Ἰησοῦς
ἤρχοντο *pro* ἤρχετο 16 *post* πίνει *add.* ὁ διδάσκαλος 17 *ante*
οὐ χρεῖαν *add.* ὅτι οὐ γὰρ ἦλθον 18 οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν φαρ.
οἱ μαθηταὶ τῶν φαρ. μαθηταὶ σου *pro* σοὶ μαθηταὶ 21 οὐδεὶς
sine καὶ 23 *ante* τοῖς σάββ. *om.* ἐν οἱ μαθ. αὐτοῦ *et* ἤρξαντο
24 *post* ποιοῦσιν *add.* οἱ μαθηταὶ 25 λέγει *pro* ἔλεγεν
26 ἱερεῦσι μόνον

III 6 ἐποίησαν 7 *post* Ἰησοῦς *add.* γνοὺς παρὰ τὴν
θάλασσαν ἠκολούθησαν *post* Ἰουδαίας 8 ἐποίει ὁ Ἰησοῦς
11 ἐθεώρουν προσέπιπτον ἔκραζον 12 αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς
13 εἰς τὸ ὄρος ὁ Ἰησοῦς 16 καὶ ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς ὀνόματα, τῷ
Σίμωνι Πέτρον 17 Ἰακώβου *sine* τοῦ 18 Ματθαίου τὸν
τελώνην 20 μηδὲ *pro* μήτε 23 αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς 25 δυνή-
σεται *pro* δύναται σταθῆναι *post* ἐκείνη 27 ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς
δύναται εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ εἰσελθὼν τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ διαρπάσαι
28 τὰ ἁμαρτήματα *post* ἀνθρώπων ἐὰν *pro* ἂν 30 ὅτι
ἔλεγον ὅτι 31 καὶ ἔρχονται *pro* ἔρχονται οὖν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ
καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ 32 περὶ αὐτὸν ὄχλος πολὺς καὶ

λέγουσιν *pro* εἶπον δὲ 33 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτοῖς λέγει καὶ
pro ἡ 34 *ad fin. vers. add.* οὗτοί εἰσιν 35 ἐὰν *pro* ἂν
 μήτηρ μου

IV 1 ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς 3 σπείραι τὸν σπόρον αὐτοῦ
 4 σπείρειν αὐτὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ *om.* 5 καὶ ἄλλο *pro* ἄλλο
 δὲ γῆς βάθος 6 καὶ ὅτε ἀνέτειλεν ὁ ἥλιος *pro* ἡλίον κ.τ.λ.
 8 αὐξανόμενα εἰς τριάκοντα καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἐν ἑκατὸν
 9 αὐτοῖς *om.* 10 καὶ ὅτε *pro* ὅτε δὲ ἡρώτων *pro* ἡρώτησαν
 11 λέγεται *pro* γίνεται 12 βλάβωσιν συνῶσι 15 εὐθύς
 16 ὁμοίως εἰσιν 18 οὗτοί εἰσιν 2^ο *om.* ἀκούσαντες 20 ἐν
pro ἐν *ter* 21 ὑπὸ *pro* ἐπὶ τεθῇ *pro* ἐπιτεθῇ 22 ἔλθῃ εἰς
 φανερόν 24 ἀντιμετρηθήσεται 25 ἐὰν *pro* ἂν 26 ἔλεγεν
 αὐτοῖς 31 κόκκον *pro* κόκκῳ μικρότερον 32 μείζων
 πάντων τῶν λαχάνων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς 34 τοῖς ἰδίῳις μαθηταῖς
 35 εἰς πέραν εἶπε τὸ 36 πλοῖα *pro* πλοῖαρια 37 καὶ τὰ
 κύματα *pro* τὰ δὲ κύματα ἤδη γεμίζεσθαι αὐτῷ 38 αὐτὸς
 ἦν ἐν τῇ πρύμνῃ 41 οἱ ἄνθρωποι

V 1 Γεργεσηνῶν 2 ὑπῆντησεν 3 μνήμασιν *pro* μνη-
 μείοις οὔτε ἀλύσεσιν οὔτε πέδες 4 αὐτὸν 1^ο *om.* οὐδεὶς
 ἐδύνατο αὐτὸν δαμάσαι 5 ἦν *ante* διαπαντός ἐν τοῖς
 μνήμασιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν 6 ἀπὸ *om.* 7 λέγει *pro* εἶπε
 11 πρὸς τὸ ὄρει 13 ἀγέλη πᾶσα 16 καὶ διηγῆσαντο δὲ
 19 πεποιήκε καὶ ἠλέησέ σε ὁ Θεὸς (? ὁ κύριος *om.*) 22 παρακαλεῖ
 27 τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου 33 τρέμονσα διὸ πεποιήκεν
 40 πάντα 41 ταλιθὰ κούμ

VI 2 τοῦτο πάντα *pro* τοῦτῃ ταῦτα ὅτι *om.* 3 δὲ *om.*
 4 συγγενεῦσιν αὐτοῦ 11 ἂν *om.* οὐ μὴ δέξωνται Σοδόμοις
 καὶ 14 Ἑρώδης τὴν ἀκοὴν Ἰησοῦ 15 ἡ *om.* 17 φυλακῇ εἶπε τῇ
 26 διὰ δὲ τοὺς ὅρκους ἤθελεν 30 καὶ 2^ο *om.* 33 οἱ
 ὄχλοι *om.* 35 προσελθόντες οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ
 37 δηναρίων διακοσίων 38 ἐπιγινόντες 39 ἀνακλιθῆναι
 44 ὥσει *om.* 45 τοὺς ὄχλους 52 αὐτῶν ἡ καρδιά 54 αὐτὸν
 οἱ ἄνθρωποι τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου

VII 6 ὅτι *om.* ἐπροφήτευσεν ὅτι ὁ λαὸς οὗτος 11 ὁ
 ἄνθρωπος 13 διὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ὑμῶν ἦν 15 κοινῶσαι
 αὐτὸν 16 ὁ ἔχων *pro* εἴ τις ἔχει 19 καθαρίζων 24 εἰς
 οἰκίαν 26 Συροφουνίκισσα τὸ γέννη 28 τῶν πιπτόντων
 ψυχῶν τῶν παιδίων *om.* 29 ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς σου τὸ δαιμόνιον
 30 ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην 31 ἐξελθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ 36 αὐτοὶ
 μᾶλλον περισσοτέρως

VIII 1 πάλιν πολλοῦ ὁ Ἰησοῦς *om.* 2 ὄχλον τοῦτον

3 ἀπὸ μακρόθεν 4 ὤδε *om.* 6 αὐτοῖς *pro* τῷ ὄχλῳ
 7 εὐλογήσας αὐτὰ εἶπεν παραθεῖναι αὐτὰ 8 ἐχορτάσθησαν πάντες
 σπυρίδας πλήρεις 9 τετρακισχίλιοι ἄνδρες 10 καὶ ἐμβὰς
 εὐθέως 12 ἑαυτοῦ *pro* αὐτοῦ οὐ *pro* εἰ 13 πάλιν
 ἐμβὰς εἰς πλοῖον διήλθεν 14 ἐπελάθοντο οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ
 ἕνα ἄρτον μόνον 16 ἐν ἑαυτοῖς *pro* πρὸς ἀλλήλους 19 κοφίνους
 κλασμάτων ἤρατε πλήρεις 21 οὐπω 22 ἔρχονται *pro* ἔρχεται
 23 αὐτοῦ *pro* αὐτῷ 24 εἶπεν *pro* ἔλεγεν ὅτι *om.*
 ὁρῶ *om.* 28 ἀπεκρίθησαν λέγοντες 31 τῶν ἀρχιερέων
 33 ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς 34 εἴ τις *pro* ὅστις 35 οὗτος
om. 36 τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὅλον τὸν κόσμον 38 ἐὰν
pro ἂν

IX 2 Ἰωάννην εἶπε τὸν 3 ἐγένοντο λευκᾶναι οὕτως
 5 καὶ θέλης ποιήσωμεν τρεῖς σκηνάς 7 καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγένετο
 ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ 9 καὶ καταβαινόντων ἀναστῇ ἐκ νεκρῶν
 12 πρῶτος *pro* πρῶτον καθὼς *pro* καὶ πῶς 13 πάντα ὅσα
 15 ἰδόντες αὐτὸν ἐξεθαμβήθησαν 16 ἑαυτοῦς 17 ἄλαλον
 καὶ κοφόν 18 ἐὰν *pro* ἂν 19 εἶπεν αὐτῷ 22 ἐφ'
 ἡμᾶς κύριε 23 τὸ *om.* 25 ὁ ὄχλος 23 τοὺς πολλοὺς
 28 εἰσελθόντος αὐτοῦ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐπηρώτων αὐτόν, διὰ τί
 33 ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς διελογίζεσθε πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς 34 τίς ἦ
 μείζων 38 ἔφη *pro* ἀπεκρίθη δὲ *om.* ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι
 τὰ δαιμόνια ὅς οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν *om.* 39 ποιήσας *pro* ποιήσει
 40 ἡμῶν *pro* ὑμῶν *bis* 41 μου *om.* ὅτι οὐ μὴ 42 μικρῶν
 τούτων 45 ἔκκοψον καλὸν γὰρ

X 1 καὶ διὰ 7 καὶ εἶπεν ἔνεκεν 8 σὰρξ μία 10 ἐπη-
 ρώτων 11 ἂν *pro* ἐὰν 17 ἰδοὺ τις πλούσιος προσδραμὼν
 καὶ 20 *ad fin. add.* τί ἔτι ὑστερῶ 21 εἰ θέλεις τέλειος
 εἶναι ὑπαγε πτωχοῖς εἶπε τοῖς σταυρόν σου 23 τοῖς
 μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ λέγει 24 εἶπεν *pro* λέγει τεκνία χρήμασι
 εἶπε τοῖς 25 τρυμαλιᾶς ραφίδος διελθεῖν 27 παρὰ ἀνθρώ-
 ποις τοῦτο ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν Θεῷ εἶπε τῷ 28 ἤρξατο δὲ
 29 καὶ ἔνεκεν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου 30 πατέρας ζωὴν αἰώνιον
 κληρονομήσει 31 ἔσχατοι εἶπε οἱ 33 γραμματεῦσι εἶπε
 τοῖς 34 ἐμπύτσουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ μαστιγώσουσιν αὐτόν 35 τοῦ
 Ζεβεδαίου λέγοντες αὐτῷ σὺ ποιήσης 40 ἡτοίμασται
 ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μου 43 μέγας γενέσθαι ὑμῶν διάκονος
 44 ὅς ἐὰν 48 αὐτὸς δὲ *pro* ὁ δὲ 50 ἀναπηδήσας *pro*
 ἀναστὰς 51 αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν τί σοι θέλεις ποιήσω
 52 αὐτῷ *pro* τῷ Ἰησοῦ

XI 1 ἐγγίζουσιν ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα

καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Βιθφαγὴ καὶ 2 ἀγάγετέ μοι 3 τί λύετε τὸν
 πῶλον *pro* τί ποιεῖτε τοῦτο 4 δεδεμένον τὸν πῶλον 5 ἐστώ-
 των 6 ἐνετείλατο αὐτοῖς 7 φέρουσιν *pro* ἡγαγον 8 καὶ
 πολλοὶ *pro* πολλοὶ δὲ 9 ὡσαννὰ τῷ ὑψίστῳ 10 καὶ εὐλογημένη
 11 αὐτὴ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν *om.* καὶ 12 ἔτι *pro* ἤδη 13 ἀπὸ μακρόθεν
 εἰ ἄρα τι φύλλα μόνον 14 ὁ Ἰησοῦς *om.* 15 μηκέτι εἰς τὸν
 αἰῶνα ἐκ σοῦ καρπὸν μηδεὶς φάγοι 16 τοὺς ἀγοράζοντας 17 οἱ
 ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς 18 ὅταν *pro* ὅτε 19 ἐξεπορεύοντο
 20 παραπορευόμενοι πρῶτῃ 21 ἰδοὺ *pro* ἴδε 22 ὁ Ἰησοῦς
 23 εἰ ἔχετε πίστιν πιστεύετε λέγετε (*sed infra* αὐτῷ, *δρ. ?*)
 24 ὅτι πάντα προσεύχεσθε καὶ αἰτεῖσθε 25 ἡ τίς σοι
 ἔδωκεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν 26 Ἰησοῦς *om.* 27 κἀγὼ ὑμῖν ἐρῶ ἔνα
 28 Ἰωάννου, πόθεν ἦν ; ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἢ 29 διελογίζοντο οὖν *om.*
 30 εἰς *om.* 31 τῷ Ἰησοῦ λέγουσιν

XII 1 ἄνθρωπος ἐφύτευεν ὡκοδόμησεν αὐτῷ πύργον 2 ἀπὸ
 τῶν καρπῶν 3 ἕνα εἶχεν υἱὸν (*et add.* καὶ ?) αὐτὸν *sine* καὶ
 ἔσχατον πρὸς αὐτοὺς 4 γεωργοὶ θεασάμενοι αὐτὸν ἐρχόμενον πρὸς
 ἑαυτοὺς εἶπον 5 ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν 6 ὑμῶν *pro* ἡμῶν
 7 ἐφοβούντο τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην 8 καὶ *pro* οἱ δὲ
 εἰπὲ οὖν ἡμῖν, ἔξεστιν ἐπικεφάλαιον δοῦναι κήσον Καίσαρι ἢ οὐ ;
 9 τῷ Καίσαρι 10 ἐθαύμαζον 11 ἐπηρώτων 12 ἵνα *pro*
 ὅτι 13 ἐπτά οὖν ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν παρ' ἡμῖν 14 γυναῖκα καὶ
 ἀπέθανε καὶ ἀποθνήσκων 15 μὴ καταλείπων σπέρμα *pro* καὶ
 οὐδὲ κ.τ.λ. 16 καὶ οἱ ἐπτά ἔλαβον 17 ἔσχατον πάντων καὶ ἡ
 γυνὴ ἀπέθανεν 18 ἀναστάσει οὖν 19 ἀγγελοὶ Θεοῦ 20 τοῦ
 βάρτου 21 ἐγὼ εἰμὶ 22 ὁ Θεὸς Ἰακώβ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ 23 οὐκ
 ἐστὶν Θεὸς 24 αὐτὴ ζώντων *om.* Θεὸς 25 ἰδὼν *pro* εἰδὼς
 πάντων *pro* πασῶν 26 πρώτη πάντων ἐντολὴ 27 αὕτη
 ἐστὶν ἡ πρώτη ἐντολὴ 28 αὕτης *pro* αὕτη (*vel* ὁμοία αὕτης,
 αὕτη ?) 29 οὐκ ἐτόλμα 30 Δαδ ἐστὶ 31 ἐν πνεύ-
 ματι ἁγίῳ 32 πῶς *pro* πόθεν

XIII 1 εἶπεν *pro* λέγει 2 ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς 3 ἀφεθῇ
 ὧδε 4 ταῦτα πάντα 5 εἰμὶ ὁ Χριστὸς 6 ὁράτε μὴ
 7 ἀρχῇ ταῦτα πάντα 8 ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνας καὶ βασιλεῖς
 9 πρῶτον δεῖ 10 προμεμνήσκηται 11 καὶ πατὴρ τέκνον μὴ
 12 ἐστὸς ἐν τόπῳ ὅπου 13 χεμῶνος μηδὲ σαββᾶτῳ 14 κτίσεως
 κόσμου 15 ἐκολόβωσεν ὁ Θεὸς 16 τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκείνων
pro ἐκείνην 17 ὅταν ἦδη ὁ κλάδος αὐτῆς ἀπαλὸς 18 εἰδῆτε
 ταῦτα 19 ταῦτα *om.* 20 ἡ *pro* καὶ 21 οἱ ἀγγελοὶ τῶν
 οὐρανῶν 22 οὐδὲ ὁ υἱὸς εἰ μὴ ὁ πατὴρ μόνος 23 ὡς γὰρ
 γρηγορήσῃ 24 εὐρήσει

XIV 3 πολυτίμου *pro* πολοτελοῦς τὸν ἀλάβαστρον **5** τοῦτο
τὸ μύρον **6** ἐν ἐμοὶ *pro* εἰς ἐμέ **7** πάντοτε εἰ ποιεῖσαι
8 ἔσχεν τὸ σῶμά μου **9** ὅπου ἔαν **10** Ἰούδας
Ἰσκαριώτης (*sic* *ὁ δις*) αὐτὸν παραδῶ **11** ἀργύρια
πῶς αὐτὸν εὐκαίρως **13** λέγων *pro* καὶ λέγει **14** καταλύμά
μου **15** ἡμῖν *pro* ὑμῖν καὶ ἐκεῖ **16** καὶ ἐξῆλθον
ἐτοιμάσε αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ **19** λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ἀδημονεῖν
ἐγὼ εἰμι (*1^o*) **22** καὶ εὐλογήσας **24** ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς
ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν **27** διασκορπισθήσονται τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποιμένης
29 εἰ καὶ **30** σὺ σήμερον **31** ὁ δὲ Πέτρος μᾶλλον
ἔαν δέη με σὺν σοὶ ἀποθανεῖν **32** προσεύξομαι **35** προσελθὼν
36 τοῦτο ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀλλ' ὃ τι σὺ **37** ἔρχεται πρὸς τοὺς
μαθητὰς **38** γρηγορεῖτε οὖν **40** αὐτῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ
ἀποκριθῶσιν αὐτῷ **41** ἀπέχει τὸ τέλος **42** μου *pro* με
43 Ἰούδας ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης ὢν *om.* **46** ἐπέβαλον τὰς χεῖρας
αὐτῷ **50** ἀφέντες αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ ἔφυγον πάντες **51** ἠκολού-
θησεν **52** ἔφυγεν γυμνός **53** ἀρχιερέα Καϊάφαν **55** ἵνα
αὐτὸν θανατώσουσιν **58** τοῦτον τὸν ναὸν ἀχειροποιήτον
pro τὸν χειροποιήτον **59** ἦν *om.* **61** οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο οὐδέν
62 ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτῷ σὺ εἶπας ὅτι ἐγὼ **64** εἶναι
post θανάτου **65** περικαλύπτειν αὐτῷ αὐτοῦ *om.* *post*
πρόσωπον *προ*φῆτευσον νῦν ἡμῖν Χριστέ, τίς ἐστιν ὁ παῖσα σε
(*sic*) **66** κάτω ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ **68** οὔτε οἶδα οὔτε σὺ
τί λέγεις **69** παρεστῶσιν

XV 3 *post* πολλά *add.* αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο **6** ἀπέλυσεν
12 πάλιν ἀποκριθεὶς τὸν βασιλέα **13** ἐκραύγαζον *pro*
ἔκραξαν **14** ἐκραύγαζον *pro* ἔκραξαν σταύρωσον σταύρωσον
15 ποιεῖν *pro* ποιῆσαι **16** ἔξω τῆς αὐλῆς **17** χλαμίδα
κοκκίνην καὶ πορφύραν **18** ὁ βασιλεὺς *pro* βασιλεῦ **20** τὴν
χλαμίδα καὶ πορφύραν **22** τὸν Γολγοθᾶ **23** διδούσι
ἐσλαφνισμένον (*sic habet collatio*) *pro* ἐσμυρνισμένον **24** καὶ
σταυρώσαντες δὲ διεμέρισαν **25** ὅτε *pro* καὶ **26** Ἰουδαίων
οὗτος **30** κατέβηθι **32** εἰ ὁ Χριστὸς Ἰσραὴλ ἐστιν
πιστεύσωμεν αὐτῷ **33** καὶ γενομένης *pro* γενομένης δὲ **34** τῇ
ἐννάτῃ ὥρᾳ **35** εἶδε *pro* ἰδοὺ **36** τε *om.* **39** υἱὸς
Θεοῦ ἦν ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος **40** καὶ *2^o om.* ἡ τοῦ
om. **41** καὶ *1^o om.* **43** ἐλθὼν *pro* ἦλθεν **46** εἰς *pro* ἐπὶ

XVI 1 ἡ τοῦ *om.* τὸν Ἰησοῦν *pro* αὐτόν **2** τῇ μᾶ τῶν
σαββάτων **9** ἀναστὰς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς **11** ἐκείνοι *pro* κἀκείνοι
14 ἐγγηγερμένον ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν **16** ὅτι ὁ πιστεύων *pro* ὁ πιστεύσας
19 κύριος Ἰησοῦς

ST. LUKE.

XXII 3 *ante* Σατανᾶς *om.* ὁ καλούμενον 4 ἀρχιερεῦσι
καὶ γραμματεῦσι στρατηγοῖς τοῦ λαοῦ 5 ἀργύρια 6 ὁμο-
λόγησε 8 ἀπέστειλεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς 9 ἐτοιμάσωμέν σοι
10 ὑπαντήσῃ 14 ἀπόστολοι *om.* 16 αὐτῷ *pro* ἐξ αὐτοῦ
18 *add.* ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν *sed quo loco per incuriam in collatione non*
potant 19 κλόμενον *pro* διδόμενον 25 ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς
26 *post* ἡγούμενος *add.* γένεσθω 27 μείζων ἐστι 30 ἐπὶ
δώδεκα θρόνων 34 ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς 35 οὐδ' ἐνός 36 δὲ
pro οὖν 37 εἰ *pro* ἔτι 38 ἰδοὺ ὧδε μάχαιραι 42 παρενέγκαι
43, 44 *om. m. pr. sed addidit m. alt. eiusdem fere temporis*
47 προῆγεν *pro* προήρχετο *ad fin. vers.* τοῦτο γὰρ σημείον
δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὃν ἂν φιλήσω αὐτός ἐστιν 49 τὰ ἐσόμενα
52 ἐξήλθατε *post* ξύλων *add.* συλλαβεῖν με 53 ἡ ὥρα
ὑμῶν 57 ἡρνήσατο εἰπε αὐτὸν οὐκ οἶδα αὐτὸν 60 *ante*
ἀλέκτωρ *om.* ὁ 61 Ἰησοῦ *pro* Κυρίου πρὶν ἢ 64 ἐπηρώτησαν
προφήτευσον ἡμῖν Χριστὲ 66 ἀπήγαγον 69 ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν δὲ
71 εἶπαν μαρτύρων *pro* μαρτυρίας

XXIII 1 ἤγαγον πρὸς *pro* ἐπὶ 2 ἤρξαν *pro* ἤρξαντο
ἡύραμεν 3 ἀποκρίθει αὐτῷ λέγων 8 ἐξ ἱκανῶν χρόνων
11 περιβαλὼν τε 12 ὁ τε Ἡρώδης καὶ ὁ Πιλάτος ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ 15 ἀνέπεμψεν γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς 17 ἀνάγκη δὲ
εἶχεν αὐτοῖς κατὰ ἐορτὴν ἀπολύειν ἓνα 19 ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ *pro* εἰς
φυλακὴν 20 δὲ *pro* οὖν προσεφώνησεν αὐτοῖς 22 ἄξιον
pro αἰτίον εὐρίσκω *pro* εἶρον 25 *ante* φυλακὴν *om.* τὴν
26 ἀπήγαγον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ σταυρῶσαι *ante* ἐρχομένου *om.* τοῦ
27 γυναῖκες *pro* γυναικῶν *ante* ἐκόπτοντο *om.* καὶ 32 ἦγοντο
δὲ αὐτῷ σὺν τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἕτεροι δύο σὺν αὐτῷ συναιρεθῆναι
33 ἦλθον *pro* ἀπῆλθον εἰς *pro* ἐπὶ 34 ἐβαλλον
35 ἐξεμυκτήριζον δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ ἐκλεκτός
37 σῶσον σεαυτὸν καὶ κατάβα ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ 45 ἐσχίσθη δὲ
48 ὄχλοι *om.* θεωρίσαντες 51 ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς προσεδέχετο
53 αὐτὸ 1^ο *om.* αὐτὸν *pro* αὐτὸ 2^ο ὦ *pro* οὐ οὐδεὶς
οὐδέπω *ad. fin. vers.* τεθέντος αὐτοῦ· ἐπέθηκε τῷ μνημεῖῳ λίθον
55 αἱ γυναῖκες ἀπὸ *pro* ἐκ 56 δὲ *om.*

XXIV 1 ἦλθον ὀρθρου βαθέος μνημεῖον *pro* μνήμα
3 εἰσελθοῦσαι δὲ κυρίου *om.* 10 ἡ Ἰακώβου 18 εἰς εἰπε ὁ
ante Ἱερουσαλὴμ *om.* ἐν 20 αὐτὸν παρέδωκαν 34 ὄντως
ἡγέρθη 44 καὶ εἶπεν *pro* εἶπε δὲ 47 ἀρξάμενος

ST. JOHN.

V 5 ἐκεῖ ἄνθρωπος 7 ναὶ κύριε ἄνθρωπον δὲ 8 ὑπαγε
 εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου *pro* καὶ περιπάτει 10 κράβαττόν σου 11 ὁ δὲ
 ἀπεκρίθη 12 ἐστὶν *om.* ἐκείνος ὁ ἄνθρωπος 14 λέγει
pro εἶπεν 15 ἀπήγγειλεν 17 αὐτοῖς λέγων 18 ἀλλ' ὅτι
 19 ἀπεκρίθη 22 οὐδὲν γὰρ κρινεῖ 28 θαυμάσητε
 ἀκούσωσιν 30 ἀλλὰ καθὼς 36 δέδωκέ *ante* ποιῶ
om. ἐγὼ 38 ἐν ὑμῖν μένοντα 44 ἀνθρώπων *pro* ἀλλήλων
 μονογενοὺς *pro* μόνοι 47 πιστεύετε *pro* πιστεύετε
 VI 2 ἡκολούθη δὲ ἐθεώρει *pro* ἐώρων 3 ὅρος *sine* τὸ
 5 τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς *m. pr. om.* πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον *sed*
add. m. sec. in rasura 7 ὁ Φίλιππος ἀκρέσσωσιν *pro* ἀρκοῦσιν
 9· ἐν *om.* ὅς *pro* ὁ 11 ἔδωκε *pro* διέδωκε 17 *ante*
 πλοῖον *om.* τὸ γέγονει οὐπω *pro* οὐκ 21 ἐγένετο τὸ πλοῖον
 22 εἰδὼς *pro* ἰδὼν ἐκείνο *om.* πλοῖον *pro* πλοῖαριον
 23 ἀλλὰ δὲ πλοῖαρία ἦλθεν τῆς Τιβεριάδος οὐ *pro* ὅπου
 24 πλοῖαρία *pro* πλοῖα 27 βρῶσιν 2^o *om.* 29 *ante* Ἰησοῦς
om. ὁ 38 ἀπὸ *pro* ἐκ 40 γάρ *pro* δέ τοῦ πατρός
 μου *pro* τοῦ πέμψαντός με 42 Ἰησοῦς *om.* οὗτος λέγει
 45 ἔστιν *pro* ἐστί οὖν *om.* 46 ἐώρακέν τις 47 εἰς
 ἐμέ *om.* 51 ὁ ζῶν *om.* ζήσει *pro* ζήσεται 52 οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὴν σάρκα δοῦναι 55 ἀληθῆς (? *bis*)
 57 ἀπέσταλκε ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ζῶν ζήσει *pro* ζήσεται
 58 ζήσει *pro* ζήσεται 60 ὁ λόγος οὗτος 63 λελάληκα
pro λαλῶ 64 ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὴ *om.* 66 πολλοὶ
 τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ἀπῆλθον 68 οὖν *om.* 70 ἐξελεξάμην τοὺς
 δώδεκα 71 Ἰσκαριώτου παραδιδόναι αὐτόν
 VII 1 μετὰ ταῦτα *ante* περιεπάτει 3 σου 2^o *om.* ἃ σὺ ποιεῖς
 4 τι ἐν κρυπτῷ 8 οὐκ ἀναβαίνω ὁ ἐμὸς καιρὸς 10 εἰς τὴν
 ἑορτὴν *ante* τότε 12 ἦν *ante* περὶ ἄλλος ἔλεγεν *pro* ἄλλοι δὲ
 ἔλεγον 15 ἐθαύμαζον οὖν 21 *ante* Ἰησοῦς *om.* ὁ 29 *ad*
fin. vers. m. sec. add. καὶ ἐὰν εἴπω ὅτι οὐκ οἶδα αὐτὸν ἔσομαι ὁμοιος
 ὑμῶν ψεύστης 30 τὰς χεῖρας *pro* τὴν χεῖρα 31 πολλοὶ ἐκ
 τοῦ ὄχλου οὖν τούτων *om.* 32 ἤκουσαν οὖν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς
 καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι 33 αὐτοῖς *om.* 35 εὗρίσκομεν 36 ὁ λόγος
 οὗτος 40 τῶν λόγων τούτων *pro* τὸν λόγον 41 ὅτι οὗτός
 οἱ *pro* ἄλλοι 42 ἢ οὐχὶ ἔρχεται ὁ Χριστὸς 43 ἐγένετο
ante ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ 46 ἐλάλησεν οὕτως 50 πρὸς αὐτὸν
 νυκτὸς τὸ πρῶτον

VIII 1-11 *codex sic habet*:—Ἰησοῦς δὲ ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸ ὄρος

τῶν Ἑλαιῶν ὄρθρου. καὶ πάλιν παραγίνεται εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἤρχετο καὶ καθίσας ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς. Ἀγουνσι δὲ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι γυναῖκα ἐπὶ ἁμαρτίᾳ εἰλημμένην, καὶ στήσαντες αὐτὴν ἐν μέσῳ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ ἐκπειράζοντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἵνα ἔξωσι κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ, Διδάσκαλε, αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ κατεῖληπται ἑπαντοφώρῳ μοιχευομένη. Μωυσῆς δὲ ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ διακελεύει τὰς τοιαύτας λιθάζειν· σὺ τί λέγεις; ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς κάτω κεκυφὼς τῷ δακτύλῳ κατέγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν. ὥς δὲ ἐπέμενον ἀνερωτώντες ἀνέκυσεν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Ὁ ἀναμάρτητος ὑμῶν πρῶτος ἐπ' αὐτὴν βαλέτω λίθον· καὶ πάλιν κατακύψας τῷ δακτύλῳ κατέγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν. ἕκαστος δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐξήρχετο ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ὥστε πάντας ἐξελθεῖν, καὶ κατελείφθη μόνος, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐν μέσῳ οὔσα. ἀνακύψας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν τῇ γυναικὶ Ποῦ εἰσίν; οὐδεὶς σε κατέκρινεν; καὶ αὐτὴ εἶπεν Οὐδεὶς, κύριε. καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν Οὐδὲ ἐγὼ σε κατακρίνω· πορεύου, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μηκέτι ἁμάρτανε. 12 ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς 16 δὲ om. 17 δὲ om. 19 ἂν ᾗδετε 21 αὐτοῖς om. ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις 23 ἔλεγεν pro εἶπεν 24 ἐν γὰρ . . . ὑμῶν om. 25 εἶπεν οὖν pro καὶ εἶπεν 26 λαλῶ pro λέγω 27 ἔγνωσαν δὲ 29 καὶ οὐκ ἀφῆκέν ὁ πατήρ om. 35 ὁ υἱὸς . . . αἰῶνα om. 36 ἔστε pro ἔσεσθε 38 ἃ pro ὃ bis 40 ἄνθρωπος πατρός pro Θεοῦ 42 οὖν om. 44 ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ διαβόλου 46 με om. δὲ om. 48 οὖν om. 53 σὺ om. 59 καὶ διελθὼν ἐπορεύετο καὶ παρήγγεν

The most interesting feature in this collation is the very remarkable similarity of the text of the *pericope adulterae* to that found in Codex Bezae.

It includes no less than eight variants which are peculiar to D 1071, though one of them, ἐπὶ ἁμαρτίᾳ pro ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ, is supported by the version of the story which, according to Eusebius, was quoted by Papias from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, and by the Edschmiadzin Codex, published by Mr. F. C. Conybeare in the *Expositor* for December, 1895, p. 406.

This striking similarity suggests the possibility that the scribe of cod. 1071 made use of Codex Bezae, at least in this passage, and in that case we have a valuable hint that Codex Bezae was in the South of Italy in the twelfth century—

a suggestion which is strongly supported by Dr. Rendel Harris' book on the *Annotators of Codex Bezae*. In any case the scribe of cod. 1071 must have had as an exemplar for the *pericope adulterae* either Codex Bezae or a MS. with a similar text. As the text of cod. 1071 as a whole is not remarkable for any similarity to Codex Bezae, it would seem as though he only used it in order to correct his usual exemplar. The question therefore arises whether he may have made this use of it in other passages. To afford some data for answering this question I have appended a list, which is intended to be illustrative rather than exhaustive, of passages where cod. 1071 has the support of only a few other MSS. It will be seen that in some of these passages cod. 1071 is found together with Codex Bezae. But in the majority of instances this is not the case, and cod. 1071 has readings in common with almost every type of authority in turn.

Therefore I think that although it is quite probable that the scribe of cod. 1071 had access to Codex Bezae and made use of it in the *pericope adulterae*, it is improbable that he did so elsewhere, and except in the case of the *pericope*, there is no reason for thinking that the evidence of cod. 1071 is merely a direct copy of the evidence of Codex Bezae.

Mt V 18 *post νόμον add.* καὶ τῶν προφητῶν c. 13-124-543 565; arm syr-hr Iren-lat **22** *ante μωρέ add.* τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ c. L, 1-209 13-124-543 700; ff₁ syr-sin-cur arm boh **44** καλῶς . . . μισούντας ἡμᾶς om. c. NB, 1-209 22; k syr-sin-cur boh; Athen Clem Orig Iren-lat Cyp

VI 5 *προσεύχεσθε . . . ἔσθε* c. N* et cBZ, 1-118-209 22 lat pler sah boh syr-hl mg arm-codd Orig Clem Aug **24** οὐδεὶς οἰκέτης c. LΔ, al. *pauc.* **28** κοπιῶσιν οὐδὲ νήθουσιν c. NB, 1-118-209 4 33; Athan Clem **32** ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα Δ, 13-124-543; c f ff₂ vg; Aug **32** ἐπιζητοῦσιν c. NB, 1-118-209 4 13-124-543 22 207; Max

XXI 24 *post αὐτοῖς add.* ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν c. *nulla auctoritate* **26** οὖν om. c. DL, 28 126 700 al; a b e ff₂ 9 syr-sin-pesh; Orig

Mc I 7 κύψας om. c. D, 28 256 565 **17** γενέσθαι om. c.

1-118-131-209 13-69 28 48 108 115 127 258 274 700; b syrr-sin-pesh aeth perss 26 φωνῆσαν *pro* (φωνήσας) κράξαν c. NBL, 33; Orig Dam 36 ὁ τε Σίμων c. (D)ΚΠ, 1-118-131-209 69-124-543 28 *al. pauc.* (D* τε Σίμων, D² τότε Σίμων) 45 δύνασθαι αὐτὸν c. NΦ, 225 245 292 700

Π 3 φέροντες πρὸς αὐτὸν c. NBL, 33 16 ἐσθίει καὶ πίνει ὁ διδάσκαλος ὑμῶν c. LΔ, 69-346 *al. pauc.*; f ff₁ g₁ l vg boh 24 ποιοῦσιν οἱ μαθηταὶ σου c. DM, 1-118-131-209 13-69-124-346-543 28 61 115 161 472 565 700; latt syrr-sin-hr aeth 25 λέγει *pro* ἔλεγεν c. NCL, 13-69-124-543 28 33 700 b d f g₁ i q vg (ait) boh

III 16 ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς ὀνόματα τῷ Σίμωνι Πέτρον c. 33 238; aeth 33 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτοῖς λέγει c. NBCLΔ; vg boh syr-hl

IV 8 αὐξανόμενα c. NB 11 λέγεται *pro* γίνεται c. D, 28 64 124 565; a b c ff₂ g₁ i q 41 οἱ ἄνεμοι c. N^{ca}(D)E, 1-118-131-209 33 *al. pauc.*; c g₂ i q boh pesh aeth; Vict-Ant

V 1 Γεργεσηνῶν c. N^{ca}LUΔ, 1-118-131-209 28 33 565 700 *al. pauc.*; boh syr-sin-hl-mg Epiph. Thphyl. (? Orig) 27 τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου c. M, 1-118-209 33 33 *add.* διὸ πεποίηκε c. D, 50 124 565 a ff² i arm (syr-sin *defic.*) *sed haec et λάβρα addunt*

VI 2 πάντα c. (N)(C*)Δ, *al. pauc.* f g₁ g₂ vg 7 τοὺς δώδεκα μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ c. D, 474 569 b ff₂ g₂ i q (*sed* D latt *om.* αὐτοῦ) 26 ἤθελεν *pro* ἠθέλησεν c. Π*, 1-209 *al. pauc.* 39 ἀνακλιθῆναι c. NB*SΦ, 1-118-209 13-69-346-543 28 157 565 700 *al. pauc.*

VII 31 ἀπὸ *pro* ἐκ c. 565 36 περισσοτέρως c. NDWd, 61 700

VIII 2 ὄχλον τοῦτον c. L *al. pauc.*; a b c f ff₂ g₁ i q boh syrr-sin-pesh 4 ὥδε *om.* c. DH, 69; b c ff₂ i q go 8 ἐχορτάσθησαν πάντες c. KMH, 33 *al. pauc.* 24 εἶπεν *pro* ἔλεγεν c. N*C, *al. pauc.*

IX 22 *post* ἡμᾶς *add.* κύριε c. 262 (cf DG, 565; a b g₂ i q arm) 38 ἔφη *pro* ἀπεκρίθη c. NBDΨ; boh syr-pesh 25 . . . ἡμῖν *om.* c. NBCLΔΨ, 10 115 346; f boh syr-sin-pesh aeth arm perss

X 21 *post* ὑστερεῖ *add.* εἰ θέλεις τέλειος εἶναι c. *al. pauc.*; arm; Clem (*et add. ante* ἐν KMNII, 13-69-124-346-543 28 565 *al. pauc.*; boh syr hl c* aeth) 40 *ad fin. vers. add.* ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μου c. N* et ob, 1-118-209 *al. pauc.*; a syr hl mg

XI 3 τί λύετε τὸν πῶλον c. D, 13-69-124-346-543 28 565 700; a b f ff₂ i arm Orig

XII 14 ἐπικεφάλειον c. D, 124 565; k (*capitularium*)

XIII 32 ὁ πατήρ μόνος c. 13-124-346-543 262 565; a k sah aeth.

XIV 41 ἀπέχει τὸ τέλος c. D, 13-69-124-346-543 565; d q (*sufficit finis*)

XV 12 πάλιν ἀποκριθεὶς c. NBC, 33; syr-hl aeth 13 ἐκραύ-
γαζον c. 472 565 46 εἰς τὴν θύραν c. Δ

Lc XXII 4 add. καὶ τοῖς γραμματεῦσιν c. CP, 48 60 106 127
254 346 700; a b c e ff₂ i l q syrr-sin-cur-pesh-hl arm aeth; Eus-
dem 47 προῆγεν D, 1-118-131-209 69-124 22 al. *pauc.*

XXIII 1 πρὸς *pro* ἐπὶ c. L, 157 al. *pauc.* 3 ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ
λέγων c. D (1-118-131-209); a (sah boh) 27 γυναῖκες c. D,
243; c f sah syr-cur-pesh 35 ἐξεμυκτήριζον δὲ αὐτὸν c. ND,
1-118-131-209 239 248 482; a c arm-ed ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ
ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς c. 13-69-124-346-543 (126 472); sah boh syr-hr-hl
arm; Eus-dem 58 add. *ad fin. vers.* τεθέντος αὐτοῦ ἐπέθηκε
τῷ μνημεῖῳ λίθον c. D; c sah (*sed add.* ὃν μόγις εἴκοσι ἐκύλιον)

XXIV 3 κυρίου *om.* c. f sah syrr-sin-cur-pesh 44 καὶ εἶπεν
pro εἶπε δὲ c. D; a c e f ff₂ l q vg syr-pesh-hr aeth

Jo V 38 ἐν ὑμῖν μένοντα c. NBL, 1-118-209 (13)-124 33 al.
pauc.; Cyr 44 τοῦ μονογενοῦς Θεοῦ *cf.* Eus-prep. μόνου τοῦ ἐνὸς

VI 17 οὕτω c. NBLD, 33 13-69-124-543 al. *pauc.*; a b e syr-
hr; Cyr 47 εἰς ἐμὲ *om.* c. NBLT; arm 57 ἀπέσταλκε c.
D, 13-69-124-543 al. *pauc.*

VII 8 οὐκ *pro* οὕτω c. NDKMII, 17 389 482; a b c e al boh
syrr-sin-cur

VIII 24 ἐὰν . . . ὑμῶν *om.* c. 118*-209* 33 al. *pauc.*; ff₂
35 ὁ υἱὸς . . . αἰῶνα *om.* c. NXT, 33 124 al. *pauc.*; Clem.

V. SOME CHAPTERS OF THE ACTA PILATI.

ANY attempt at textual criticism of the A recension of Acta Pilati is rendered a task even more difficult than it naturally is by the obscure and subjective arrangement of the text and apparatus in Tischendorf's edition. So far however as a superficial examination of the material can show, the MSS. which Tischendorf quotes are none of them very closely related. He uses, at least partially, nine Greek MSS., ABCDEFGHI (among which BFH and CGE seem to form groups, though with much mixture), a Latin version, and an early Coptic version. To this apparatus Mr. Conybeare added in *Studia Biblica*, iv. 3, two Armenian versions, which are substantially the same, translated into Greek and Latin. The text now printed is that of another Greek MS., which may be called J.

This is ff. 322^r-336^v of a paper MS. at the Laura, numbered A 117, written in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. Had time not been pressing, or had the monks been willing to allow the codex to be photographed, it would have been possible to give the text complete. As it is, I can only offer the results of an exceedingly hurried collation of chaps. 1, 3-12, made with a copy of the 1853 edition of Tischendorf's *Evangelia Apocrypha*, which Father Chrysostom very kindly lent us.

There can be little doubt that this MS. does not belong to any group of MSS. used by Tischendorf, and that while in some places the hand of the redactor is apparent, in others the text has every appearance of being early.

Any elaborate analysis would be out of place, but it may be well to mention briefly a few points which seem interesting.

1. There are a considerable number of places where a text hitherto found only in versions now receives the support of a Greek MS. Among others the following are noticeable:—

(α) Preface. Ἐν ἔτει ἐννεακαίδεκάτῳ: so Lat. (Copt.) Arm.^a: cf. Eusebius' Chronology.

(β) 1, 3. ὅτε με ἀπέστειλας: so Lat. Copt. Arm. All Greek MSS. prefix κύριε ἡγεμῶν or a similar phrase.

(γ) 1, 6. Λέγει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις: cf. Arm.^a λέγει αὐτοῖς. Gk. Lat. Copt. read λέγει τοῖς ἀρχισυναγώγοις καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τοῦ λαοῦ.

(δ) 1, 6. κάμπτονται ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ προσκυνοῦσιν: the Coptic is the only other authority for καὶ προσκυνοῦσιν.

(ε) 5, 1. Add. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅλα: so Lat. Arm. (Copt.). No Greek MSS. read this, but there is a trace of it in a fairly widespread reading οὐκ ὀλίγα.

(ζ) 12, 1. ἐμφανισθεῖς: so Arm. Others apparently παρεκβάς.

2. Certain readings which have no support are interesting. Chief among these are:—

(α) 6, 1 seqq. In most authorities the evidence of the various Jews who testify to miracles of healing is introduced by the phrase παραπηδήσας. (On the possible origin of this see Dr. Rendel Harris' *Homeric Centones*.) In J this phrase is consistently omitted, but in three places the similarly descriptive touch is added that the evidence was given 'μετὰ δακρύων.'

(β) 6, 2. The evidence of the κωφός is not given in any other authority.

(γ) 9-10. The two malefactors. In all other authorities, except one passage (16, 7) in Arm.^β, Δυσμᾶς is always mentioned first, is on the right hand, and is the penitent thief. In J the exact opposite is the case, and this fact becomes important in the light of the lecture on the subject of these names delivered by Dr. Rendel Harris at Mansfield College, where he showed reasons for thinking that in the primitive form of the tradition the names and characters were as in J.

The existence of such a MS. was unknown to him when he first wrote his lecture, though he knew of it in time to mention it—a remarkable, and indeed unusual, confirmation of theory by discovery.

(δ) 12, 1. The statement that the room was sealed with Kaiaphas' signet is unique. It is an extraordinary addition, whether early or late, since taken in connexion with the fact that Kaiaphas had also charge of the key, it creates an obvious and irresistible chain of circumstantial evidence that Kaiaphas secretly let Joseph out of his prison.

Ὑπομνήματα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πραχθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου ἱστορήσαντος Νικοδήμου καὶ συντάξαντος αὐτοῦ γράμμασι ῥωμαϊκοῖς, ἐβραϊκοῖς καὶ ἑλληνικοῖς¹.

Ἐν ἔτει ἑννέα καὶ δεκάτῃ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἡρώδου τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ πρώτου Ἡρώδου βασιλέως τῆς Γαλιλαίας τῇ πρὸ ὀκτὼ καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων ἥτις ἐστὶν Μαρτίῳ καὶ ἐπὶ ὑπατίας Ῥούφου καὶ Ῥουμελιώνος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει τῆς διακοσιοστῆς δευτέρας Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέων τῶν Ἰουδαίων Ἰωσήπου καὶ Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα, ὅσα κατὰ τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὸ πάθος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ συνέταξεν κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς Ἰουδαίοις οὗτος.

I. I. Ὁ Ἄννας καὶ Καϊάφας καὶ Σουμὴν καὶ Δοθαῖλ καὶ Γαμαλιήλ Ἰούδας καὶ Νεφθαλείμ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἑρμιλος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἦλθον πρὸς Πιλάτον κατηγοροῦντες τοῦ Ἰησοῦ περὶ πολλῶν πράξεων λέγοντες ὅτι Τοῦτον οἶδαμεν υἷον εἶναι Ἰωσήφ τοῦ τέκτονος ἀπὸ Μαρίας γεννηθέντα, καὶ λέγει ἑαυτὸν εἶναι υἷον Θεοῦ καὶ βασιλέα, οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σάββατα βεβηλοῖ καὶ τὸν πάτριον νόμον ἡμῶν βούλεται καταλύειν· νόμον δὲ ἔχομεν τοιοῦτον ἐν σαββάτῳ μὴ θεραπεύειν τινά· οὗτος δὲ χωλοὺς καὶ λεπροὺς καὶ τυφλοὺς καὶ παραλυτικοὺς καὶ δαιμονιζομένους

¹ The MS. has at this point the Prologue of Ananias, but I did not collate it.

ἐθεράπευσεν ἀπὸ κακῶν πράξεων. Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος λέγει αὐτοῖς Ποῶν κακῶν πράξεων ; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Γόης ἐστὶν καὶ ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ πάντα αὐτῷ ὑποτάσσεται· λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος· τοῦτο οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ ἐκβάλλειν τὰ δαιμόνια, ἀλλ' ἐν θεῷ.

2. Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Πιλάτῳ, Ἀξιούμεν τὸ ὑμέτερον μέγεθος ὥστε αὐτὸν παραστήναι τῷ βήματι ἡμῶν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι αὐτόν. Καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος ὁ Πιλάτος τοὺς Ἰουδαίους λέγει, Δύναμαι ἐγὼ ἡγεμῶν ὧν βασιλέα ἐξετάσαι ; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Ἡμεῖς οὐ λέγομεν βασιλέα αὐτὸν εἶναι ἀλλ' οὗτος ἑαυτὸν λέγει. Προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος κούρσουρα λέγει αὐτῷ, Μετὰ ἐπιεικειᾶς ἀχθήτω ὁ Ἰησοῦς. Ἐξελθὼν οὖν ὁ κούρσωρ καὶ ἐπιγνοὺς αὐτὸν προσεκύνησεν, καὶ λαβὼν τὸ καθάπλωμα τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ἤπλωσεν χαμαὶ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, Κύριε ὧδε περιπάτησον καὶ ἐπίβηθι ὅτι ὁ ἡγεμὼν σε καλεῖ. Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ὃ ἐποίησεν ὁ κούρσωρ κατέκραζαν τοῦ Πιλάτου λέγοντες, Διὰ τί μὴ ὑπὸ πραίκωνος εἰσελθεῖν ἀλλ' ὑπὸ κούρσουρος, καὶ γὰρ ὁ κούρσωρ θεασάμενος αὐτὸν προσεκύνησε καὶ τὸ φακεόλιον ὃ εἶχεν ἤπλωσε χαμαὶ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ Κύριε ἐπίβηθι ὅτι ὁ ἡγεμὼν σε καλεῖ.

3. Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος τῷ κούρσουρι Τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας ; λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ κούρσωρ, Ὅτε με ἀπέστειλας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἶδον αὐτὸν καθήμενον ἐπὶ ὄνου καὶ οἱ παῖδες τῶν Ἑβραίων Ἑβραῖστὶ ἔκραζον κλάδους κατέχοντες ἐν ταῖς χερσίν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐστρώννουν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν λέγοντες Σῶσον δὴ ὁ ἐν ὑψίστοις, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.

4. Καὶ κράζουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι λέγοντες, Οἱ μὲν παῖδες τῶν Ἑβραίων Ἑβραῖστὶ ἔκραζον σὺ δὲ πόθεν γινώσκεις Ἑβραῖστὶ Ἑλλήν ὦν ; λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ κούρσωρ, Ἡρώτησά τινα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, τί ἐστὶν ὃ κράζουσιν Ἑβραῖστὶ οἱ παῖδες ; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, Ὡσαννά· λέγει δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος Καὶ τὸ ὦσαννὰ τί ἑρμηνεύεται ; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ Σῶσον δὴ· λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος Εἰ ὑμεῖς μαρτυρεῖτε τὰς φωνὰς τὰς παρὰ τῶν παιδῶν λεχθείσας, τί ἡμαρτεν ὁ κούρσωρ ; οἱ δὲ ἐσιώπων. Λέγει ὁ ἡγεμὼν τῷ κούρσουρι, Ἐξελθε καὶ οἷφ' βούλει τρόπῳ εἰσάγαγε αὐτόν· ἐξελθὼν δὲ ὁ κούρσωρ ἐποίησεν τῷ σχήματι τῷ πρώτῳ ἀπλώσας τὸ φακεόλιον αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγει τῷ Ἰησοῦ Κύριε, ὧδε ἐπίβηθι καὶ εἰσελθε ὅτι ὁ ἡγεμὼν σε καλεῖ.

5. Εἰσελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τῶν σιγνοφόρων κατεχόντων τὰς προτομάς, ἐκάμφθησαν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν αἱ προτομαὶ τῶν σίγνων καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ Ἰησοῦ· ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὸ σχῆμα τῶν σίγνων πῶς ἐκάμφθησαν καὶ προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ, ἔμμενῶς ἔκραζον κατὰ τῶν σιγνοφόρων, ἐμβριμώμενος δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων λέγει αὐτοῖς, Τί κράζετε κατὰ τῶν σιγνοφόρων ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἔκαμψαν αὐτὰς τῷ προσκυνῆσαι; λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πρὸς Πιλάτον Ἡμεῖς εἶδομεν πῶς ἐκάμφθησαν αἱ προτομαὶ ὑπὸ τῶν σιγνοφόρων καὶ προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ. προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος τοὺς σιγνοφόρους λέγει αὐτοῖς, Τί τοῦτο ἐποιήσατε; λέγουσιν τῷ Πιλάτῳ, Ἡμεῖς ἄνδρες Ἑλληνισταὶ ἐσμεν καὶ ἱερόδουλοι καὶ πῶς εἶχαμεν προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ; καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς κατέχοντες τὰς προτομάς αὐταὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐκάμφθησαν καὶ προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ.

6. Λέγει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὁ Πιλάτος Ἐκλέξασθε ὑμεῖς ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἄνδρας δυνατοὺς ἐν ἰσχύϊ καὶ κατασχέτωσαν τὰ σίγνα καὶ ἰδωμεν εἰ ἑαυτοῖς κάμπτονται ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ προσκυνοῦσι. ἐπιλεξάμενοι δὲ οἱ τριβούνιοι ἄνδρας ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ δώδεκα ἐν ἰσχύϊ δυνατοὺς δέδωκαν αὐτοὺς κατασχεῖν τὰς προτομάς καὶ στήναι ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. καὶ λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος τῷ κούρσουρι Ἐκβαλε τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἔξωθεν τοῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ εἰσάγαγε αὐτὸν πάλιν ὅφ' βούλει τρόπῳ. Ἐξῆλθε δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἔξω τοῦ πραιτωρίου σὺν τῷ κούρσουρι. Προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος τοὺς κατέχοντας τὰς προτομάς τὸ πρότερον λέγει αὐτοῖς, ὁμόσας κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτι Ἐὰν οὐ καμψθῶσιν αἱ προτομαὶ τῶν σίγνων εἰσελθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἀποτεμῶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν, ἐκέλευσε δὲ τῷ κούρσωρι τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκ δευτέρου· καὶ πολλὰ παρεκάλεσεν ὁ κούρσωρ ἵνα ἐπιβῇ τὸ φακεόλιον αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐπέβη καὶ εἰσῆλθεν, εἰσελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐκάμφθησαν πάλιν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τὰ σίγνα καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ Ἰησοῦ.

* * * * *

III. I. Θυμὸς οὖν πλησθεὶς ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ λέγει πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, Μάρτυρα ἔχω τὸν ἥλιον ὅτι οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν εὐρίσκω ἐν αὐτῷ. Ἀποκριθέντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι εἶπον τῷ Πιλάτῳ Εἰ μὴ ἦν οὗτος κακοποιὸς οὐκ ἂν σοι παρεδώκαμεν αὐτόν· λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος, Λάβετε αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς καὶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον

ὕμῶν κρίνατε αὐτόν· λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, Ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἀποκτεῖναι οὐδένα· λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος, Ὑμῖν εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι, ἀλλ' ἐμοί;

2. Καὶ εἰσῆλθεν μετ' ὀργῆς εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν Ἰησοῦν κατ' ἰδίαν λέγει αὐτῷ, Τί οὗτοί σου καταμαρτυροῦσι; ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐσιώπα· λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Πιλάτος Μήτι ἐγὼ Ἰουδαῖός εἰμι; τὸ ἔθνος τὸ σὸν καὶ πᾶν τὸ πρεσβυτέριον παρέδωκάν σε ἐμοί, τί ἐποίησας; ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Ἡ βασιλεία ἡ ἐμὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου· εἰ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ἦν ἡ βασιλεία ἡ ἐμὴ οἱ ὑπηρεταὶ οἱ ἐμοὶ ἡγωνίζοντο ἄν ἵνα μὴ παραδοθῶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις· νῦν δὲ ἡ βασιλεία ἡ ἐμὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐντεῦθεν. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Πιλάτος Οὐκοῦν βασιλεὺς εἶ σύ; ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Σὺ λέγεις ὅτι βασιλεὺς εἰμι ἐγώ, ἐγὼ εἰς τοῦτο γεγέννημαι καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἐλήλυθα εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἵνα πᾶς ὁ ὢν ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκοὴν μου τῆς φωνῆς· λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Πιλάτος. Τί ἐστιν ἀλήθεια; ἐξ οὐρανοῦ; ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀλήθεια οὐκ ἔστιν· λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς Ὅρα, οἱ τὴν ἀλήθειαν λέγοντες πῶς κρίνονται ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

IV. 1. Καταλιπὼν δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὁ Πιλάτος ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω τοῦ πραιτωρίου πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Ἴδε ἐγὼ οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν εὗρίσκω ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ· λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, Οὗτος εἶπεν δύνamai καταλῦσαι τὸν ναὸν τούτου καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἐγεῖραι αὐτόν· λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος, Ποῖον ναόν; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, Ὁν ᾠκοδόμησεν Σολομὼν ἐν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἐξ ἑτεσι καὶ οὗτος λέγει διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἐγεῖραι αὐτόν; λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος, Ἀθῶός εἰμι ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ δικαίου τούτου, ὑμεῖς ὅψεσθε· λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, Τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν.

2. Προσκαλεσάμενος (?) δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Μὴ οὕτως λάθρα ποιήσατε, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄξιον θανάτου κατηγορεῖτε αὐτοῦ, ἡ γὰρ κατηγορία ὑμῶν περὶ θεραπείας καὶ βεβηλώσεως σαββάτου ἐστίν· λέγουσιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα, Κατὰ Καίσαρος ἑάν τις βλασφημήσῃ, ἄξιος θανάτου ἐστίν, οὗτος κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐβλασφήμησε.

3. Προσέταξε δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐξελθεῖν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγει αὐτῷ· Τί ποιήσω σε; λέγει ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πιλάτῳ, Οὕτως ἐδόθη· λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος Πῶς ἐδόθη; λέγει ὁ

Ἰησοῦς, Μωυσῆς καὶ οἱ προφῆται προεκήρυξαν περὶ τοῦ θανάτου μου καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως· παριστορήσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ ἀκούσαντες λέγουσι τῷ Πιλάτῳ, Τί πλείον θέλεις καὶ μείζον τῆς βλασφημίας ταύτης ἀκοῦσαι; λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος, Εἰ οὗτος ὁ λόγος βλάσφημός ἐστιν, περὶ τῆς βλασφημίας ταύτης λάβετε αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς καὶ ἀπαγάγετε εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ὑμῶν καὶ κρίνατε αὐτόν· λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Πιλάτῳ, Ὁ νόμος ἔχει ὅτι ἀνθρώπος εἰς ἀνθρώπον ἐὰν ἁμαρτήσῃ ἄξιός ἐστιν λαμβάνειν τεσσαράκοντα παρὰ μίαν, ὁ δὲ εἰς Θεὸν βλασφημῶν λιθοβολία λιθοβοληθήσεται.

4. Λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος, Λάβετε οὖν αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς καὶ οἷψ βούλεσθε τρόπῳ ἀμύνασθε αὐτόν· λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, Ἡμεῖς βουλόμεθα ἵνα σταυρωθῇ· λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος Οὐκ ἐστὶν ἄξιος σταυρωθῆναι.

5. Περιβλεψάμενος δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν εἰς τοὺς περιεστῶτας ὄχλους θεωρεῖ τινας δακρύνοντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Οὐ πάν τὸ πλῆθος θέλει αὐτὸν ἀποθανεῖν· λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ Διὰ τοῦτο ἤλθαμεν ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος ἵνα ἀποθάνῃ, ἐαυτὸν νιδὼν Θεοῦ καὶ βασιλέα λέγει.

V. 1. Νικοδήμους ἀρχων τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔστη ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Πιλάτου λέγων, Ἀξιὼ τὸ ὑμέτερον κράτος εὐσεβῆ τοῦ μακροθυμεῖν ἀκοῦσαι μου· λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος, Εἰπέ δὲ βούλει· λέγει ὁ Νικοδήμους, Εἶπον τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ λευταῖς καὶ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ, Τί συζητεῖτε μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου, ὅτι ὁ ἀνθρώπος οὗτος σημεῖα καὶ παράδοξα ἐποίησε καὶ ποιεῖ ἃ οὐδεὶς ἐποίησεν, ἄφετε οὖν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ βούλεσθέ τι πονηρὸν κατ' αὐτοῦ. εἰ ἐκ Θεοῦ ἐστι τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ποιεῖ σταθήσονται· καὶ γὰρ Μωυσῆς ἀποσταλὴς παρὰ Θεοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πολλὰ σημεῖα ἐποίησε ἃ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Θεὸς ποιῆσαι ἔμπροσθεν Φαραὼ βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ἦσαν ἐκεῖ θεράποντες ἄνδρες Φαραὼ καὶ αὐτοὶ σημεῖα ἃ ἐποίησεν Μωυσῆς ἐποίησαν ἄλλ' οὐχ ὅλα, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐποίησαν οὐκ ἦσαν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ἀπώλοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ πάντες οἱ πιστεύοντες αὐτοῖς· καὶ νῦν ἄφετε τὸν ἀνθρώπον τούτον, οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἄξιος θανάτου.

2. Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Νικοδήμῳ, Σὺ μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ ἐγένου καὶ τὸν λόγον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ποιεῖς; λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ Νικοδήμους,

Μὴ καὶ ὁ ἡγεμὼν μαθητῆς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο καὶ τὸν λόγον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ποιεῖ; οὐ κατέστησεν αὐτὸν Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀξιώματος τούτου; ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐμβριμώμενοι καὶ τρίζοντες τοὺς ὀδόντας αὐτῶν κατὰ τοῦ Νικοδήμου, λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ Πιλάτος, Τί τρίζετε τοὺς ὀδόντας ὑμῶν κατὰ τούτου ἀκούσαντες παρ' αὐτοῦ; λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Νικοδήμῳ, Τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῦ λάβης καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ· λέγει αὐτοῖς Νικόδημος, Ἀμήν, ἀμήν, λάβω καθὼς εἶπατε.

VI. 1. Τίς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐλθὼν ἔμπροσθεν ἤξιον εἰπεῖν λόγον· λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Πιλάτος, Εἴ τι θέλεις εἰπέ· ὁ δὲ μετὰ δακρύων ἔλεγεν, Τριάκοντα ὀκτὼ ἔτη ἐπὶ κλίνης κατακείμενος ἤμην καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ πολλῇ ὑπῆρχον καὶ ἐλθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πολλοὶ δαιμονιζόμενοι καὶ ποικίλαις νόσοις κατακείμενοι ἐθεραπεύθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ τινες νεανίσκοι κατελεήσαντές με ἐβάστασάν με μετὰ τῆς κλίνης καὶ ἀπήγαγόν με πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ ἰδὼν με ὁ Ἰησοὺς ἐσπλαγχνίσθη καὶ λόγῳ μόνῳ αὐτός με ἐθεράπευσεν εἰπὼν Ἄρον τὸ κράββατόν σου καὶ περιπάτει. οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι εἶπον πρὸς τὸν Πιλάτον, Ἀξιούμεν τὸ ὑμέτερον μέγεθος καλεῖν ποῖαν ἡμέραν ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ ἔφη Σάββατον εἶναι καὶ πολλοὺς δαιμονιζομένους καὶ ποικίλαις νόσοις συνεχομένους τῷ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ ἐθεράπευσεν.

2. Ἄλλος δὲ μετὰ δακρύων εἶπε τῷ Πιλάτῳ Ἐγὼ τυφλὸς ἐγεννήμην, φωνῆς μὲν ἀκούων (?) πρόσωπον δὲ οὐκ ἔβλεπον, καὶ παράγοντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐφώνησα φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγων Ἐλέησόν με, υἱὲ Δαυίδ· καὶ ἐλεήσας με ἐπέθηκε τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου καὶ εὐθέως ἀνέβλεψα. Ἄλλος κωφὸς εἶπε Ἐγὼ ἤμην μὴ λαλῶν καὶ ἡψατό μου τῆς γλώσσης καὶ παραχρῆμα ἰάθην. Ἄλλος εἶπεν Ἐγὼ κυρτὸς ἤμην καὶ λόγῳ ὤρθωσέ με.

VII. Γυνὴ δὲ τις ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἐβόησεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγουσα, Καὶ ὡς αἱμορροοῦσα ἤμην καὶ ἡψάμην τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔσθη ἡ ρύσις τοῦ αἵματος ἥ δι' ἐτῶν δώδεκα· λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι Ἡμεῖς νόμον ἔχομεν μὴ ὑπάγειν γυναῖκα εἰς μαρτυρίαν.

VIII. Ἄλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Ἰουδαίων μετὰ δακρύων ἐβόων, Οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος προφήτης ἐστὶν καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια αὐτῷ ὑποτάσσονται καὶ πᾶν πάθος· λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τοὺς εἰπόντας καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια αὐτῷ ὑποτάσσονται καὶ πᾶν πάθος,

Διατί καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι ὑμῶν οὐκ ὑπετάγησαν αὐτῷ; αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν Ἡμεῖς οἶδαμεν ὅτι καὶ τὸν Λάζαρον ἤγειρεν τετραήμερον ἐκ τοῦ μνημεῖου· ἔμφοβος δὲ γενόμενος ὁ Πιλάτος λέγει πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων, Τί θέλετε ἐκχέαι αἷμα ἀθῶον ἀδικῶς;

ΙΧ. 1. Καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος κατ' ἰδίαν Νικόδημον καὶ τοὺς δώδεκα ἄνδρας τοὺς εἰπόντας μὴ γεγεννησθαι αὐτὸν ἐκ πορνείας φησί, Τί ποιήσω ὅτι μεγάλη διάστασις γίνεται ἐν τῷ λαῷ; οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν, Ἡμεῖς οὐκ οἶδαμεν, αὐτοὶ ὄψονται. Προσκαλεσάμενος πάλιν ὁ Πιλάτος ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων λέγει αὐτοῖς, Οἴδατε ὅτι ἡ συνήθεια ὑμῖν ἐστίν κατὰ ἑορτὴν τῶν ἁγίων ἓνα ἀπολύεσθαι τῶν δεσμιῶν· ἔχω οὖν δέσμιον κατὰδικον τὸν λεγόμενον Βαραββᾶν καὶ τοῦτον ἐστῶτα κατενώπιον ὑμῶν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν, εἰς ὃν οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν εὗρίσκω ἐν αὐτῷ, ποῖον οὖν θέλετε ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν; οἱ δὲ ᾗτήσαντο τὸν Βαραββᾶν τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν ἔλεγον Σταυρωθήτω· ἕτεροι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔλεγον Οὐκ εἰ φίλος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔαν τοῦτον οὐ σταυρώσῃς ὅτι εἶπεν ἑαυτὸν υἱὸν Θεοῦ καὶ βασιλέα· τάχα τοῦτον εἶναι θέλεις βασιλέα καὶ οὐ Καίσαρα.

2. Ὁργισθεὶς δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος λέγει πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, Ἀεὶ τὸ ἔθνος ὑμῶν στασιασταὶ εἰσιν, καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις ὑμῶν ἀντιλέγετε· λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, Ποίοις εὐεργέταις; λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος, Ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῶν ἀπὸ δουλείας σκληρᾶς ἐρρύσατο ὑμᾶς ἐξαγαγὼν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης ὡς διὰ ξηρᾶς διήγαγε, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ διέθρεψεν ὑμᾶς, μανῶ καὶ ὀρυγομήτραν ἔδωκεν ὑμῖν, καὶ ἐκ πέτρας ὕδωρ ἐπότισεν ὑμᾶς καὶ νόμον ἔδωκεν ὑμῖν· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐστήσασθε μόσχον χωνευτὸν καὶ παρωξύνετε τὸν Θεὸν ὑμῶν καὶ ἐζήτησεν ἀπολέσαι ὑμᾶς, καὶ λιτανεύσας Μωυσῆς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν εἰσηκούσθη καὶ οὐκέτι ἐθανατώθητε, καὶ νῦν ὑμεῖς καταγγέλλετε μου, ὅτι ἐγὼ μισῶ τὸν βασιλέα.

3. Πλησθεὶς οὖν ὀργῆς ὁ Πιλάτος ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος αὐτοῦ ἐζήτησεν ἐξελεῖν· λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, Ἡμεῖς βασιλέα οἶδαμεν τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ οὐ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ γὰρ οἱ μάγοι δῶρα προσήνεγκαν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ὡς βασιλεῖ καὶ Ἡρώδης ἀκούσας παρὰ τῶν μάγων ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐγεννήθη ἐζήτησεν αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Μαρία λαβόντες αὐτὸν ἔφυγον εἰς Αἴγυπτον· καὶ ἀκούσας Ἡρώδης ἔπεμψε καὶ ἀνέειλε τοὺς παῖδας τῶν Ἑβραίων τοὺς γεννηθέντας ἐν Βηθλεὲμ.

4. Καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐφοβήθη σφόδρα καὶ κατεσεύσθη τῇ χειρὶ τοὺς ὄχλους τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὅτι ἔκραζον, καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Οὗτός ἐστιν ὃν ἐζήτηι Ἡρώδης ; λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, Οὗτός ἐστιν· ὁ οὖν Πιλάτος λαβὼν ὕδωρ ἀπενίψατο τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἀπέναντι τοῦ ἡλίου λέγων, Ἀθῶός εἰμι ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ δικαίου τούτου· ὑμεῖς ὄψεσθε· πάλιν λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, Τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν.

5. Ἐκέλευσε δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος ἐλकुσθῆναι τὸν βηλὸν οὗ ἐκαθέζετο.

Ἀπόφασις κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

Τὸ ἔθνος τὸ σὺν κατέπλεξέ σε ὡς βασιλέα· διὰ τοῦτο ἀπεφηνάμην κατὰ σοῦ πρῶτον φραγελλοῦσθαι διὰ τὸν θεσμόν τῶν εὐσεβῶν βασιλέων, καὶ τότε ἀναρτᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐν τῷ κήπῳ. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς δύο κακούργους σὺν αὐτῷ Γέστην καὶ Δυσμᾶν.

Χ. 1. Λαβόντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ τοὺς κακούργους σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ ὅτε ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἐξέδυσαν αὐτὸν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ περιέζωσαν αὐτὸν λέντιον καὶ στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν περιέθηκαν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς δύο κακούργους ἐκρέμασαν Γέστην ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ Δυσμᾶν ἐξ εὐωνύμων, ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἔλεγε, Πάτερ ἄφες αὐτοῖς, σὺ γὰρ οἶδας τί ποιοῦσιν· καὶ διμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ οἱ στρατιῶται, βάλλοντες κλήρους· εἰστήκει δὲ ὁ λαὸς θεωρῶν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐξεμυκτήριζον αὐτὸν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες λέγοντες, Ἄλλους ἐσώσας, σεαυτὸν οὐ δύνασαι σῶσαι, εἰ υἱὸς ἐστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ οὗτος καταβάτω ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ. ἐνέπαιζον δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ στρατιῶται προσέφερον δὲ ὄξος λέγοντες, Εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων σῶσον σεαυτόν. Ἐκέλευσε δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος μετὰ τὴν ἀπόφασιν εἰς τίτλον ἐπιγραφῆναι τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ γράμμασι ῥωμαϊκοῖς ἐβραϊκοῖς καὶ ἑλληνικοῖς, καθὼς εἶπαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐστὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

2. Εἰς δὲ τῶν κρεμασθέντων κακούργων ὀνόματι Δυσμᾶν λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, Εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς σῶσον σεαυτὸν καὶ ἡμᾶς· ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ ἕτερος ᾧ ὄνομα Γέστην ἐπέτιμα αὐτῷ λέγων· Οὐδὲν φοβῆσαι τὸν Θεὸν ὅτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κρίματι εἶ ; καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἄξια ὧν ἐπράξαμεν ἀπολαμβάνομεν, οὗτος δὲ οὐδὲν κακὸν

ἐπραξεν· καὶ ἔλεγε τῷ Ἰησοῦ, Μνήσθητί μου Κύριε ὅταν ἔλθῃς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου· εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς Ἀμήν, ἀμήν, λέγω σοι ὅτι σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ.

XI. 1. Ἦν δὲ ὥρα ὥσεί ἔκτῃ καὶ σκότος ἐγένετο ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης, σκοτισθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἐσχίσθη τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ μέσον ἀπὸ ἁνωθεν ἕως κάτω· καὶ φωνήσας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπε Βιαδὰ γεφί· κυθρωσί· ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται Εἰς χεῖρας σου παρατίθιμι τὸ πνεῦμά μου· καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ἐξέπνευσε. Ἰδὼν τοίνυν ὁ ἐκατόνταρχος τὸν σεισμόν καὶ τὸ γενόμενον ἐδόξασε τὸν Θεὸν λέγων ὅτι Ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος δίκαιος ἦν, καὶ πάντες οἱ θεωρήσαντες τὰ σημεῖα τύπτοντες ἑαυτῶν τὰ στήθη ὑπέστρεψον εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν.

2. Ὁ δὲ ἐκατόνταρχος ἀνήγγειλε τῷ ἡγεμόνι πάντα τὰ γενόμενα· ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἐλυπήθησαν ταῦτα σφόδρα καὶ οὐκ ἔφαγον οὐδὲ ἔπιον τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην· μετακαλεσάμενος δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Θεωρεῖτε τὰ γενόμενα ; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, Ἐκλειψίς ἐστι τοῦ ἡλίου, κατὰ τὸ εἰωθός.

3. Εἰσῆλθισαν δὲ οἱ γνωστοὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν, καὶ γυναῖκες αἱ συνακολουθήσασαι αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας θεωροῦσαι ταῦτα· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ τις ὀνόματι Ἰωσήφ βουλευτῆς ὑπάρχων ἀνὴρ δίκαιος καὶ ἀγαθὸς οὐκ ἦν συγκαταθέμενος τῇ βουλῇ αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ πράξει τῇ πονηρᾷ, ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθίας μιᾶς πόλεως τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ὃς προσεδέχετο καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὗτος προσελθὼν τῷ Πιλάτῳ ᾐτήσατο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ καθελὼν αὐτὸ ἐνετύλιξεν ἐν σινδόνι καθαρᾷ καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸ ἐν μνημείῳ λαξευτῷ, ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἦν οὐδεὶς πώποτε τεθεῖς.

XII. 1. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ὅτι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ᾐτήσατο ὁ Ἰωσήφ, ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς δώδεκα τοὺς εἰπόντας μὴ γεγεννηθῆσαι ἐκ πορνείας καὶ τὸν Νικόδημον καὶ ἄλλους ἐτέρους πολλούς, οἵτινες ἔστησαν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Πιλάτου καὶ μετὰ δακρύων διηγήσαντο τὰ θαυμάσια αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐβούλοντο ἀνελεῖν· πάντων δὲ ἀποκρυβέντων ὁ Νικόδημος ὥφθη αὐτοῖς μόνος, ὅτι οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἄρχων τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὑπῆρχε, καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ Σὺ πῶς εἰσῆλθες εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ; ὅτι συνεστιάτωρ αὐτοῦ εἶ καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ σοῦ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι· λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ

Νικόδημος, Ἄμην· γένοιτό μοι καθὼς εἶπατε· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἐμφανισθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Τί ὅτι ἐλυπήθητε κατ' ἐμοῦ ματαίως, ὅτι ἤτησάμην τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἐνετύλιξα αὐτὸ σινδόνι καὶ τέθεικα αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ καινῷ μου μνημείῳ καὶ λίθον μέγαν προσκυλίσας τῇ θύρᾳ τοῦ σπηλαίου καὶ ἀπῆλθον ; καὶ οὐ καλῶς ἐπράξατε κατὰ τοῦ δικαίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγῃ αὐτοῦ ὑπεβάλλετε μὴ μεταμεληθέντες. Κρατήσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὸν Ἰωσήφ ἐκέλευσαν αὐτὸν ἀσφαλῶς τηρεῖσθαι, καὶ λέγουσιν πρὸς τὸν Ἰωσήφ, Γίνωσκε ὅτι ἡ ὥρα οὐκ ἀπαιτεῖ πρᾶξαι τι κατὰ σοῦ ὅτι σάββατον διαφαίνει, καὶ γίνωσκε ὅτι ταφῆς οὐ καταξιωθήσῃ, ἀλλ' ἔσονται αἱ σάρκες βρῶμα τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τοῖς θηρίοις τῆς γῆς· ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰωσήφ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Οὗτος ὁ λόγος τοῦ τυράννου ἐστὶ Γολιάθ, ὃς ὠνείδισεν τὸν Θεὸν ζῶντα καὶ τὸν ἄγιον Δαυὶδ, εἶπεν γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς Ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις καὶ γὰρ ἀνταποδώσω, λέγει Κύριος, καὶ νῦν ὁ ἀκρόβυστος τῇ σαρκὶ καὶ περιτεμνόμενος τῇ καρδίᾳ λαβὼν ὕδωρ ἀπενύψατο τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἀπέναντι τοῦ ἡλίου λέγων Ἀθῶός εἰμι ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ δικαίου τούτου· ὑμεῖς ὄψεσθε· καὶ ἀπεκρίθητε αὐτῷ λέγοντες Τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν, καὶ νῦν φοβοῦμαι, μήποτε φθάσει ἡ ὀργὴ Κυρίου ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν ὡς εἶπατε· ἀκούσαντες δὲ τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐπικράνθησαν κατὰ τὸν Ἰωσήφ σφόδρα τῇ ψυχῇ, καὶ ἐπιλαβόμενοι ἐνέκλεισαν εἰς οἶκον φυλακῆς καὶ ἐσφραγίσαντο τὴν θύραν τῷ δακτυλιδίῳ τοῦ Καϊαφᾶ.

2. Τῷ δὲ ἐρχομένῳ σαββάτῳ ὥρισαν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς τοῦ εὐρεθῆναι πάντας ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τῇ μιᾷ τοῦ σαββάτου, καὶ συναθροίσαντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ ἐβουλευσάντο ποίῳ θανάτῳ ἀποκτείνωσιν τὸν Ἰωσήφ, καὶ ἐκέλευσαν μετὰ ἀτιμίας ἀχθῆναι αὐτόν· ἀνοίξαντες δὲ τὰς θύρας τῆς φυλακῆς οὐχ εὗρον αὐτόν, καὶ ἐξέστη πᾶς ὁ λαός, λέγοντες ὅτι Τὰς σφραγίδας εὗρομεν σῶας καὶ τὴν κλεῖδα ἔσχεν ὁ Καϊαφᾶς· καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ οὐκέτι ἐτόλμων ἐπιβαλεῖν τὰς χεῖρας.

VI. A FRAGMENT OF THE ACTA THOMAE.

IN his edition of the Acts of Thomas in *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* Tischendorf quotes the variants of five MSS. which he calls ABCDE, and to these M. Bonnet has added PQRS. The text which is now printed is that of another fragment, which I shall call T, found in cod. 476 in the library of Ivéron, a paper MS. of fourteenth century. The negatives of the photographs of T which I used will be found in the Bodleian Library under the Pressmark MS. Gr. th. f. 8, and are numbered 1-7.

Mr. Burkitt has pointed out to me that T belongs to the same family as B (Paris, Nat. Gr. 1468). It is impossible to say without collating B exactly how close the connexion may be, as Tischendorf does not quote B fully but only in select and important passages. But the following readings are sufficient to demonstrate the general connexion of B and T, and to help any one who may wish accurately to determine their relations I have followed the photographs exactly in matters of spelling and accentuation.

(α) 12. εἰς ἀπαλλαγῆτε τῆς ῥυπαρᾶς κοινωνίας ταύτης γίνεσθε ναοὶ ἅγιοι καθαροὶ ἀπαλλαγέντες πλήξεων καὶ ὀδυνῶν φανεράων τε καὶ ἀφανῶν καὶ φροντίδας οὐ περιθήσεσθε βίου καὶ τέκνων, ὧν τὸ τέλος ἀπώλεια ὑπάρχει.—ACPQ with small variations.

εἰς τὴν τηρήσῃτε ἑαυτοὺς ἀμέμπτους τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου τούτου ἔσεσθε αἰεὶ [B ναοὶ] ἅγιοι ῥυσθέντες ἀπὸ πάσης φθορᾶς φανεράων τε καὶ ἐναποκρύφου καὶ φροντίδων ἀνωφελῶν καὶ ἐπιβλαβῶν.—BT, and the closeness of agreement is equally marked for several more lines.

(β) 16. καὶ ἀπελθόντες κατεμίγησαν αὐτῷ—ACEPQ.

καὶ ἀπελθόντες ἔλαβον παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ λουτρὸν τῆς χάριτος ἐν ὀνόματι πατρὸς κ.τ.λ.—BT.

(γ) 24. Instead of the account which begins in codd. ACEPQ καὶ εὐθέως πέμψας and continues to the end of the story, covering four pages in M. Bonnet's edition, BT have

καὶ πέμψας ἐξέβαλα τὸν θωμᾶν κ.τ.λ. finishing the whole narrative in a few lines.

These examples might be added to at length, and prove a close relationship between B and T. In the absence of a complete collation of B it is impossible to say more definitely what the relationship is. The next scholar who deals with the text of the *Acta Thomae* will no doubt be able to throw light both on this point and on the relationship which the ordinary¹ texts and this text bear to the Syriac Acts.

TEXT.

11. . . . ἀγάγη. Καὶ εἶδεν ὅμοιον τοῦ Θωμᾶ ἐστῶτα καὶ ὁμιλοῦντα τὴν νύμφην. καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, οὐχὶ πρῶτος πάντων ἐξήλθες; πῶς οὖν εὐρέθεις ὧδε; καὶ ὁ Κύριος εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγὼ Θωμᾶς, ἀδελφὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰμι, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ὁ Κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, καὶ ἤρξατο διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς καὶ λέγειν,

12. Μνημονεύσατε τέκνα μου ἅπερ ὁ ἀδελφός μου ἐλάλησεν μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ τίνι ὑμᾶς παρέθετο, καὶ τοῦτω γινώτε, ὅτι ἐὰν τηρήσετε ἑαυτοὺς ἀμέμπτους τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου τούτου, ἔσεσθαι αἱ ἅγιοι ῥυσθέντες ἀπὸ πάσης φθορᾶς, φανερᾶς τε καὶ ἑναποκρύφου, καὶ φροντίζων ἀνοφελῶν καὶ ἐπιβλαβῶν, ἐὰν γὰρ γένωνται ὑμῖν παιδία ἕνεκεν αὐτῶν μέλλεται τύπτειν τινὰς καὶ ἀρπάζειν ὀρφανούς καὶ καταπονεῖν χηρῶν καὶ ταῦτα ποιοῦντες ὑποβάλλετε αὐτοὺς εἰς τιμωρίας κακίστας· ἀλλὰ μένετε ἀγιάσαντες αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ πάντων, προσδοκῶντες ἀπολαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ νυμφίου τοὺς στεφάνους τοὺς ἀφθάρτους. ταῦτα διδάξας αὐτοὺς ὁ Κύριος ἐξήλθεν εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς, Ἡ χάρις τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ἔσται μεθ' ὑμῶν.

13. Οἱ δὲ νέοι ἀκούσαντες ἐπίσθησαν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν· ἔμειναν δὲ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς μὴδ' ὅλως ὑπνώσαντες. ὄρθρου δὲ γενομένου ὁ βασιλεὺς πληρώσας τράπεζαν εἰσήνεγκεν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν καὶ εὖρεν αὐτοὺς καθημένους ἀντίκρυ ἀλλήλων τὴν δὲ ὄφιν τῆς νύμφης

¹ It is perhaps worth while to mention that we also photographed some pages of cod. Iver. 275, which contain part of the Acts of Thomas in the more ordinary form. It did not seem worth publishing, but the negatives of my photographs are to be found in the Bodleian under the Pressmark MS. Gr. th. f. 8, if any scholar wishes to go more closely into the question.

ἀσκέπατον οὖσαν. καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ, Διὰ τὶ οὕτως κάθη μόνη ἰδία καὶ οὐδε σκέπη, ἀλλ' ὥς ἤδη χρόνον ἱκανὸν συμβιώσασα τῷ ἀνδρὶ σου ;

14. Ἡ δὲ ἀπεκρίθη λέγουσα Ἀληθῶς πάτερ ἐν πολλῇ ἀγάπῃ ὑπάρχωμεν, καὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν εὐχώμεθα ὅτι τὸ σκέπασμα τῆς αἰσχύνης ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀφήρηται διότι ἐτέρῳ γάμῳ ἀληθινῶ συνεζεύχθημεν. καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ χαράς μου οὐκ ἐνεπαίχθην καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ταραχῆς οὐκ ἐταράχθην.

15. Ὁμοίως καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἤρξατο λέγειν, Εὐχαριστῶ σοι δέσποτα Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὃ διὰ τοῦ ξένου δούλου σου ἐφανίσας ἡμῖν, ὃ τῆς στώσεώς με λυτρώσάμενος, ὃ ξαυτὸν καταγαγὼν ἕως ἐμοῦ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ· Ὅτι πρὸς καιρῶν με ἀπαλλάξας ὃ ἀπολλυμένῳ δοὺς χεῖρα βοηθείας. Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὃ τῶν ὅλων ἡμῶν δεσπότης καὶ βασιλεὺς, ἅγιος καὶ ἀληθινός, εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι περὶ πάντα.

16. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς διέρρηξεν τὴν αἰσθητὰ αὐτοῦ κράζων, Ἐξελθόντες ταχέως φέρετέ μοι τὸν πλάνον ἐκείνον, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἰδίαις μου χερσὶν αὐτὸν εἰσήγαγον, ὃς δὲ εὐρῶν αὐτὸν ἀγάγει μοι σώζει μου τὴν θυγατέρα, καὶ ἡ τι ἂν αἰτήσῃ δώσω αὐτῷ.

Ἀπελθόντες οὖν περιῆλθον πᾶσαν τὴν περίχωρον καὶ μὴ εὐρῶντες ἦλθον ἐν τῷ ξενοδοχείῳ καὶ εὗρων ἐκεῖ τὴν αὐλητρίαν μόνην κλαίουσαν περὶ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἀναστᾶσα ἦλθεν πρὸς τοὺς νέους καὶ ἦν συν αὐτοῖς ἐξύπηρετοῦσα αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ νέοι κατήχησαν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα. μετὰ δὲ χρόνον ἤκουσαν περὶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου, ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ἰνδία διδάσκει, καὶ ἀπελθόντες ἔλαβον παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ λουτρὸν τῆς χάριτος, φωτισθέντες ἐν ὀνόματι πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ᾧ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα τιμὴ κράτος μεγαλωσύνη προσκύνησις καὶ βασιλεία ἀτελεύτητος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

17. Ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐν τῇ Ἰνδία μετὰ Ἀββάβῃ τοῦ ἐμποροῦ εὐθέως ἀνήγαγεν τῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ τοῦ οἰκοδόμου, καὶ χαρὰς πλησθεὶς ἐκέλευσε εἰσελθεῖν τὸν Θωμᾶν καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, Ποῖαν ἐργασίαν οἶδας ἐν ξύλοις, καὶ ποῖαν ἐν λίθοις ; ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολος λέγει, Ἐν μὲν ξύλοις ἄροτρα, καὶ ζυγοὺς, καὶ πλοῖα, τραχιλέας, καὶ κῶπας· ἐν δὲ λίθοις, στήλας, καὶ ναοὺς, καὶ πραιτώρια βασιλικὰ· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς χαρὰς πλησθεὶς εἶπεν ; Καγὼ τοιούτου χρεῖαν εἶχον, ἀλλὰ κτίσον μοι παλάτιον.

18. Καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὸν διελέγετο αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ παλατίου τὸ πῶς τεθῶσιν οἱ λίθοι, καὶ ὅτε ἦλθεν πλησίον τοῦ τόπου ἐνθα ἐβούλετο τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ποιῆσαι λέγει αὐτῷ, "Ὅδε βούλομαι, καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει, καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ τόπος ἐπιτήδιός ἐστιν πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν, ἣν δὲ ἀλσώδης ὕδατα πολλὰ ἔχων, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ Ἀπαρξαι τοῦ κτίζειν, καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει Ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτου οὐ δύναμαι κτίσαι, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν, Πότε δὲ, καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει, Ὑπερβορετίου, καὶ τελειῷ ᾧ ξανθικῷ, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς λέγει Πᾶσα οἰκοδομὴ θέρους οἰκοδομεῖται, σὺ δὲ χειμῶνος κτίξεις, καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει, Οὕτως ὀφείλη γενέσθαι, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν Εἰς τοῦτο σοι δοκεῖ, κὰν διαχάραξόν μοι αὐτῷ ἵνα ἴδω, ἐπειδὴ διὰ χρόνου ἐρχομένου ἐνταῦθα. ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολος λαβὼν κάλαμον ἐχάρασσεν μέτρον. Καὶ τὰς μεν θυρίδας πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἤνοιξεν πρὸς τὸ φῶς, τὰς δὲ θύρας πρὸς δύσιν, τὸ δὲ ἄρτοποιον πρὸς λίβα, τὸ δὲ ἀγωγὸν τοῦ ὕδατος εἰς ἄρκτον. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν τύπον λέγει, Ἀληθῶς ἀνθρώπε τεχνίτης εἶ, καὶ πρέπει σοι βασιλεῖ ἐξυπηρετεῖσθαι, καὶ καταλείψας αὐτῷ χρυσίον ἱκανὸν ἀπεδήμησεν.

19. Καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ δαπάνας καὶ ἄλλα ἐπιτήδεια, ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολος περιήρχετο τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς κώμας οἰκονομῶν τοὺς δεομένους. ἔλεγεν γὰρ Τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τῷ βασιλεῖ δοθήσεται, καὶ ἀνεσίς ἔσται τοῖς πολλοῖς. μετὰ δὲ χρόνον ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς μαθεῖν εἰ ἐκτισται τὸ παλάτιον· καὶ δηλοῖ αὐτῷ ὁ ἀπόστολος Τὸ μὲν παλάτιον ἐκτισται τὸ δὲ στέγος περιλείπεται. Καὶ ἀνατείνας τὸ ὄμμα πρὸς τὸν Κύριον εἶπεν, Εὐχαριστῶ σοι δέσποτα Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ἀπέθανον γὰρ ἵνα ζωοποιήσης με, καὶ πέπρακάς με ἵνα πολλοὺς ἐλευθερώσω, οὐκ ἐπαύσατο δὲ ἀναψύχων τοὺς δεομένους καὶ τοὺς ἐν θλίψει ὄντας καὶ ἔλεγεν, Ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν οἰκονόμησε ταῦτα, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν τροφεὺς τῶν ὀρφανῶν, καὶ τῶν χηρῶν προστάτης καὶ τοῖς θλιβομένοις γίνεται ἀνάψυξις.

20. Μετὰ δὲ χρόνον ἦλθεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐρωτῶν τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ παλατίου, καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ Οὐδὲν ἐκτισται, οὔδε ἑτερόν τι ἐποίησεν ἀλλὰ περιέρχεται τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς κώμας ποιῶν εὐσεβείας καὶ χωριγῶν τοῖς πένησιν, καὶ διδάσκει ἕνα Θεὸν εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν, καὶ πολλὰ ἐστὶν ἅπερ

ποιεῖ νεκροὺς γὰρ ἐγείρη, καὶ κυλλοὺς θεραπεύει, καὶ δαίμονας ἀπελαύνει, καὶ φορεῖ ἐν ἱμάτιον, τὸ δὲ βρῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἄρτος καὶ ὕδωρ. εἰ ὅτι μάγος ἐστὶν οὐκ οἶδαμεν, ἀλλὰ αἱ ἰάσεις αὐτοῦ ὡς ποιεῖ, καὶ τὸ ἀπλοῦν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπικεκέναι τοῦτο σημαίνει, ἡ ὅτι δίκαιος ἐστὶν ἡ ἀπόστολος Θεοῦ, πικνότερως γὰρ νηστεύει. ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὄψιν προσέτρεψεν.

21. Καὶ θυμὸς πλησθεὶς ἤνεγκεν τὸν Θωμᾶν καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ Ἐκτισάς μοι τὸ παλάτιον; καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει Ἐκτισται, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν Πότε οὖν βλέπομεν αὐτῷ; καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει Ἄρτι ἰδεῖν οὐ δύνασαι, ἀλλ' ὅτε ἐξέλθῃς τοῦ βίου τοῦ προσκέρου τούτου. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὀργισθεὶς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν βληθῆναι εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἅμα τῷ ἐμπόρῳ Ἀββάνῃ ἕως ἀνακρίνηται περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ οὕτως ἀπολέσει αὐτούς· ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολος ἀπείν λέγων τῷ ἐμπόρῳ Μὴ λυποῦ, ἀλλὰ μόνον πίστευσον. καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἐλευθερωθείσῃ, εἰς δὲ τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσεις τῇ δὲ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφὸς ἀθυμία ληφθεὶς περὶ τοῦ συμβάντος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ πέμψας λέγει αὐτῷ, Ἰδοὺ ἀδελφεῖ πάντα σοι παρατίθηναι, τὴν τε οἰκίαν καὶ τὰ πράγματά μου, ἐγὼ γὰρ διὰ τὴν συμβάσαν σοι λύπην ἀθυμία ληφθεὶς ἀποθνήσκω, ἀλλὰ ἀνάπαστόν μου τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπεξερχόμενος δευνῇ τιμωρία τῷ μάγῳ ἐκείνῳ. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν Ἐνεθυμήθην περὶ αὐτοὺς κατακαῦσαι ἐκδάρτους.

22. Ὁ δὲ πάραυτα ἀπέδωκεν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐπένθει τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφόν, καὶ ἐβούλετο εἰς πολῦτιμον κενουργίαν πορφύραν αὐτὸν καταφθῆναι. οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι λαβόντες τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπήγαγον ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ δεικνύοντες αὐτῇ τοὺς ἐκεῖ τόπους καὶ οἰκῆσεις καὶ ὅσα ὁ Θεὸς ἀγαθὰ ἡτοίμασεν τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτὸν, καὶ ὅτε ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ Θωμᾶ ἐπηρώτησαν αὐτὴν οἱ ἄγγελοι ποῦ βούλεται τὴν οἰκῆσιν ποιῆσαι, καὶ ἀποκριθεῖσα εἶπεν, Δέομαι ὑμῶν κύριοί μου εἰς ἐν τῶν κατωγέων τούτων ἑάσατέ με μέναι, καὶ εἶπον αὐτῇ ἐκείνοι, Οὐ δύνη, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου ἐστὶν, ὃ οἰκοδόμησεν ὁ χριστιανὸς ἐκείνος, καὶ ἀπεκρίθη λέγουσα Δέομαι ὑμῶν, κύριοί μου, συγχωρήσατέ μοι ἀπελθεῖν ἵνα ἀγοράσω αὐτὸ παρ' αὐτοῦ, οὐ γὰρ οἶδεν αὐτῷ ὁ ἀδελφός μου.

23. Καὶ εὐθέως ἀφῆκαν αὐτὴν οἱ ἄγγελοι, καὶ ἐλθοῦσα εἰς τὸ

σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἀναστὰς λέγει τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν, 'Ἀπελθόντες ταχέως φέρετέ μοι τὸν ἀδελφόν μου, ἵνα αἰτήσομαι παρ' αὐτοῦ αἴτημα, καὶ ἀπελθόντες εὐηγγελίσαντο αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀδελφοῦ. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας χαρὰς ληφθεὶς ἦλθεν καὶ κατεφίλη αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ, Αἰτήσιν τινα ἔχω πρὸς σέ καὶ μή μου παρακούσης, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς λέγει αὐτῷ, 'Ἀδελφέ μου ἐὰν ἔστιν ἕως τῆς κεφαλῆς μου, οὐ μή σε παρέλθω· τότε λέγει αὐτῷ, 'Ἀδελφέ, τὸ παλάτιον ὃ ἔχεις ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς πώλησόν μοι αὐτῷ ὅπερ σὺ οὐκ οἶδας. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Καὶ ἐμοὶ παλάτιον ἐν οὐρανοῖς τοῦ ὑπάρχει ; καὶ εἶπεν, "Ὅπερ ὠκοδόμησέν σοι ὁ χριστιανὸς ἐκεῖνος.

24. Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, 'Ἀδελφέ, ἐκεῖνω πωλήσαι σοι οὐ δύναμαι ἀόρατον γὰρ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' εὐχομαι καγὼ ἐπιτυχεῖν αὐτό. ἔχομεν δὲ τὸν οἰκοδόμον καὶ κτίζει σοι. καὶ πέμψας ἐξέβαλεν τὸν Θωμᾶν, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ Συγχώρησον ἡμῶν ἥτι ἐπλημμελήσαμεν εἰς σε ἀγνοοῦντες, καὶ ποιήσον ἡμᾶς κοινωνοὺς γενέσθαι ἐκείνου οὐ κηρύσσεις.

25. Ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολος λέγει Καγὼ ὑμῖν συγχαίρω κοινωνοὺς γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας. καὶ λαβὼν ἐφώτισεν αὐτοὺς δόσας αὐτοῖς τὸ λουτρὸν τῆς χάριτος ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. καὶ ἀναβάντων αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐφάνη αὐτοῖς ὁ σωτὴρ ὡς τὸν ἀπόστολον θαυμάσαι· καὶ φῶς μέγα ἔλαμψεν. καὶ στηρίζας αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ πίστει ἐξῆλθεν πορευθεὶς τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν Κυρίῳ, ᾧ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα καὶ βασιλεία ἡ ἀτελεύτητος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

VII. A CATALOGUE AND DESCRIPTION OF THE BIBLICAL MSS. WHICH WE EXAMINED.

THE following catalogue contains a short description of all the MSS. which we saw on the mountain. In the case of most of the libraries it only supplements the catalogue of Prof. Lambros, but in the case of the Laura there is not at present any published catalogue, and Mr. Wathen therefore specially devoted himself to the task of producing a list of the vellum MSS. of the Gospels in that library. So far therefore as the Laura is concerned, the catalogue is chiefly his work, but we usually consulted together as to the date of the MSS., and often consulted Father Chrysostom. It will be seen that most of the MSS. have numbers in bold type attached to them. These refer to Dr. Gregory's *Text-Kritik*, and Dr. Gregory has been so kind as to go through my notes, and add to each new MS. the number which he proposes to assign to it in his next edition.

CATALOGUE.

VATOPEDI.

N.B.—The catalogue now in use at this library is quite different from the one in Paris which Dr. Gregory used for his *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf.

1. Vatop. 5 (xiv). A beautifully illuminated copy of the works of Athanasius. A partially obliterated note at the beginning—*βιβλίον βασιλικὸν τοῦ (? τὸν) καλ Γωαν . . . ὀνομασθέντος διὰ τοῦ θείου καὶ ἀγγελικοῦ σχήματος Ἰωασάφ.* I doubt greatly whether we read this note correctly.

2. Vatop. 7 (xii), the works of Athanasius.

3. Vatop. 27 (Acts 1523) (xi) ff. 185 (19 × 14) vell. Acts (from xv. 20) Heb. Cath. Paul. (om. Eph.) στιχ. subs. ὑποθ. lect. syn. men. (imperfect). Text ordinary. om. Acts xv. 34.

4. Vatop. 58 (Evan. 1434) (xii) vell. Evv. κεφ. (Mc. Jo. only) lect. (imperfect). A later (xiii-xiv) hand added the *pericope adulterae* at the end of Luke, but it is also found in the usual place. Text ordinary.

5. Vatop. 101 (Evan. 1435) (xi) vell. Evv. κεφ. subs. pict. vers. στιχ. (βχ, αχ, βω, βτ) στας. *Pericope adulterae* obelized. Text ordinary.

6. Vatop. 106 (Evan. 1436) (xiii) ff. 212 (21.8 × 15.4) vell. col. 1. Evv. κεφ. τιν. στιχ. (Lc. only βω) subs. (Lc. only) syn. men. (Sept. Oct. missing). The quaternion containing ff. 112-119 has been supplied by a later (xv) hand. Several marginal notes correcting faults in the text, some by the first hand, others by a contemporary scribe, e.g. Mc. ii. 24 om. ἐν τ. σάββ. ins. m. s. in mg. Mc. v. 15 om. καθήμενον ins. m. s. in mg. Mc. xv. 28 om. vers. ins. m. s. in mg. Lc. ii. 20 om. καὶ αἰνοῦντες ins. m. s. in mg. Lc. ii. 31 om. ὁ ἡτοίμ . . . λαῶν ins. m. p. in mg. Lc. vii. 20 om. vers. ins. m. s. in mg. Lc. x. 27 om. ἐξ ὅλης τῆς . . . ἰσχ. σου ins. m. s. in mg.

7. Vatop. 218 (Acts 1524) (xiii) ff. 418 vell. Written by two contemporary hands. Paul. Heb. Jac. 1. 2. Pet. Jude. Imperfect syn. at beginning. Text ordinary.

8. Vatop. 221 (Evan. 1437) (xi-xii) vell. Lc. only with a commentary which describes St. Luke as μαθητῆς Πέτρου, κεφ. τιν. Text ordinary. A photograph of this MS. is contained in Bodl. MS. Gr. th. f. 8.

9. Vatop. 758 (Evan. 1438) (xi-xiii) ff. 340 (15.5 × 12.2) vell col. 1. Evv. κεφ. τιν. amm. eus. tab. στιχ. (— βχ βω βτ) subs. prol. (Mt. ἐμμ. ὑπὸ Ἰω. Lc. μαθ. Πέτρου) pict. lect. syn. Ep. ad Carp. Text ordinary. *adult.* obelized.

PANTOCRATOR.

10. Pant. 24 (x). Octateuch with Hexaplaric notes. I was inclined to think that this MS. may have come from S. Italy or Sicily, as the colouring reminded me of the MSS. of the Ferrar group, but I do not feel certain. We photographed it throughout for the Cambridge Septuagint; and were greatly assisted in doing

this by the very kind way in which the ἐπίτροποι of the monastery gave us facilities and help.

11. Pant. 28 (Acts 509) (ix-x). A *catena* on the Pauline and Catholic Epistles. It appears to contain a considerable amount of quotation from Theodore of Mopsuestia. Several photographs of it are to be found in Bodl. MS. Gr. th. f. 8. The text itself seems ordinary.

12. Pant. 36 (Evl. 1058) (xiii) ff. 242 col. 2 vell. Text ordinary.

13. Pant. 39 (Evan. 1392) (x-xi) (26.6 x 22.5) ff. unnumbered. col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιν. amm. eus. tab.-κεφ. στιχ. (β̄χ, ᾱκ, β̄ω, β̄τ) subs. lect. syn. men. A full commentary in the margin. (Mc. Vict. Ant.) Photographs in Bodl. MS. Gr. th. f. 8.

14. Pant. 44 (Apoc. 1526) (ix-x) vell. A fragment of the Apocalypse written in half-uncial with the commentary of Andreas in minuscule. Probably the earliest MS. extant of this commentary. Photographs of two pages in Bodl. MS. Gr. th. f. 8.

✓ 15. Pant. 52 (Evan. 1399?) (xi) vell. Evv. κεφ. τιν. amm. eus. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) pict. lect. vers. Ep. ad Carp. syn. Text ordinary. Mt. viii. 13 add. καὶ ὑποστρέψας κ.τ.λ. This MS. was not numbered, and we were not sure whether it really was Pant. 52. That number is now attached to it.

IVÉRON.

16. Iver. 2 (Evan. 989) vell. The account in the Prolegomena to Tischendorf is accurate. The commentary in St. Mark is that of Victor of Antioch.

17. Iver. 5 (Evan. 990) vell. Text ordinary.

18. Iver. 19 (Evan. 994) (ix-x) vell. A text and *catena* written continuously and arranged in great confusion, containing apparently only Matt. and John. The commentary is chiefly anonymous, but there are a few extracts from Origen, Irenaeus, Theodore Mops., Severianus, Apollinarius, Gregory Thaum., and Cyril Alex.

19. Iver. 21 (Evan. 995). Text ordinary.

20. Iver. 30 (Evan. ? 999) (xiii) ff. 260 (23.2 x 17) col. 1 vell. Evv. act. cath. paul. hebr. κεφ. τιν. amm. tab.-κεφ. στιχ. Mc. only ᾱχ subs. prol. lect. Text ordinary. In the Prolegomena Dr. Gregory gives 998 to Iver. 30. But the numbers appear to have been altered, for Iver. 30 does not correspond to his description of Evan. 998, and seems to be Evan. 999.

21. Iver. 52 (Evan. 1003) (xii-xiii) (22.2 x 14.6) vell. Evv. and

in a later hand (?xv), act. cath. κεφ. τιτ. tab.-κεφ. στιχ. lect. syn. men. *adult.* obelized. Text ordinary.

22. Iver. 56 (Evan. 1006) (xi) ff. 221 col. 1. Evv. apoc.-κεφ. τιτ. amm. eus. tab.-κεφ. στιχ. (βχ ακ βω βτ) subs. intro. lect. syn. (imperfect) Ep. ad Carp. Text ordinary, but in Mt. viii. 13 *add.* καὶ ὑποστρέψας κ.τ.λ., and in the *pericope adulterae* there are two notes: (1) τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦτο τοῦ κατὰ Θωμᾶν εὐαγγελίου ἐστίν, (2) ἔγραψεν ἑκάστου αὐτῶν ἀμαρτίας. At the end there are many extracts from Patristic writers. We noted the following:—Titus of Bostra, Kosmas, Eusebius, Dionysius the Areopagite, Hesychius, Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Ammonius, Origen.

23. Iver. 68 (Evan. 1012) (xi) ff. 260 (23.2 × 17) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. amm. eus. lect. Ep. ad Carp. Text ordinary.

24. Iver. 72 (Evan. 1014) (xi-xii) (16.5 × 11.6) vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. amm. eus. tab.-κεφ. prol. Text ordinary.

25. Iver. 275 (xii) vell. A full account of its content is given by Lambros in the Cambridge catalogue. It seemed to me to be possibly a S. Italian MS. Some photographs are to be found in Bodl. MS. Gr. th. f. 8.

26. Iver. 476 (xiv) paper, various acts and martyrdoms, fully described by Lambros. Photographs of a fragment of the Acts of Thomas are to be found in Bodl. MS. Gr. th. f. 8, and are edited above, pp. 164-9.

27. Iver. 665 (Evan. 1028) (x-xi) (25 × 17) col. 1. vell. Matt. κεφ. τιτ. amm. eus. tab.-κεφ. lect. In bad condition. Text ordinary.

ST. ANDREW'S.

28. Andr. 1 (ix) uncial. (Evan. 5) there is nothing to add to Dr. Gregory's description except that Mc. xv. 28 is omitted. Photographs in Bodl. MS. Gr. th. f. 8.

29. Andr. 3 (Evan. 905) (xii) vell. Text ordinary.

30. Andr. 4 (Evan. 908) (xiii) vell. Text ordinary.

31. Andr. 5 (Evan. 906) vell. Text ordinary.

32. Andr. 6 (Evan. 1432) (xii) ff. 226 (14.6 × 11.3) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. tab.-can. amm. subs. lect. syn. Ep. ad Carp.

33. Andr. 8 (? Evl. 579). A lectionary (xiii) not Evan. 907. The numbers at this library have obviously been much altered since Dr. Gregory's visit.

34. Andr. 9 (Evan. 1433) (xi-xii) ff. 267 (21.7 × 15.6) vell. Paul. cath. evv. κεφ. τιτ. amm. eus. prol. lect. syn. men. tab.- (κεφ.-can.) vers. Text ordinary.

ST. GREGORY'S.

35. Greg. 3 (Evan. 922). Description in the Prolegomena to Tischendorf is accurate, but it should be added that the *στίχοι* are *βφς*, *αφσι*, *βχο*, *βσι*. The subscription to Mt. is *ἐγράφη καὶ ἀντεβλήθη ἐν στίχοις βφς κεφαλαίους τινῇ, ἐξεδόθη δὲ κ.τ.λ.* and to Mc. *ἐγράφη καὶ ἀντεβλήθη ὁμοίως ἐν στίχοις αφσι κ.τ.λ.* This is a corrupted form of the subscription found in A &c. The text seemed ordinary, except that Mc. xv. 28 is omitted, but it should be examined again; we were only three hours in the monastery, and neither of us was well.

36. Greg. 156 (Evan. 923). The description in the Prolegomena is accurate, but add—*pict. subs. men. syn.* The MS. seemed to us to belong to the thirteenth rather than the twelfth century.

ST. DIONYSIUS.

37. Dion. 4 (Evan. 924) (xii) vell. Evv. *κεφ. ττ. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) amm. subs. Ep. ad Carp. prol. pict.*

38. Dion. 8 (Evan. 927) (written by Theoktistos in 1133) ff. 280 (22.2 × 17.4) col. 1 vell. Evv. *act. cath. paul. κεφ. ττ. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) eus. amm. subs. euthal. hypoth. pict. men. syn. Ep. ad Carp.* An extract from the Apostolic Constitutions at the beginning. Text ordinary. Photograph in Bodl. MS. Gr. th. f. 8.

39. Dion. 10 (Evan. 9). The description in the Prolegomena is quite accurate. The text is ordinary. We noted the following readings:—Mt. xvi. 19 *καὶ ὁ ἐὰν λύσ. . .* end of verse is omitted, but added by the first hand in the margin. Mt. xxvi. 71 *mg. ἐν ἄλλω καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖ καὶ οὗτος ἦν.* Mt. xxvii. 9 *οὗτ' ἐξ Ἰερμ. ἀλλὰ Ζαχαρίου.* Mc. vi. 20 *πολλὰ ἃ ἐποίει*, but the ἃ although certainly by the first hand seemed to have added at the end of the line. Lc. xxii. 43-4 asterisked, but probably only for liturgical reasons, as a note is added *ὑποστρέφετε εἰς Μαθ.* A + is added at the beginning of each line of the *pericope adulterae*.

40. Dion. 22 (Evan. 930) (xi-xii) ff. 227 (19.4 × 15.4) col. 1 vell. Evv. (1 f. missing at the end of Jo.) *κεφ. ττ. tab.-κεφ. (missing for Mt.) pict.* Text ordinary.

41. Dion. 25 (Evan. 933) (xii) ff. 293 (19 × 14.6) col. 1 vell. Evv. *κεφ. ττ. tab.-κεφ. amm. eus. subs. lect. syn. men.* Text ordinary.

42. Dion. 26 (Evan. 934) (xii) ff. 260 (18.4 × 12.7) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. tab.-κεφ. (missing for Mt.) amm. subs. prol. στιχ. (βχ αχ — —). The subscription to Mark is *ιστέον ότι τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον ἄγ. εὐαγγ. ἐβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ γραφέν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς ἰλημ̄ ἐξεδόθη μετὰ χρόνους δέκα τ. χ. ἄ.* Text ordinary. *om.* Mc. xv. 28.

43. Dion. 28 (Evan. 936) (xii) ff. 69 (16.9 × 11) col. 1 vell. Fragments of Mt. and Mc. κεφ. ? amm. lect. Text ordinary.

44. Dion. 29 (Evan. 937) (xi) vell. Evv. τιτ. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) amm. subs. prol. Ep. ad Carp. A Latin scribe (? xv) has written an interlinear translation of a few words. Text ordinary.

45. Dion. 30 (Evan. 938) (written by Χαρίτων in 1319) (16.4 × 11.4) vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) ἀναγν. prol. subs. syn. men. στιχ. (Mt. only). Text ordinary. *adult.* obelized.

46. Dion. 40 (Evan. 948) (x) ff. 297 (14.6 × 11.5) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. amm. pict. lect. Text ordinary.

47. Dion. 67 (Evan. 950) (xii) ff. 39 (20.8 × 13.4) vell. Fragments of Lc. and Mc. in considerable confusion. Text ordinary.

PROTATI.

[This is the library of the church of the *κοινότης* or parliament of the monks at Karyes.]

48. Prot. 41 (Evan. 1097) (x-xii) (18 × 15). A copy of the Gospels made up from MSS. of different dates, at least one of which seemed to me to be S. Italian. κεφ. τιτ. amm. tab.-κεφ. lect. pict. A few exegetical notes in the margin. Text ordinary.

THE LAURA.

49. Laur. 1 (Evan. 1074) (xii-xiii) ff. 200 (12.2 × 9) col. 1 vell. Evv. (Jo. incomplete) κεφ. τιτ. amm. eus. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) harm. lect. Ep. ad Carp. This MS. is remarkable for the amount of lectionary matter which is incorporated into the text, e.g. Mt. vi. 14 *εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος· ἐὰν ἀφῆτε κ.τ.λ.* Mt. xxvi. 39 *add. ὡφθῇ δὲ ἄγγελος κ.τ.λ.* [We could find no other 'Ferrari' readings.] Text otherwise ordinary. *om.* Mt. xvi. 2. 3.

50. Laur. 2 (Evan. 1439) (xi) ff. 328 (14.6 × 10) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. tab.-κεφ. amm. pict. lect. syn. *adult. om.* Text ordinary.

51. Laur. 3 (Evan. 1440) (xiii) ff. 206 (15 × 11) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. amm. eus. tab.-κεφ. lect. syn. Perhaps S. Italian. Text ordinary.

52. Laur. 4 (Evan. 1421) (xiii and a few quaternions from an

earlier MS. ? xi) ff. 210 (14 × 11) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. eus. amm. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) subs. στιχ. (Mt. only $\overline{\beta\chi}$ in an early quaternion) lect. pict. Ep. ad Carp. Text ordinary.

53. Laur. 5 (Evan. 1442) (xiii) ff. 301 (13.5 × 10.8) col. 1. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. amm. tab.-κεφ. subs. lect. syn. Text ordinary.

54. Laur. 6 (Evan. 1443) (a. 1047) ff. 308 (14 × 9.8) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. eus. amm. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) subs. vers. lect. syn. men. Ep. ad Carp. Text ordinary, but Mt. xvi. 2, 3 and *adult.* are marked with +.

55. Laur. 7 (Evan. 1444) (x) ff. 345 col. 1. Evv. τιτ. amm. eus. tab.-κεφ. prol. (Κόσμος Ἰνδ.) pict. men. Mt. xvi. 2, 3 with ✓ Mc. xv. 28 *om.* Jo. vii. 52 οὐκ ἐγείρεται, but margin ρ οὐκ ἐγήγερται. Text otherwise ordinary.

56. Laur. 8 (Evan. 1445) (a. 1323) ff. 278 (16.8 × 13.5) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. tab.-κεφ. amm. subs. στιχ. ($\overline{\beta\chi}$, $\overline{\alpha\chi}$, $\overline{\beta\omega}$, $\overline{\beta\tau}$) lect. pict. syn. men. *adult.* obelized. Text ordinary.

57. Laur. 9 (Evan. 1446) (xii) ff. 187 (17 × 11.8) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. amm. pict. Text ordinary.

58. Laur. 10 (Evan. 1447) (a. 1337) ff. 230 (16.8 × 12) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. tab.-can. amm. prol. subs. lect. syn. Reckonings of κύκλοι ἡλίου. Text ordinary.

59. Laur. 11 (? Evan. 1077) (x) ff. 263 (17.5 × 12.2) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. eus. amm. prol. pict. lect. (syn. men. by a later hand). Lc. xxii. 42 with ✕. Lc. xxi. 4 *add.* in mg. ταῦτα λέγων ἐφώνει ὁ ἔχων ὅτα κ.τ.λ. Jo. viii. 13 *om.* Jo. viii. 14 *om.* ὑμεῖς . . . ὑπάγω. *adult.* obelized. [So our notes, but Dr. Gregory says *deest*. It is this which makes me doubt whether this is really Evan. 1077.] Text ordinary.

60. Laur. 12 (Evan. 1076) (xi) ff. 280 (16.1 × 11.9) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. tab.-κεφ. amm. subs. (but placed before each Gospel) lect. (m. s.) pict. syn. Mc. iii. 25 *om.* but *ins.* m. s. in mg. Lc. iv. 6 *om.* ὅτι ἐμοὶ παραδέδοται but *ins.* m. s. in mg. *adult.* *om.* but *ins.* at the end of the Gospel with the note:—εὐρηται καὶ ἕτερα ἐν ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις ἅπερ συνειδομεν γράψαι πρὸς τὸ τέλος τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ ᾧ ἐστὶν τὰδε καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἕκαστος κ.τ.λ.

61. Laur. 13 (Evan. 1448) (xi) ff. 255 (16.5 × 12.6) col. 1 ll. 35 vell. Evv. act. paul. cath. pss. prol. tab.-(κεφ.-can. but κεφ. for Mt. missing) amm. eus. τιτ. κεφ. lect. subs. Mt. viii. 13 *add.* καὶ ὑποστρέψας κ.τ.λ. Mt. xviii. 11 *add.* ζητῆσαι καὶ. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο γὰρ σημεῖον κ.τ.λ. Text otherwise ordinary.

62. Laur. 14 (Evan. 1449) (xi) ff. 319 (16.4 × 11.3) col. 1 vell.

Ενν. κεφ. τῆς. tab.-can. eus. amm. αρχ. τελ. (not lect.) syn. men. Ep. ad Carp. om. Jo. iv. 3 *ins.* m. s. in mg. Mt. v. 44 om. εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς. Mc. xv. 23 om. Jo. viii. 42 om. but *ins.* m. s. in mg.

63. Laur. 15 (Evan. 1080) (ix-x) ff. 411 (19.4 × 13.2) col. 1 vell. Ενν. with commentary (semi-uncial) in the margin in places. Ενν. κεφ. τῆς. tab.-κεφ. eus. amm. prol. (Mt. ἐρμηνεύθη ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου) pict. Mt. ix. 13 om. εἰς μετάνοιαν. Mt. xvi. 2, 3 om. but *ins.* m. s. in mg. Mc. xv. 28 om. Lc. vii. 28 om. ὁ δὲ μικρότερος to end but *ins.* m. s. in mg. Lc. xxii. 43, 44 marked with ✕. *adult.* om. Photograph in Bodl. MS. Gr. th. f. 8.

64. Laur. 16 (Evan. 1078) (x-xi) ff. 192 (18.4 × 14.7) col. 1 vell. Ενν. κεφ. tab.-can. amm. prol. subs. (at the beginning) στιχ. (βχ, αχ, βω, βτ) lect. Mt. v. 44 om. καὶ διωκόντων ὑμᾶς but *ins.* m. s. Mt. xvi. 2, 3 om. Mc. xv. 28 om. Lc. vi. 4 om. καὶ ἔλαβεν. Lc. vi. 10 om. ὑγῆς but *ins.* m. p. Lc. xi. 4 ἀλλὰ ῥῶσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ is obelized. *adult.* at the end of Jo. with the same note as in 60.

65. Laur. 17 (Evan. 1450) (xi) ff. 273 (18.4 × 14) col. 1 vell. Ενν. κεφ. τῆς. tab.-κεφ. amm. lect. pict. syn. Mt. v. 44 om. καὶ διωκόντων ὑμᾶς but *ins.* m. s. in mg. Mt. ix. 13 om. εἰς μετάνοιαν. Lc. xxi. 31 om. τὸ θέρος . . . ἐγγὺς ἐστίν.

66. Laur. 18 (Evan. 1451) (xii-xiii) ff. 254 (18 × 13.4) col. 1. Ενν. κεφ. τῆς. eus. amm. subs. Many pages missing and in bad condition.

67. Laur. 19 (Evan. 1452) (a. 992 by Ἰωάννης) ff. 266 (18 × 14.4). Ενν. κεφ. τῆς. tab.-can.-κεφ. amm. eus. prol. Ep. ad Carp. The ammonian sections are written in green ink and the canons in red. *adult.* obelized.

68. Laur. 20 (Evan. 1453) (xiii) ff. 207 (17.1 × 13.6) col. 1 ll. 27. Ενν. tab.-κεφ. (Mt. missing) ἀναγν. (ρῖς, σᾶ, ρῦς, ξῖς) lect. subs. στιχ. (βχ, αχ, βω —).

69. Laur. 21 (Evan. 1454) (xii) ff. 256 (18.2 × 14.5) col. 1 ll. 21 vell. Ενν. κεφ. τῆς. tab.-can.-κεφ. eus. amm. prol. subs. vers. pict. Ep. ad Carp. Mt. vii. 13 om. καὶ πολλοὶ . . . δι' αὐτῆς but *ins.* m. s. in mg.

70. Laur. 22 (Evan. 1455) (xi-xii) ff. 283 (18.1 × 13.8) col. 1 ll. 22 vell. Ενν. κεφ. τῆς. tab.-κεφ. eus. amm. lect. pict. syn. men. Ep. ad Carp.

71. Laur. 23 (Evan. 1079) (x) ff. 271 (20.1 × 14.5) col. 1 ll. 24 vell. Ενν. κεφ. τῆς. amm. eus. tab.-can. prol. pict. lect. men.

(imperfect) Ep. ad Carp. Mt. xxvii. 9 διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφ.
Lc. xxii. 43 f. with ✕. Jo. v. 4 with ✕.

72. Laur. 24 (Evan. 1456) (xiii) ff. 227 (18.8 × 14.1) col. 1 ll. 33.
Evng. act. paul. cath. κεφ. τιν. amm. tab.-κεφ. prol. subs. lect.

73. Laur. 25 (Evan. 1457) (xii-xiii) ff. 254 (19.6 × 14.4) col. 1
ll. 25 vell. Evng. κεφ. τιν. tab.-can. amm. pict. Mt. xviii. 11 ζητῆσαι
καὶ σῶσαι. Lc. vi. 4 om. ἔλαβε καὶ. *adult. om.*

74. Laur. 26 (Evan. 1458) (x) ff. 323 (19 × 14.8) col. 1 ll. 20 vell.
Evng. κεφ. τιν. amm. eus. tab.-κεφ. Mc. xv. 28 om. but *add. m. s.*
in mg. *adult. om.* but a new page containing it has been inserted.

75. Laur. 27 (Evan. 1459) (xiii) ff. 210 (19.5 × 13.8) col. 1
ll. 23 vell. Evng. κεφ. τιν. amm. tab.-κεφ. Mt. xvi. 2, 3 om.
adult. om.

76. Laur. 28 (Evan. 1460) (xii) ff. 263 (17.8 × 13.8) col. 1 ll. 21
vell. Evng. κεφ. τιν. amm. eus. tab.-κεφ.-can.) subs. στιχ. (β̄χ, ᾱχ,
β̄ω, β̄τ) pict. Ep. ad Carp. om. Lc. ix. 55 but *add. m. s.* in mg.
adult. marked with +.

77. Laur. 29 (Evan. 1461) (xiii) ff. 330 (20 × 14.5) col. 1 ll. 20
vell. Evng. κεφ. tab.-κεφ. prol. subs. vers. στιχ. (β̄χ, ᾱχ, β̄ω, β̄τ)
lect. syn. men. ἀναγν. *adult.* marked with —.

78. Laur. 30 (Evl. 1073) vell.

79. Laur. 31 (Evan. 1462) (? date) ff. 265 (20.9 × 15) col. 1
ll. 20 vell. Evng. κεφ. subs. στιχ. (β̄χ, ᾱχ, β̄ω, β̄τ) tab.-κεφ. lect.
syn. men. ἀναγν. *adult.* with —.

80. Laur. 32 (Evan. 1463) (xii) ff. 213 (19.7 × 13.8) col. 1 ll. 26
vell. Evng. κεφ. τιν. tab.-κεφ. amm. subs. lect. pict. vers. *adult.*
with —.

81. Laur. 33 (Evan. 1464) (xi-xii) ff. 292 (20.5 × 15.4) col. 1
ll. 20 vell. Evng. κεφ. τιν. tab.-κεφ. amm. subs.

82. Laur. 34 (Evan. 1465) (xii) ff. 308 (20.9 × 14.7) col. 1 ll. 24
vell. Evng. κεφ. τιν. tab.-can.-κεφ.) amm. prol. subs. (Mt. only)
στιχ. (Mt. only β̄χ) lect. syn. men. Mt. xvi. 2, 3 om.

83. Laur. 35 (Evan. 1466) (a. 1270) ff. 233 (20 × 12.7) col. 1
vell. Evng. κεφ. τιν. amm. lect. pict. men. syn. Jo. vii. 8 om. ἐγὼ
οὐκ . . . ταύτην but *ins. m. s.* in mg.

84. Laur. 36 (Evan. 1467) (xii-xiii) ff. 343 (20.6 × 13) col. 1
ll. 23 vell. Evng. κεφ. τιν. amm. eus. lect. syn. men. (imperfect).
Mt. viii. 13 *add. καὶ ὑποστρέψας κ.τ.λ.* Mt. xxvi. 73 om. καὶ γὰρ
ἡ λαλιά κ.τ.λ. but *ins. m. s.* in mg. *adult.* with —.

85. Laur. 37 (Evan. 1468) (xii-xiii) ff. 245 (20.6 × 14.9) col. 1
ll. 24 vell. Evng. κεφ. τιν. amm. eus. prol. vers. tab.-κεφ.-can.) syn.

men. Ep. ad Carp. At the end some notes on exegetical difficulties, e. g. *σχόλια εἰς τὸ ἡ ὥρα ἦν ὡσεὶ 5̄*.

86. Laur. 38 (Evan. 1469) (xiii) ff. 172 (20 × 15.4) col. 1 vell. Evv. (imperfect) *κεφ. τιν. prol. lect. syn. (imperfect)*.

87. Laur. 39 (Evan. 1470) (x) ff. 215 (20.6 × 14.7) col. 1 ll. 22 vell. Evv. *κεφ. τιν. amm. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) subs. lect. Ep. ad Carp. Mc. xv. 28 om. but ins. m. s. in mg. Lc. vi. 4 om. καὶ ἔδωκεν καὶ τ. μ. α. but ins. m. s. in mg. Jo. viii. 14 om. ὑμεῖς οὐκ οἴδατε κ.τ.λ. but ins. m. s. in mg. Jo. viii. 24 om. ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ κ.τ.λ. but ins. m. s. in mg. adult. om.*

88. Laur. 40 (Evan. 1471) (xi) ff. 396 (19.8 × 14) col. 1 ll. 18 vell. Evv. *κεφ. τιν. tab.-κεφ. amm. eus. subs. (not Mt.) στιχ. (β̄χ, ᾱχ, β̄ω, β̄τ) lect. syn. men. adult. c. —*.

89. Laur. 41 (Evan. 1472) (xii) ff. 306 (19.2 × 14.5) col. 1 ll. 21 vell. Evv. *κεφ. τιν. amm. prol. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) lect. syn. Ep. ad Carp. Mt. viii. 13 add. καὶ ὑποστρέψας κ.τ.λ. Mt. xix. 9 om. καὶ ὁ ἀπολελ. κ.τ.λ. but ins. in m. s. in mg. Mt. xxi. 7 om. καὶ ἐπεκάθ. κ.τ.λ. but add. m. s. in mg.*

90. Laur. 42 (Evan. 1473) (xi) ff. 227 (21.3 × 16.5) col. 1 ll. 26 vell. Evv. *κεφ. τιν. amm. eus. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) prol. Ep. ad Carp. Mt. xxviii. 9 om. ὡς δὲ ἐπορεύοντο . . . αὐτοῦ but add. m. s. in mg. adult. om.*

91. Laur. 43 (Evl. 1074) vell.

92. Laur. 44 (Evan. 1474) (xii) ff. 416 (22.8 × 16.6) col. 1 ll. 19 vell. Evv. *κεφ. τιν. amm. eus. tab.-κεφ. lect. syn. men. Mt. viii. 13 add. καὶ ὑποστρέψας κ.τ.λ.*

93. Laur. 45 (Evan. 1475) (xii) ff. 279 (22.5 × 16) col. 1 ll. 20 vell. Evv. *κεφ. τιν. amm. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) subs. στιχ. (β̄χ, ᾱχ, β̄ω, β̄τ) lect. pict. syn. Mt. viii. 13 add. καὶ ὑποστρέψας κ.τ.λ. but this is now marked with dots. Jo. iii. 31 om. ὁ ὢν . . . ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστὶ καὶ but add. m. s. in mg.*

94. Laur. 46 (Evan. 1476) (xii-xiii) ff. 348 (21.2 × 15.8) col. 1 ll. 21 vell. Evv. *tab.-κεφ. prol. eus. κεφ. τιν. subs. pict. syn. men. lect. ἀναγν.*

95. Laur. 47 (Evan. 1477) (xiii) ff. 286 (21.9 × 16) col. 1 ll. 22. Evv. *tab.-κεφ. prol. vers. κεφ. τιν. subs. στιχ. (β̄χ, ᾱχ, —, β̄τ) syn. men. lect. ἀναγν.*

96. Laur. 48 (Evan. 1478) (x) ff. 217 + 13 (21.5 × 18.2) col. 1 ll. 24 vell. (but the 13 added leaves are paper). Evv. *tab.-(κεφ.-can.) prol. Ep. ad Carp. amm. eus. κεφ. τιν. subs. (at the beginning). Lc. vi. 4 om. καὶ ἔλαβε καὶ Lc. xx. 11 om. ἕτερον . . . πέμψαι but*

add. m. s. in mg. Jo. v. 9 *om.* καὶ εὐθέως . . . περιεπάτει but *ins. m. s. in mg.* Jo. v. 12 *om.* verse but *add. m. s. in mg.* Jo. vii. 8 originally written ἡμεῖς ἀνάβητε εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν ταύτην ὅτι ὁ ἐμὸς καιρὸς κ.τ.λ. but ταύτην has been erased and a later hand has written over it ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀναβαίνω. Jo. viii. 7 *om.* vers. but *add. in mg.*; and so also small omissions are made and corrected in Jo. x. 6, x. 12, x. 18, x. 32, xiii. 32, xiii. 33. We spent some time over this MS., but at last came to the conclusion that although there were more than the usual number of variants, it was not of great value, but had merely been written somewhat carelessly.

97. Laur. 49 (Evan. 1479) (xi) ff. 266 (21.5 × 16.3) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. amm. eus. tab.-κεφ. prol. subs. vers. lect. syn. men. tab.-κυκλ. ἥλ. at the end and tab.-κυκλ. σελην. at the beginning.

98. Laur. 50 (Evan. 1480) (xiii) ff. 243 (21.5 × 15.3) col. 1 ll. 26 vell. Evv. tab.-κεφ. κεφ. ἀναγν. lect. syn. men. *adult.* obelized.

99. Laur. 51 (Evan. 1073) (x) ff. 334 (22 × 17.4) col. 1. Evv. act. extracts from Fathers, an uncial leave at the beginning contains a lection beginning Mt. xxiv. 37, amm. lect. syn. men. Mt. ix. 13 *om.* εἰς μετάνοιαν. Mt. xvi. 2-3 *om.* but *ins. m. s. in mg.* Mc. xv. 28 *om.* Lc. i. 17 *om.* but *ins. m. s. in mg.* Lc. xxii. 44 marked ☩ and with a lectionary note κατὰ ματθ. κεφ. σ̄75, i. e. Mt. xxvi. 40. *adult. om.* but vii. 53 is inserted by a later hand. The extracts from the Fathers are (1) Chrysostom εἰς τὴν πρόδοσιν τοῦ Ἰούδα καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν μυστηρίων: (2) εἰς τὸν σταυρόν, κ.τ.λ. apparently anonymous: (3) Gregory Nanz. on the Passover, and εἰς τὴν βραδυτῆτα: (4) εἰς τὴν καυὴν κυριακὴν: (5) νοουθεσία γερόντων πνευματικῶν κατὰ μονάχων.

100. Laur. 52 (Evan. 1481) (xi) ff. 222 (21 × 16.3) col. 1 ll. 22 vell. Evv. Ep. ad Carp. tab.-κεφ. vers. κεφ. τιτ. pict.

101. Laur. 53 (Evl. 1075) vell.

102. Laur. 54 (Evan. 1482) (xiii) ff. 395 (22.5 × 15.7) col. 1 ll. 25 vell. Evv. act. cath. paul. tab.-κεφ. prol. κεφ. subs. lect. pict. syn. men. ἀναγν. στιχ. (β̄χ, ᾱχ, β̄ω, β̄τ). *adult.* obelized. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο γὰρ κ.τ.λ.

103. Laur. 55 (Evl. 1076) vell. Uncial.

104. Laur. 56 (Evl. 1077) vell. Uncial.

105. Laur. 57 (Evan. 1483) (xi) ff. 272 (24.4 × 19) col. 1 ll. 20. Evv. Ep. ad Carp. tab.-(can.-κεφ.) prol. vers. eus. amm. τιτ. κεφ. lect. Mt. xvi. 14 *om.* ἕτεροι δὲ Ἰερεμίαν but *add. m. s. in mg.* Mt. xxiii. 8 διδάσκαλος ὁ Χριστός and *tr.* πάντες . . . ἐστε το v. 9.

106. Laur. 58 (Acts 1525) (a. 1118) ff. 142 (23.4 × 17.3) col. 2 act. cath. paul. Euthal. martyr.-Paul. στιχ. Text ordinary.

107. Laur. 59 (Evan. 1484) (xii) ff. 299 (22.6 × 16.5) col. 1 ll. 20 vell. Evv. tab.-κεφ. amm. κεφ. τιτ. The name of the scribe seems to have been Μάξιμος, as this name is written by the first hand at the end of the MS. Mt. xix. 9 om. καὶ ὁ ἀπολελ. . . . μοιχᾶται. Mt. xix. 18 om. οὐ μοιχεύσεις. Mc. iii. 1 om. πάλιν. Mc. iii. 5 om. ὑγιὲς ὡς ἡ ἄλλη. Mc. vi. 17 om. Φιλίππου. Mc. vi. 24 om. vers. Mc. vii. 8 om. ἀφέντες . . . ἀνθρώπων. Mc. x. 19 om. μὴ ἀποστερήσης. Mc. x. 27 om. πάντα . . . θεῷ. Mc. xi. 7, 8 om. ἐπ' αὐτῷ . . . ὁδόν. Mc. xv. 28 erased. Lc. vi. 4 ἔφαγε erased. Lc. xx. 16 om. τοὺς γεωργοὺς. Lc. xx. 24 after δηνάριον a line is erased. Lc. xxii. 44 καὶ . . . προσήχητο is erased, xxii. 47 om. καὶ ἤγγισε . . . αὐτόν. But all these omissions are corrected by a later hand, who also added to Lc. xxii. 48 τοῦτο τὸ σημ. κ.τ.λ. . . . ἔστε to the end of v. 9, but a later hand has written the ordinary text in the margin.

108. Laur. 60 (Evan. 1485) (xi-xii) ff. 228 (23.6 × 18.6) col. 1 ll. 21 vell. Evv. amm. eus. κεφ. τιτ. pict. Mc. xv. 28 om. Lc. xiv. 8 om. ὑπό . . . κατακλ. but add. m. s. Lc. xxii. 47 add. τοῦτο γὰρ σημ. κ.τ.λ.

109. Laur. 61 (Evan. 1486) (a. 1098) ff. 233 (24.3 × 19) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. tab.-can. amm. eus. men. syn. Ep. ad Carp. adult. obelized.

110. Laur. 62 (Evan. 1487) (xii) ff. 275 (23.7 × 16.5) col. 1 ll. 22 vell. Evv. tab.-κεφ. prol. κεφ. lect. subs. (Jo. missing) στιχ. (β̄χ, ᾱχ, —, —) syn. men. ἀναγν. adult. marked —. Lc. xxii. 47 add. τοῦτο γὰρ κ.τ.λ.

111. Laur. 63 (Evan. 1488) (xii) ff. 271 (24.2 × 18.1) col. 1 ll. 22 vell. Evv. tab.-κεφ. prol. vers. κεφ. lect. ἀναγν. subs. στιχ. (β̄χ, ᾱχ, β̄ω, β̄τ) syn. men. adult. marked with signs of doubtfulness. Lc. xxii. 47 add. τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.

112. Laur. 64 (Evan. 1489) (xii) ff. 289 (22.7 × 16.1) col. 1 ll. 24 vell. Evv. tab.-κεφ. prol. κεφ. lect. subs. syn. men. ἀναγν. adult. marked as doubtful. Lc. xxii. 47 add. τοῦτο . . . οὗτός ἐστιν.

113. Laur. 65 (Evan. 1490) (xii) ff. 309 (23 × 16.8) col. 1 vell. Evv. act. paul. cath. κεφ. τιτ. amm. eus. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) prol. vers. lect. syn. men. Ep. ad Carp.

114. Laur. 66 (Evan. 1491) (xii-xiii) ff. 195 (22.9 × 16.5) col. 1

ll. 26 vell. Evv. tab.-κεφ. amm. τιν. κεφ. subs. pict. Mc. xv. 28 *om.*

115. Laur. 67 (Evan. 1492) (a. 1342) ff. 343 (23.5 × 14.7) col. 1 ll. 21 vell. Evv. prol. vers. tab.-κεφ. τιν. κεφ. subs. στιχ. ($\overline{\beta\chi}$, $\overline{\alpha\chi}$, $\overline{\beta\omega}$, $\overline{\beta\tau}$). *adult.* obelized. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο γὰρ . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.

116. Laur. 68 (Evan. 1493) (xiv) ff. 182 (25.4 × 17.2) col. 1 ll. 25 vell. Evv. tab.-κεφ. κεφ. lect. subs. ἀναγν. pict. στιχ. ($\overline{\beta\chi}$, $\overline{\alpha\chi}$, $\overline{\beta\omega}$, $\overline{\beta\tau}$). *adult.* obelized. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο γὰρ . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.

117. Laur. 69 (Evan. 1494) (xii) ff. 267 (25.1 × 17.1) col. 1 ll. 28 vell. Evv. tab.-κεφ. prol. vers. τιν. κεφ. lect. subs. στιχ. ($\overline{\beta\chi}$, $\overline{\alpha\chi}$, $\overline{\beta\omega}$, $\overline{\beta\tau}$) ἀναγν. Mt. viii. 13 *add.* καὶ ὑποστρέψας κ.τ.λ. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο γὰρ . . . αὐτός ἐστιν. *adult.* obelized.

118. Laur. 70 (Apl. 1118) vell.

119. Laur. 71 (Evl. 1078) vell.

120. Laur. 72 (Evl. 1079) vell.

121. Laur. 73 (Evan. 1495) (xii-xiii) ff. 263 (24.6 × 18.6) col. 1 ll. 29 vell. Paul. (imperfect) cath. evv. tab.-κεφ. prol. lect. subs. amm. (erased) ἀναγν. syn. men.

122. Laur. 74 (Evan. 1496) (xiv) ff. 284 (24.5 × 18) col. 1 ll. 22 vell. Evv. prol. tab.-κεφ. κεφ. lect. subs. στιχ. ($\overline{\beta\chi}$, —, —, —) ἀναγν. syn. men. *adult.* marked as doubtful. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.

123. Laur. 75 (Evan. 1497) (xiii) ff. 345 (24.7 × 18.3) col. 1 ll. 21 vell. Evv. prol. tab.-κεφ. amm. τιν. κεφ. lect. subs. syn. men. Lc. vi. 4 *om.* καὶ ἔλαβε. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.

124. Laur. 76 (Evan. 1498) (xii-xiii) ff. 217 (25.3 × 16.3) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιν. amm. tab.-κεφ. lect. prol. pict. syn. men.

125. Laur. 77 (Evan. 1499) (xii-xiii) ff. 230 (24.5 × 17.2) col. 1 ll. 28 vell. Evv. tab.-κεφ. lect. ἀναγν. subs. syn. men. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο γὰρ . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.

126. Laur. 78 (Evan. 1500) (ix) ff. 156 (21.7 × 18.3) col. 1 ll. 17 vell. in poor condition. Mt. iv. 13-Mc. xv. 16. harm. at the bottom of the pages. amm. eus. τιν. κεφ. lect. mus. Some marginal notes written in an uncial hand. Mt. ix. 13 *om.* εἰς μετόπισιν but *add.* m. s. in mg. Mt. xvi. 3 *om.* ὑποκριταί but *add.* m. s. in mg. The same also adds in the next line καὶ τῆς γῆς after οὐρανοῦ. Mt. xvi. 11 περὶ ἄρτων. Mt. xviii. 11 ζητῆσαι καὶ is added above the line. Mc. i. 1 καθὼς. Mc. xiv. 12 *om.* τῶν ἀζύμων . . . ἔθνον but *add.* m. s. in mg.

127. Laur. 79 (Evan. 1501) (xiii-xiv) ff. 201 (22.9 × 17.5) col. 1 ll. 33 vell. in poor condition. Act. paul. cath. evv. euthal. tab.-κεφ. harm. ἀναγν. κεφ. lect. subs. vers. (Mt. missing) στιχ. (—, $\overline{\alpha\chi}$, $\overline{\beta\omega}$, —) syn. men. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο γὰρ . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.

128. Laur. 80 (Evl. 1080) vell.

129. Laur. 81 (Evl. 1081) vell.

130. Laur. 82 (Evl. 1082) vell. Uncial.

131. Laur. 83 (Evl. 1083) vell.

132. Laur. 84 (Evl. 1084) vell.

133. Laur. 85 (Evl. 1085) vell.

134. Laur. 86 (Evl. 1086) vell. Uncial.

135. Laur. 87 (Evan. 1502) (xii-xiii) ff. 409 (26.8 × 17.5) col. 1 ll. 17 vell. Evv. Ep. ad Carp. prol. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) amm. τιν. κεφ. lect. syn. men. Mt. v. 44 om. καὶ δωκόντων ὑμᾶς. Mt. xvi. 2-3 om. but *add.* m. s. in mg. Mt. xvi. 4 om. τοῦ προφήτου but *add.* m. s. in mg. Mt. xviii. 11 om. Mt. xxiii. 13, 14, these verses are transposed, and μακρά is omitted. Mc. i. 27 om. τί ἐστὶ τοῦτο; Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.

136. Laur. 88 (Evl. 1087) vell.

137. Laur. 89 (Evl. 1088) vell.

138. Laur. 90 (? Evl. 1098) vell.

139. Laur. 91 (Evl. 1090) vell.

140. Laur. 92 (Evl. 1091) vell. Uncial.

141. Laur. 93 (Evl. 1092) vell.

142. Laur. 94 (Evl. 1093) vell.

143. Laur. 95 (Evl. 1094) vell.

144. Laur. 96 (Evl. 1095) vell.

145. Laur. 97 (Evl. 1096) vell. Uncial.

146. Laur. 98 (Evl. 1097) vell.

147. Laur. 99 (Evan. 1508) (a. 1388) ff. 261 (29.3 × 22.2) col. 2 ll. 33 vell. Evv. act. cath. paul. apoc. prol. vers. tab.-κεφ. κεφ. lect. subs. στιχ. ($\overline{\beta\chi}$, $\overline{\alpha\chi}$, $\overline{\beta\omega}$, $\overline{\beta\tau}$) ἀναγν. syn. men. *adult.* obelized. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.

148. Laur. 100 (Evl. 1098) vell.

149. Laur. 101 (Evl. 1099) vell.

150. Laur. 102 (Evl. 1100) vell. Uncial.

151. Laur. 103 (Evl. 1101) vell.

152. Laur. 104 (Evan. 1071) v. pp. 132-51.

153. Laur. 105 (Evl. 1102) vell.

154. Laur. 106 (Evl. 1103) vell.

155. Laur. 107 (Evl. 1104) vell.

156. Laur. 108 (Evl. 1105) vell. Uncial.
 157. Laur. 109 (Evan. 1504) (xiii) ff. 93 (29 × 20.8) col. 2 ll. 29 vell. in poor condition, Lc. iv. 1—Jo. tab.-κεφ. amm. κεφ. ττρ. lect. syn. men. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.
 158. Laur. 110 (Evl. 1106) vell.
 159. Laur. 111 (Evl. 1107) vell.
 160. Laur. 112 (Evl. 1108) vell.
 161. Laur. 113 (Evl. 1109) vell.
 162. Laur. 114 (Evl. 1110) vell.
 163. Laur. 115 (Evl. 1111) vell.
 164. Laur. 116 (Evl. 1112) vell.
 165. Laur. 117 (Evl. 1113) vell.
 166. Laur. 118 (Evl. 1114) vell.
 167. Laur. 119 (Evl. 1115) vell.
 168. Laur. 120 (Evl. 1116) vell.
 169. Laur. 146¹ (Evan. 1505) (a. 1084) ff. 268 (16.5 × 12) col. 1 ll. 41 vell. Evv. act. cath. paul. pss. Ep. ad Carp. tab.- (κεφ.-can.) vers. amm. κεφ. ττρ. lect. pict. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.
 170. Laur. 172 (Evan. Ψ) v. pp. 94—131.
 171. Laur. 173 (Evan. 1509) (xii—xiii) ff. 332 (21.4 × 14) col. 1 ll. 31 vell. Evv. act. paul. cath. prol. ἀναγν. lect. subs. (Mc. only) στιχ. (—, ἀχ, —, —) syn. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.
 172. Laur. 209 (Evan. 1506) (xiv) vell. A fragment of text with Theophylact's commentary, almost illegible in most parts. In the list of Apostles it reads Ζεβεδαῖος instead of Θεοδῶτος.
 173. Laur. 233 (Evan. 1507) vell. A catena with text at least in places, includes quotations from Origen, Chrysostom, Eusebius, Theodore Mops., Cyril Alex., Titus Bost.
 174. Laur. 270 (Evv. 1508) (? date) ff. 448 (21.7 × 14.4) col. 1 ll. 27 paper. Evv. act. cath. paul. tab.-κεφ. κεφ. ἀναγν. prol. vers. lect. subs. στιχ. syn. men. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν. *adult.* obelized.
 175. Laur. 288 (Evan. 1510) (xi) ff. 211 (20.8 × 16.3) col. 2 ll. 28 vell. in poor condition. Evv. κεφ. ττρ. tab.-κεφ. amm. eus. lect. syn. (on paper). Mc. xv. 28 *om.*

¹ There is a double numeration in use at the Laura, (1) a continuous system, which is used in the catalogue; (2) 17 shelves, each being numbered with a letter. These numerations can be interchanged, and either is sufficient in asking for MSS., but it may be well to remember that 1-120 = 1 A-120 A, 121-240 = 1 B-120 B, and so on, the number of MSS. in a row of shelves varying, but approximating to 120.

176. Laur. 289 (Evan. 1511) (xiii) ff. 138 (22.2 × 17) col. 1 ll. 28 vell. in poor condition. Evv. tab.-κεφ. amm. τερ. κεφ. lect. σιγ. (αχ, —, βχξ, —). Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.

177. Laur. 290 (Evan. 1512) (xiv) vell. A fragment of Gospels in very bad condition.

178. Laur. 293 (Evan. 1513) (xi-xii) ff. 169 (21.7 × 16.5) col. 1 ll. 23 vell. Mt. xvi. 15-Jo. xix. 4 tab.-κεφ. amm. eus. κεφ. τερ. lect. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.

179. Laur. 294 (Evan. 1514) (xi) ff. 261 (22 × 17.6) col. 1 ll. 20 vell. Evv. tab.-κεφ. amm. eus. τερ. κεφ. lect. subs. σιγ. (βχ, αχ, βω, βτ). Lc. xxii. 43, 44 marked as doubtful. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν. Jo. v. 3, 4 marked with ✕. *adult.* marked with ÷.

180. Laur. 295 (Evan. 1515) (xiii) ff. 164 (22.5 × 17.5) col. 2 ll. 26-7 vell. Evv. amm. τερ. lect. syn. men. *adult. om.* but *add.* m. s. in mg.

181. Laur. 296 (Evan. 1516) (xiv) vell. Theophylact with text of Gospels in places.

182. Laur. 298 (Evan. 1517) (? date) ff. 265 (21.6 × 15.7) col. 1 ll. 20 vell. Mt. vii. 13-Jo. xiii. 13 tab.-κεφ. τερ. κεφ. subs. σιγ. *adult.* marked as doubtful. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν in mg.

183. Laur. 320 (Evan. 1518) (xi) ff. 410 col. 2 ll. 29-31 vell. Evv. act. cath. paul. apoc. prol. tab.-κεφ. harm. lect. subs. ἀναγν. σιγ. syn. men. *adult.* marked as doubtful. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν. We thought that this might be Evan. 1072.

184. Laur. 340 (Evan. 1519) (xiii-xiv in our opinion, but Father Chrysostom thought it was earlier) ff. 179 (25.5 × 19) col. 2 ll. 26 vell. Evv. tab.-κεφ. amm. eus. τερ. κεφ. lect. syn. men. musical notes. Lc. xxii. 44 marked with ✕.

185. Laur. 341 (Evan. 1520) (xi) ff. 80 (23.7 × 18.5) col. 1 ll. 22 vell. Lc. vi. 7-Jo. tab.-κεφ. amm. τερ. κεφ. subs. σιγ. *adult. om.*

186. Laur. 350 (Evl. 1117) vell.

187. Laur. 359. Commentary of Chrysostom. vell.

III.

THE PLACE OF THE PESHITTO VERSION
IN THE APPARATUS CRITICUS OF THE
GREEK NEW TESTAMENT

[G. H. Gwilliam, B.D.]

SYNOPSIS

DISCOVERIES and hypotheses in connexion with Syriac Biblical Texts require a fresh consideration of the place of the Peshitto in New Testament criticism. The following pages will supplement the essay in *Studia Biblica* iii on the materials for the criticism of the Peshitto Text.

Circumstances connected with the recent edition of the *Tetraeuangelium Syriacum*, pp. 192, 193.

The evidence of the Peshitto is important only so far as it is an independent witness to the Greek Text, p. 193.

- I. Relation of the Peshitto to cod. A and the Cursives.
 1. Preliminary test in the Four Gospels, pp. 194, 195.
 2. Contents of Peshitto MSS., p. 195.
 3. Definition of 'Traditional Greek Text,' pp. 196, 197.
 4. Examination of the text of the Peshitto in St. Matt. i-xiv, pp. 197-207.
 5. Summary of the evidence of the Peshitto, pp. 207, 208.
- II. 1. Readings of the Peshitto which agree neither with those of cod. B, nor with the Traditional Text, p. 209.
 2. Such readings collected from St. Matt. i-xiv, pp. 210-217.
 3. Results, pp. 217, 218.
 4. The existence of these readings shows:—
 - a. Either that the Cursives embody many peculiar readings, which full collation would bring to light, p. 218.
 - b. Or that the Peshitto is the sole witness to such readings, p. 219.
- III. It is admitted that the Peshitto Text:—
 1. Was universally received in the Syriac Church,
 2. Is fully attested by manuscript evidence,
 3. Was never superseded, p. 220.

4. But as regards the use of the Peshitto by Syriac writers :—
 - a. Aphraates quoted a different Text, p. 221.
 - b. The evidence of Ephraim has been claimed for the Peshitto ;
Mr. Burkitt's opinion ; pp. 221-222.
Witness of other Syriac writers, p. 222.
- IV. 1. Two problems :—(1) the antiquity, (2) the value of the Peshitto, p. 223.
2. The Peshitto is an independent witness to the text of the Gospels, but is not the 'sheet-anchor' of the Traditional Text, p. 224.
- V. Demonstration that the evidence of the Peshitto is not necessary to the Traditional Text, for that is sufficiently attested by other witnesses ; Examples ; Results ; pp. 225-229.
The evidence for the true text of the Greek Testament, pp. 229, 230.
- VI. Considerations in view of conjectures as to the history of the Syriac Version, or Versions, pp. 231, 232. .

The suggestion that Rabbula was the author of the Peshitto agrees with some facts and statements, but is :—

1. Not adequately attested in Syriac history, p. 232.
2. Leaves unexplained the disappearance of the pre-Peshitto Text, p. 232.
3. Does not account for the universal acceptance of the Peshitto in the fifth century, p. 233.

If Mr. Burkitt's theory be accepted, it follows that the Peshitto :—

1. Was published in its present form before A.D. 435, p. 233.
2. Represents readings of ancient Greek MSS. no longer extant, pp. 233-234.
3. Is the authorized text of an important part of the Catholic Church, p. 235.

Thus the new theory, if it could be accepted, would be found to have enhanced the value of the Peshitto, by giving it a date and an origin, while modifying its position in the Apparatus Criticus of the Greek New Testament.

THE PLACE OF THE PESHITTO VERSION IN THE APPARATUS CRITICUS OF THE GREEK NEW TESTAMENT

The third volume of *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* contained an essay by the present writer entitled *The Materials for the Criticism of the Peshitto New Testament*. During the eleven years which have elapsed since the publication of that volume, advance has been made in our knowledge of the Syriac texts current amongst the Syriac-speaking Christians of the early centuries of our era. An event of no small importance was the discovery and publication of the Lewis Palimpsest of the Syriac Gospels¹. Expectations long cherished by New Testament critics seemed now on the point of realization. The solitary position of the Curetonian had presented grave difficulties in accounting for its origin. It was hoped that the Lewis MS. would be a powerful supporter of the Curetonian Text. It was hailed as a second witness to the 'Old Syriac.' Much disappointment however has followed the examination of the Lewis Text. It has been found that it so lends its authority now to the Curetonian, now to the Peshitto, that its presence adds to the confusion of the position.

Again, Mr. Burkitt has traversed the opinion², which was commonly held, that St. Ephraim used the Peshitto Version, and has argued, after re-examination of his works, that in many passages he quotes a different text. Lastly, the publication last year of the text of the Holy Gospels (which comprise about half of the Peshitto New Testament³) from the materials described in my former essay, has placed the Peshitto Text in its earliest form (as far as the evidence goes) in the hands

¹ *The Four Gospels in Syriac transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest*, 1894.

² *Texts and Studies*, vol. vii. No. 2, 'St. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospels,' by F. Crawford Burkitt.

³ The Peshitto Canon does not include 2 Peter, 2, 3 John, Jude, Revelation.

of scholars¹. 'The time has come for determining the position of the Peshitto in the *Apparatus Criticus* of the New Testament, especially in view of the theory which has recently been broached by Mr. Burkitt² as to the origin and history of the great Syriac Version.

The pages which follow will form an Appendix to the edition of the Peshitto Text, as the former essay served for a Prolegomenon to it. The circumstances which have led an author to investigations resulting in the production of his book are, as a rule, of no importance for the reader. In the present case they would certainly not be mentioned by me, were it not for an insinuation made by one of my reviewers³. His words are:—

'We even venture to doubt whether Mr. Gwilliam would have spent these laborious years⁴ over the restoration of the great version to its first form if he had not been so deeply involved in the struggle' [between two rival Schools of Criticism].

No such doubt is to be entertained. Some remarks in an early edition of Scrivener's *Introduction*, read long ago, suggested the need of a revision of the printed text of the Peshitto. Several years after an opportunity was afforded of residing in London and collating Syriac MSS. in the British Museum. Subsequently a Prospectus was put out, and, at the suggestion of various scholars, other collations were made. These were wholly superfluous as regards the evidence of the Peshitto to the Greek Text of the New Testament, and exceeded the limits of P. E. Pusey's design; but the work which has been published is intended to serve as a book of reference not only in questions of reading, but also in many

¹ *Tetraeuangelium Sanctum* (Pusey et Gwilliam), Oxonii, MDCCCCL.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 2, 57.

³ Mr. J. Rendel Harris in *The London Quarterly Review*, January, 1902, p. 100, foot. I recognize and thank him for his courteous remarks about the execution of the work; but the greater part of his review is occupied by a criticism of the views of Burgon and Miller and those who agree with them.

⁴ We are credited with having bestowed more years upon the *Tetraeuangelium* than we can claim to have so spent. For such a period we ought to have more to show. The truth is, my predecessor and I made our collations as opportunity served for visits to libraries. After I took up the work, I often laid it aside, sometimes for many months together, while engaged in other studies and occupations.

details of Syriac grammar and language, some of which, being derived from documents hitherto uncollated, are now offered for the first time to Oriental scholars. There seems to be no need to treat the text of the rest of the Syriac Testament in the same exhaustive fashion; but I do not regret that for the most important part—the Four Holy Gospels—the evidence for our readings has been collected from all quarters, and stated in full. Time has not been misspent, since the hours have served for an exhaustive and final survey of a field hitherto unexplored. No doubt can hereafter be entertained of the character and contents of the great version in common use in the Syriac Church. We have also made some advance towards a revision of the text of the other books of the New Testament. For these, the amount of diplomatic evidence is not nearly so great. Many questions concerning punctuation and vocalization have already been settled in editing the Gospels. The careful collation of a few very ancient and accurate MSS. of the Acts and the Epistles would complete the work and provide ample attestation of the text to be finally adopted.

In the present essay an attempt will be made to determine the position of the Peshitto in New Testament criticism. We shall follow up the lines of evidence now available as to the nature and history of the Peshitto Text. We shall inquire, what is its right and authority to speak and testify to the readings of the Greek Testament, before we admit it into the witness-box. If the Peshitto Version merely reproduces the Traditional Greek Text in a Syriac dress, it is worth no more than any ordinary Greek copy, and of these we already possess a multitude. If the Edessene and the Constantinopolitan readings are borne on streams of independent derivation, then, when they agree, the Greek Text, which they support, can certainly claim a very high degree of attestation. But if these readings are derived from the same immediate source, the evidence for them is not twofold because spoken in two languages. It is only the reiterated testimony of one class of witnesses.

I.

1. It seems to be commonly assumed that the text of the Peshitto represents in Syriac the Greek readings of codex A and the majority of Greek MSS., as distinguished from those of codex B and such authorities as side with it. The opinion expressed in Miller's *Scrivener*¹ may be placed beside that of Westcott and Hort, who say . . . 'it was perceived that the Vulgate Syriac Version differed from early Versions generally, and from other important early documentary authorities, in the support which it frequently gave to the common late Greek Text².' We will subject these opinions to the test of our own independent examination.

We may begin with the testimony of the Peshitto in a collection of passages from the Four Gospels, which will be found in an Appendix to the Edition of the Greek Testament, issued by the Clarendon Press in 1889³. Some of the passages there given were intended to afford examples of readings, which have no relation to our present inquiry. They are places in which there is no opposition between the mass of copies and codex B; or, where the Syriac idiom conveys no information about the variation in the Greek Text. It must also be remembered that, as far as the Peshitto is concerned, they are an arbitrary and disconnected series, and do not afford an adequate view of the text as a whole. Still, they will serve our purpose for a preliminary notice, and they yield the following results:—

In St. Matthew the mass of copies are supported by the

¹ Vol. ii. p. 300.

² *The New Testament in the Original Greek*. Introduction, § 188.

³ *Novum Testamentum. Accedunt Tres Appendices*. The text of the Oxford Edition by Bishop Lloyd in 1827 has been revised by Dr. Sanday, who has added the Appendix *Delectus Lectionum notatu dignissimarum*, of which we have made use.

Peshitto in thirty-six places, and cod. B, with, or without, the consent of some other authorities, in six places.

In St. Mark the numbers are twenty-one and one respectively.

In St. Luke twenty-five and five.

In St. John twenty-two and five.

Thus we find that what is confessedly a superficial and inadequate view, seems to confirm the common opinion, to which we have adverted. Perhaps that opinion arose from partial and insufficient investigations. We will therefore pursue the inquiry more exhaustively.

2. We note first that a Peshitto MS. of the New Testament contains less than a Greek copy¹. The Canon was limited to the Holy Gospels, the Acts with 1 Peter, James, and 1 John attached, the fourteen Epistles of St. Paul. Next we find that the text of the Gospels exhibits, in all Peshitto MSS., some marked divergencies from the Traditional Greek Text. The story of the woman taken in adultery is absent from St. John, the latter part of Matt. xxvii. 35, *that it might be fulfilled*, &c., and the Blessing of the Cup in Luke xxii. 17, are omitted, while to Matt. xxviii. 18 are added the words *and as my Father sent me, I also send you*.

From this survey of the character of the Peshitto in broad outline, we must pass to a more minute examination of the text. It will indeed be impossible to effect an exhaustive examination within the limits of the present essay, but passages can be examined, which will afford specimens, fully sufficient in number and importance, of the character of the translation as a whole. We will take the first fourteen chapters of St. Matthew. They occupy about one-eighth of the

¹ See *The Materials*, &c., *Studia Biblica*, iii. p. 53 n², p. 57 n. Most of the extant Syriac Biblical MSS. are copies of the Gospels only. Of the forty-two copies employed in the recently published *Tetraeuangelium*, only five, Nos. 12, 16, 17, 33, and 42, contain the Peshitto New Testament complete.

A clear and sufficient account of the MSS. of the Peshitto New Testament, known to be extant in different libraries, is given by Dr. Gregory in the third and supplemental volume of Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum Graece*; see cap. ix, c, pp. 828-851.

text of the Four Holy Gospels in the Peshitto—a substantial portion; and in comparing the Syriac translation of them with the Greek original, we have the assistance of the first division of Part I of Prebendary Miller's *Textual Commentary upon the Holy Gospels*¹. This portion of the great work, which Miller planned, but did not live to finish, consists of the fourteen chapters, which we propose to examine. In all places, where the rival schools of criticism differ in the readings which they prefer, the evidence of Manuscripts, Versions, and Fathers is set forth, fully and impartially, by the lamented author; but it was not part of his design to quote readings, which have never been adopted by any of the leading critics; we must therefore supplement Miller's annotations by those given in Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum*, in order to discover how far the Traditional Greek Text is supported by the Peshitto, and in what readings the latter agrees with the text of codex B.

3. Here we wish to state distinctly that by the 'Traditional Greek Text' of the New Testament, we mean the text which has been handed down to us by and in the Catholic Church, and which is contained in the mass of copies and is attested by ecclesiastical writers². We do not necessarily mean the 'Textus Receptus.' Everybody knows that the latter is only a text, found in a particular edition, to which this title was assigned by the editor. This text has no authority whatever beyond that of the few MSS., on which it ultimately rests³.

¹ *A Textual Commentary upon the Holy Gospels largely from the use of materials, and mainly on the Text, left by the late John William Burgon, B.D., by Edward Miller, M.A., 1899.*

² See *The Traditional Text of the Holy Gospels vindicated and established*, Burgon and Miller, 1896, p. 5 and passim; *Revision Revised*, p. 269 (xiii), with which compare p. 21, note 2. Miller indeed (op. cit. *Introduction*, p. vii) sets the *Textus Receptus* in contrast to the texts of Tischendorf and others, but that he recognized that it possessed no inherent authority is clear from the words used in the *Introduction* to the *Traditional Text*, p. 5. The paragraph is from his pen, not Burgon's.

³ The editions issued by the Elzevirs, of one of which the editor says 'textum habes ab omnibus receptum'—whence the familiar appellation—are practically identical with the earlier editions of Stephens, and therefore rest on the MSS. Stephens employed. These MSS., for the most part, exhibited the readings which belong to the Traditional Greek Text. See more in Scrivener's *Introduction*, ed. 4, vol. ii. chap. vii.

If, as in truth is the case, it coincides to a very large extent with the Traditional Greek Text, this fact alone, not the name 'Receptus,' imparts any weight, or importance, to its readings. Yet in the heat of the controversy which followed the publication of *The Revision Revised* opponents were heard to sneer at the late Dean Burgon, as though he quoted the *Textus Receptus*—or, which is practically the same thing, Lloyd's Greek Testament—as an authority¹. Burgon, who had devoted a lifetime to the textual problem, knew better than to show such ignorance. When he quoted the *Textus Receptus*, or *Lloyd*, he did so because those editions give the readings of the Traditional Text of the Catholic Church. So far was he from a superstitious deference to those late forms of text, that he deliberately proposed, and intended to publish, a large number of emendations, in order to bring the current text into harmony with that of the majority of MSS. and the readings of the Fathers².

4. We now proceed with our examination, setting down first the reading of the Traditional Text, then comparing with it the reading of codex B, and noting to which side the support of the Peshitto inclines. In a few cases some other Greek readings are added.

ST. MATTHEW, i-xiv.

Title. Τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Ἅγιον Εὐαγγέλιον.

Some MSS. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαίον.

B Κατὰ Ματθαίον.

Pesh. ܡܬܬܝ ܕܡܬܬܝ ܕܡܬܬܝ ܕܡܬܬܝ *the Holy Gospel, the Preaching of Mattai.*

I. 1. Pesh. ܡܬܬܝ represents Δαυὶδ of the majority, or perhaps Δαυειδ of B &c., but not Δαβιδ of *Textus Receptus*.

5. Βούζ : so Pesh. ܒܘܙ, but B Βοες.

6. Δαυιδ δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς : Pesh. and B om. ο βασιλεὺς.

7. Ἀσά : so Pesh. ܐܨܐ, but B Ἀσαφ.

¹ Several years afterwards the same charge was brought against the Dean by Dr. Salmon in *Some Thoughts on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, see pp. 3 and 4. For Miller's reply see *The Present State of the Textual Controversy respecting the Holy Gospels*, pp. 24-26.

² See Appendix to this essay.

10. Ἀμών: so Pesh. ܐܡܘܢ, but B Ἀμως.

15. Μαθάν: Pesh. ܡܬܬܢ seems to represent *Matthan* of B*¹.

The evidence of the Peshitto with reference to variations in the spelling of some other names is not adduced, because it is not certain in these cases what forms of the Greek it really supports.

18. Ἡ γέννησις is probably supported by Pesh. ܡܢ ܕܡܬܬܢ; B *γενεσις*.

μνηστευθείσης γάρ: Pesh. and B om. γαρ.

25. Αὐτῆς τὸν πρωτότοκον: so Pesh., but B om.

II. 11. Εἶδον τὸ παιδίον: so Pesh. with B and most, but Text. Recept.² and a few authorities εἶπον τ. π.

17. Ὑπὸ Ἱερ.: B and, as it seems, Pesh.³ *δια*.

18. Θρήνος καὶ κλαυθμός. B om. *θρην. κ.*; Pesh., having only ܡܬܬܢ, may be held to support the omission.

19. Κατ' ὄναρ φαίνεται: B *φαιν. κ. ον.*, which is the order of the Peshitto, but is also a natural Syriac order; it is, however, supported by ND and others and the Latin.

21. Ἦλθεν, B *εισηλθεν*. Pesh. here ܠܐ, but at v. 20 ܡܬܬܢ is used for the compound verb.

23. Ναζαρέτ: Pesh. ܢܙܪܬ, though with different vowels, gives final *θ*, as many uncials and cursives read, against Text. Recept., B^{mai} and others.

III. 3. Ὑπό: Pesh. as it seems *δια* (see ii. 17), so B.

6. Ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ: B and Pesh. add *ποταμῷ*.

7. Τὸ βάπτισμα αὐτοῦ: B om. *αυτου*; so Pesh., but seems to have read *ερχομενους βαπτισθηται*, cp. Luke iii. 12.

11. Βαπτίζω ὑμᾶς is the order of Pesh. against B; but being the natural order of the Syriac it is, perhaps, not clear evidence of reading.

12. Ἀποθήκην: Pesh. and B add *αυτου*.

14. B omits Ἰωάννης, Pesh. reads as the majority.

16. Καὶ βαπτισθεῖς: Pesh. and B *βαπτισθεις δε*.

Εἰθὺς ἀνέβη is the order in B and Pesh. B omits *αὐτῷ*, which is found in the majority and Pesh.

IV. 3. Καὶ προσελθὼν αὐτῷ ὁ πειράζων εἶπεν. Pesh. omits *αυτω*, and reads *ειπεν αυτω* with B &c.

5. Ἰστησιν: Pesh. probably *εστησεν* as B.

9. Ταῦτα πάντα σοι δώσω: so Pesh. against B.

¹ Cp. ܡܬܬܢ for *Matthar*, Luke iii. 24.

² See preceding page.

³ Versions, including the Syriac, cannot be relied on for evidence in all cases as to the particular preposition in the Greek original, but the Peshitto seems usually to have rendered *ὑπὸ* by ܡܬܬܢ, and *διὰ* by ܕ, or ܡܬܬܢ.

10. Ὅπίσω μου : Pesh. with B and Text. Recept. omit, against the majority.

12. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς : so Pesh. ; B om. ο Ἰησους.

13. Here B* reads Ναζαρε, see ii. 23.

Καπερναούμ in the majority, but ܩܥܨܢܐܘܝܡ in Pesh. corresponds to καφαρναουμ of B.

16. Εἶδε φῶς μέγα ; Pesh. ܠܡܥܠܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ, which seems to represent the order of B.

18. Περιπατῶν δὲ (sine addit.) Pesh. with B and the majority, but Text. Recept. and some cursives add ο Ἰησους.

23. Ὅλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν : Pesh. ܕܡܬܥܠܡܐ ܕܩܥܨܢܐ, which agrees with εν ολη τη Γαλιλαια, the reading of B ; but Pesh. adds the ο Ἰησους, which B omits.

24. Pesh. has *and* before δαίμονιζομένους, which B omits.

V. 4, 5. Pesh. has the verses in the usual order, which is also that of B and nearly all authorities.

9. Αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ is the reading of the majority and of B, Pesh. seems to omit the αυτοι with ܐܘܬܝܬܐ and some others.

11. Ῥῆμα, which B omits, is expressed in Pesh.

Ψευδόμενοι : so Pesh. with B and nearly all authorities.

13. Βληθῆναι ἔξω, καὶ καταπ. : so Pesh. ܠܬܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ, but perhaps the idiom would hardly allow another rendering. B βληθεν ἐξω, om. και.

22. Εἰκῇ : so Pesh. and the majority ; B omits.

25. Ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ μετ' αὐτοῦ. Pesh., in the order of B, μετ' αυτου εν τη οδω. Pesh. has the second σε παραδῶ, which B omits.

27. Pesh. with B and others omits τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, which Text. Recept. reads.

28. After ἐπιθυμῆσαι B and the majority read αυτην, others αυτης ; some omit ; Pesh. has the pronoun.

30. Βληθῇ εἰς γέενναν : so Pesh. ܠܡܕܢܚܐ ; B εἰς γεενναν απελθη.

31. ʔ in Pesh. probably expresses ὅτι, which B omits.

32. Ὃς ἂν ἀπολύσῃ : B πας ο απολυων, so Pesh.

Ὃς ἂν ἀπολελυμένην γαμήσῃ is exactly expressed in Pesh. ; B ο απολελυμενην γαμησας : a few authorities omit the clause and μοιχαται.

39. Τὴν δεξιάν σου. Pesh. expresses σου, which ܐܘܬܝܬܐ and others omit. B reads it with the majority.

44. Εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς : B om. ; Pesh. ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ, and bless him who curseth you.

Καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς : B om. ; Pesh. has the words with *and* prefixed. T. R. and a few cursives τοὺς μισοῦντας.

Τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς, καί : so Pesh. ; B om.

47. Φίλους in the majority, Pesh. and B ἀδελφους.

Τελῶναι : so Pesh. ; B ἐθνικοι.

Οὕτω (or -ως) in the majority, but Pesh. with B το αυτο.

48. Ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς : B ο ουρανιος. Tischendorf quotes the Peshitto for the former, but the evidence is doubtful. Τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, v. 16, and ὁ οὐράνιος, vi. 14, are each rendered by ܡܠܟܐ? ; in neither place is there any variation in the Greek.

VII. 1. Ἐλεημοσύνην of the majority (not B) is almost certainly intended by Pesh. ܠܗܝܬܐ, the regular word for ἐλεημοσύνη. δικαιοσύνη is rendered by ܠܡܠܝܬܐ.

4. Pesh. reads with the majority αὐτὸς before ἀποδώσει, and the concluding words ἐν τῷ φανερώ. B omits both.

5. Προσέυχη, ἔση : so Pesh. with the majority against B.

Ὅτι ἀπέχουσι. Pesh. has ? = σι, but it may be inserted idiomatically ; B om.

6. Ἐν τῷ φανερώ : so Pesh. as majority ; B om.

12. Ἀφίμεν. Pesh. ܡܠܟܐ, ἀφήκαμεν, as B.

13. Pesh. has the Doxology with the majority against B, but omits ἀμήν according to the best MSS.

15. Τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν om. Pesh. and a few against majority with B.

16. Pesh. has ? = σι : see ver. 5 ; B om.

18. Ἐν τῷ φανερώ, added by Text. Recept., though not part of the Traditional Text, is omitted by Pesh. with B and the majority.

20. Οὐδέ : so Pesh. and the majority, but N and Curet. και.

21. Ὑμῶν . . . ὑμῶν : so Pesh. ; B σου . . . σου.

22. Ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς Pesh. with the majority ; B adds σου.

Ἐὰν οὖν Pesh. and majority, including B ; N and Curet. omit.

24. Μαμμωνᾶ Text. Recept., mcst MSS. μαμωνα, so Pesh.

25. Καὶ τί πίνετε : so Pesh. with the majority ; B and others η τι π., N and others om.

32. Pesh. with the majority reads οὐράνιος, which is omitted by N, Old Latin and Curetonian. The Lewis palimpsest is defective in the latter part of ch. vi.

33. Βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ : so Pesh. with the majority ; B om.

VII. 2. Here again (cp. v. 48) Tischendorf quotes Pesh., as though ܡܠܟܐ necessarily represents μετρηθήσεται, the reading of B and the great majority ; but it may stand for the variant ἀντιμετρηθήσεται, cp. ܡܠܟܐ for ἀντικαλέσωσιν, Lk. xiv. 12, where the ἀντι is neglected.

5. Τὴν δοκὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου. This, whether intentionally or not, is the order followed in Pesh. B ἐκ τ. οφ. σ. τ. δοκ.

8. ܐܢܬܐ ܕܢܐܬܐ in Pesh. (and so Cur.) seems to express the *pres. anoygetai* of B.

9. Τίς ἐστιν ἐξ ὑ. ἀνθ., ὃν ἐὰν αἰτήσῃ. Pesh. ܕܢܐܬܐ ܕܢܐܬܐ, which implies *εστιν*, but not *ἐάν*; both are omitted by B.

10. Καὶ ἐὰν exactly the ܕܢܐܬܐ of Pesh.; B η και.

12. Pesh. omits οὖν with slight support, against the majority.

13, 14. Ἡ πύλη bis; so Pesh. with majority including B. Westcott and Hort omit.

14. Τί Pesh. and most MSS.; B* and others *στι*.

15. Pesh. with B omits δὲ after *προσέχετε*.

16. Σταφυλήν: B σταφυλας, for which Tischendorf quotes Pesh.; but the evidence is doubtful, for the pl. ܐܬܐܢ may represent the collective force, which σταφυλή often has, see Grimm's (Thayer) and Blomfield's Lexx. to the Gk. T., s. v.

19. Πᾶν, as the majority; but *οὖν* is added by some Greek MSS. and the Curetonian.

24. Ὁμοιώσω αὐτόν. Pesh. reads *ομοιωθησεται* as B.

29. Οἱ γραμματεῖς: Pesh. and B add *αὐτων*. Lachmann with Pesh. against B adds *καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι*.

VIII. 2. Ἐλθὼν of the majority was probably read by Pesh.; cp. rendering of ver. 19, *προσελθὼν* = ܐܬܐ. B *προσελθων*.

3. Ἦψατο αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰησοῦς: so Pesh. with the majority; B omits ὁ Ἰησοῦς.

5. Εἰσελθόντι δὲ αὐτῷ. Text. Recept. and a few MSS. with Pesh. against B have τῷ Ἰησοῦ.

Καπερναούμ, see iv. 13.

7. Pesh. om. *καὶ* with B.

8. Λόγῳ: so Pesh. with the majority, including B. Text. Recept. λόγον.

9. Ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν: so Pesh. with the majority, but B adds *τασσομενος*.

10. Οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ τοσαύτην πίστιν: so Pesh., but B *παρ' οὐδενι τοσ. πισ. εν τ. Ισ.*

13. Καὶ ὥς: Pesh. omits *καὶ* with B.

Ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ: so Pesh.; B om. *αυτου*. Pesh. and the majority (including B) ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, where Lachmann reads ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης.

15. Διηκόνει αὐτῷ: so B and the true text of Pesh., but Pesh. Edd. and a few MSS. ܕܢܐܬܐ, *αυτοις*. Greek MSS. are divided.

21. Τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ : so Pesh.; B om. αὐτου.

25. Οἱ μαθηταί : B om., Pesh. ܡܢܬܝܬܐܝܬܐ, *his disciples*.

Ἡμᾶς : so Pesh.; B om.

27. Ὑπακούουσιν αὐτῷ is also the order of Pesh.; B transposes.

28. Γεργεσηνῶν : Γαδαρηνων B, so Pesh.

29. B om. Ἰησοῦ, against Pesh.

31. Ἐπίτρεψον : so Pesh.; B αποστειλον.

32. Pesh. ܡܢܬܝܬܐܝܬܐ, *eis tous choirous*, as B.

IX. 2. Ἀφείνεται, *perfect*, see Winer's Gr., xiv. 3 a. Pesh. ܡܢܬܝܬܐܝܬܐ is possibly the *present* αφιενται as B, but cp. the various Syriac renderings at Lk. vii. 43, 47, 48.

Σοι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι σου in the majority, so Pesh., B σου αἱ αμαρτιαι.

4. Ἰδὼν in the majority, B and Pesh. εἰδως.

Ὑμεῖς ἐνθυμείσθε : Pesh. omits ὑμεῖς with B.

5. Pesh. perhaps supports αφιενται, see ver. 2.

Σου in B and the majority; Pesh. ܟܝܢ ܟܝܢ, as Text. Recept.

6. Ἐγερθεῖς : B εγειρε, for which Tischendorf quotes Pesh., where ܡܢܬܝܬܐܝܬܐ certainly favours the reading of B, but may be only due to the Syriac idiom.

8. Ἐθαύμασαν : B εφοβηθησαν, so Pesh.

11. Εἶπον : Pesh. ܡܢܬܝܬܐܝܬܐ, *dicunt*, represents (perhaps) ελεγον of B, but a well supported v.l. is ܡܢܬܝܬܐܝܬܐ, *dixerunt*. There are some variations of order in the Greek of the second clause : Pesh. agrees with the majority and B.

12. Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀκούσας εἶπεν αὐτοῖς : so Pesh.; B om. Ἰησους and αυτοῖς.

13. Εἰς μετάνοιαν : B and Pesh. omit.

14. Νηστεύομεν πολλά : so Pesh.; B om. πολλὰ.

17. Ἀπολοῦνται : Pesh. ܡܢܬܝܬܐܝܬܐ, in the same form as the two preceding verbs, seems to express the *present* απολλυνται of B.

18. Εἰς ἐλθόν. Pesh. has [ܡܢܬܝܬܐܝܬܐ] ܡܢܬܝܬܐܝܬܐ [ܡܢܬܝܬܐܝܬܐ] ܡܢܬܝܬܐܝܬܐ; by comparison of the rendering of viii. 2, it may be inferred that the translator read *eis προσελθων*, the reading of B, or, perhaps, *τις προσ*.

Λέγων : Pesh. omits ?=οτι, which is read in the majority and B.

22. Pesh. has the Ἰησοῦς, which Tischendorf with B omits.

23. Λέγει αὐτοῖς : B ελεγεν, omitting αυτοῖς : Pesh. ܡܢܬܝܬܐܝܬܐ, which seems to represent *ελεγεν αυτοῖς*.

26. Pesh. with the majority has αὕτη.

32. Ἄνθρωπον κωφόν : Pesh. ܡܢܬܝܬܐܝܬܐ, omitting *άνθρωπον* as B.

33. [Ὅτι] οὐδέποτε : Pesh. ܡܢܬܝܬܐܝܬܐ, without ?, certainly favours the omission of *οτι* in the majority of MSS., including B.

34. This verse is contained in Pesh., as in almost all authorities, including B.

35. 'Εν τῷ λαῷ: B and Pesh. omit.


36. Ἑσφυλμένοι: so most MSS. and B, but Pesh. ܥܫܬܐܠܡܝܢ seems to represent *εκκελυμένοι* of other MSS. and Text. Recept.

X. 2. Καὶ Ἰάκωβος: Pesh. with B; the majority omit καί.

3. Λεββαῖος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Θαδδαῖος: so Pesh., but B omits Λεββ.
ο ἐπικληθ.

4. **Kavanίτης.** Pesh. **𐤕𐤕𐤓** represents *kavanaios* of B.

8. Before or after *λεπ. καθαρ.*, B, Text. Recept., and others insert *νεκρους εγειρετε*; so Pesh. (ed. Schaaf.), but the MSS. omit.

10. 'Páβδous: thus many uncials and cursives, but Pesh. 
sing. with B and others.

'Εστιν is expressed by Pesh., B omits.

12. Pesh. as B and the rest, without the addition in N and the Latin.

14. Ἐξερχόμενοι: so Pesh., cp. the rendering of Mark xi. 19; B adds ἐξω.

Tὸν κοινοῦττον τ. ποδ. in B and the majority; Pesh. **فره ملا صح**
 ⲛⲓ represents τ. κοιν. εκ τ. ποδ. of N and Latin, cp. the rendering of
 Acts xiii, 51.

19. Δοθήσεται γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ τί λαλήσετε (or -ητε):
so Pesh. and B; a few omit.

23. For *ἀλλῃ* or *ἐτέρῃ* the evidence of the Peshitto is uncertain; the same Syriac is sometimes used for the former, sometimes for the latter, cp. Matt. iv. 21 and vi. 24.

33. Pesh. seems to confirm αὐτὸν καὶ γὰρ of the majority; B καὶ γὰρ αὐτον.

XI. 2. Δύο τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ: B (with Pesh.) δια τ. μαθ. αυτ.

5. Καὶ before *χωλοί, κωφοί, and πτωχοί*, which some omit, is found in Pesh., also before *νεκροί* with B and others, but against the majority.

8. Ἐν μαλακοῖς ἱματίοις: B omits ἱματίοις, also εἰσὶν at the end of the verse. Pesh. reads both.

9. Ἰδεῖν; προφήτην; so Pesh., but B has προφητην ιδειν;

10. Οὗτος γάρ: so Pesh., but B omits γαρ. Pesh. has ὃς κατασκευάσει with B and the majority.

15. Ἀκούειν, which B omits, is read by Pesh.

16. Ἐν ἀγοραῖς καθημένοις: Pesh. has καθημενοις first, as B, and reads ἐν [τῇ] ἀγορᾷ as D and some cursives.

Τοῖς ἐταίροις αὐτῶν: so Pesh. as Text. Recept. against B.

17. Ἐθρηνήσαμεν ὑμῖν : so Pesh. ; B omits ὑμιν.
 19. Τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς : B τ. εργαυ. αυ., and so Pesh.
 21. Χοραζὶν and Βηθσαιδὰ are favoured by Pesh. ; B Χοραζειν, Βηθσαιδαν.

σποδῶ : καθήμενοι, which is added in κ and others, is not in Pesh.

23. Καπερναούμ : see note on iv. 13.

καταβιβασθήσῃ : so Pesh. with the majority ; B καταβησῃ.

γενόμεναι ἐν σοί : this is the order of Pesh., but B εν σοι γεν.

ἔμειναν : B εμεινεν, and Pesh. has fem. sing. in agreement with Sodom.

26. Ἐγένετο εὐδοκία : this is the order of Pesh., but B has ευδοκια εγεν.

XII. 3. Ἐπέινασε : so the majority with B and Pesh., but some add αυτος.

For Δαυὶδ see note on i. 1.

4. Ἐφαγεν : so Pesh. with the majority, but B εφαγον.

Οὗς : Pesh. sing., as B, but ~~bread~~, bread, for ἄρτους precedes.

8. τοῦ σαββάτου : so Pesh. with the majority, but Text. Recept. and some cursives prefix και.

10. Ἦν : so the majority ; B omits ; Pesh. and others ην εκεί.

11. Τίς ἔσται : ~~قوله~~ recognizes an ἔσται [or ἐστι], which a few omit, against the majority, including B.

14. Οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι συμβούλιον ἔλαβον κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐξελθόντες in the majority, but B and Pesh. transpose ἐξελθ. δε οι Φαρ. συμβ. ελ. κ. αυτ.

15. Ὅχλοι was read by Pesh. ; B omits.

22. Προσηνέχθη αὐτῷ δαιμονιζόμενος τυφλὸς καὶ κωφός : so the majority, but B and Peshitto προσηνεγκαν αυτω δαιμονιζομενον τυφλον και κωφον.

Ὡστε τὸν τυφλὸν καὶ κωφόν : so the majority, but Pesh. and a few transpose τ. κωφ. κ. τυφ. και λαλ. : B omits τ. τυφ. και and και before λαλειν : Pesh. omits the latter και, but the construction is different.

25. B and others omit ὁ Ἰησοῦς : Pesh. read it with the majority.

27. Ὑμῶν ἔσονται κριταί : the order of the majority, with which Pesh. ~~قوله~~ agrees. B κριται εσ. υμ.

28. Ἐν Πνεύματι Θεοῦ ἐγώ, the order of the majority, including B ; so Pesh. ; many cursives εγω εν Πνευματι Θεου.

31. Τοῖς ἀνθρώποις at the end of the verse is omitted by B but read by Pesh.

32. Ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι in the majority, B τουτω τω αιωνι : Pesh.

seems to have had *τω αἰωνι τουτω*, as a few MSS. read, but *ܐܘܢ ܕܠܐܝܘܢ* stands for *ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι*, Titus ii. 12; cp. 2 Tim. iv. 10.

35. *Θησαυροῦ*: so the majority with B and Pesh.; others add *της καρδιας*.

38. *Ἀπεκρίθησαν*: B adds *αὐτω*: Pesh. *ܐܘܬܐܪܝܬܐ . . . ܐܬܐܪܝܬܐ*, *απεκριθησαν . . . λεγοντες αὐτω*.

Καὶ Φαρισαίων: so Pesh., B omits.

40. *Ἔσται*: Pesh., as the majority, without *καὶ* following, which is added by D.

44. *Ἐπιστρέψω εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου* is also the order of Pesh., but B has *εἰς τ. οἰκ. μ. επιστρεψω*.

46. *Ἔτι δὲ . . . ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ*. B omits *δε*, *℣^b* omits *αυτου*, Pesh. read both.

47. Pesh. has this verse, which B omits.

XIII. 1. *Δέ, ἀπό*: B omits; Pesh. read *δε*, and *απο*, or *εκ*.

9. *Ἀκούειν*: so Pesh., B omits.

11. *Ἐἶπεν αὐτοῖς*: so Pesh. with B and the majority. *℣* omits *αυτοῖς*.

14. *Αὐτοῖς* in the majority; Pesh. had *επ' αυτοῖς*, as D and others, or *εν*, the reading of a few MSS.

15. *Τοῖς ὡσί* in the great majority, but Pesh. read *τοῖς ὡσιν αυτων* bis, which has little support.

16. *Τὰ ὄσα ὑμῶν*: so Pesh.; B omits *υμων*.

17. Pesh. read *γάρ*, which *℣* and a few omit.

22. *Τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*: so Pesh.; B omits *τουτου*.

23. *Τὴν γῆν τὴν καλὴν*: this is the order of Pesh., but it is the natural order of the Syriac. B and others *την καλην γην*.

24. *Σπείροντι*: Pesh. *ܠܝܬܝܬܐ* is the *σπείραντι* of B.

28. *Οἱ δὲ δοῦλοι*: so Pesh.; B omits.

31. Pesh. as the majority with B; *ελαλησεν* for *παρέθηκεν* in D and others.

33. *Αὐτοῖς*: *℣* and others add *λεγων*: Pesh. as the majority.

34. *Οὐκ*: *℣* without *ܡܕܢܐ* almost proves that Pesh. read *ουκ*, and not *ουδεν* of B and others.

35. *Προφήτου*: so Pesh., *℣* adds *Ησαιου*.

Κόσμον: B omits, Pesh. reads it.

36. *Ὁ Ἰησοῦς*: B omits; Pesh. has it after *τότε* at the beginning of the verse.

Φράσον: B *διασαφησον*: *φρ.* seems to be intended by *ܡܕܢܐ* of Pesh., cp. *ܡܕܢܐ* for *διεσαφησαν* in xviii. 31.

37. Pesh. had αὐτοῖς, which B omits.

40. Τούτου : so Pesh., B omits.

43. Ἀκούειν : so Pesh., B omits ; cp. ver. 9.

44. Πάλιν : so Pesh., B omits.

Καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἔχει πωλεῖ : Pesh. omits και, and has the order πωλει π. ο. εχει, which agrees with B's text.

45. Ἀνθρώπῳ ἐμπόρῳ : Pesh. ܐܢܬܪܐܢܐ ܥܡܪܐܝܐ, B omits ανθρ.

46. Ὃς εὐρών : Pesh. ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܪܝܐ seems to represent the reading of B ευρων δε.

51. Λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς : Pesh. and the majority ; B omits.

Κύριε : B omits, Pesh. has ܡܠܟܐ, Our Lord.

52. Εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν : B τη βασιλεια : Pesh. ܠܡܠܟܐ probably represents the former, but it is not certain.

55. Ἰωσῆς : this (or rather Ἰωση) was the reading of Pesh. with the majority. B Ἰωσηφ.

57. Τῇ πατρὶδι αὐτοῦ : B omits αυτον. In Pesh. ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܪܝܐ, ܡ certainly expresses either αυτου, or the v. l. ιδια.

XIV. 3. Pesh. reads αὐτόν, which B omits.

Καὶ ἔθετο ἐν φυλακῇ : this is also the order of Pesh., but might represent the v. l. απεθετο : B has εν φυλακη απεθετο.

4. Αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰωάννης is also the order of Pesh., but B transposes ο I. and αυτ.

6. Γενεσίῳ δὲ ἀγομένῳ : B γενεσιῳς δε γενομενοις : a few γενεσιων δε γενομενων : Pesh. ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܪܝܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܪܝܐ, which favours some case of γενομενος : cf. the rendering of ἡγον αὐτὴν ἡμέραν by ܠܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܪܝܐ in Esther ix. 17.

9. Pesh. read ἐλυπήθη ὁ βασιλεὺς, διὰ δὲ τοὺς ὄρκους, as the majority ; B λυπηθεις ο β. δια τ. ορ.

12. Ἦραν τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτό in the majority ; B πτωμα and αυτον. Pesh. ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܪܝܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܪܝܐ favours πτωμα, and omits αυτο or αυτον, but reads his corpse.

13. Καὶ ἀκούσας : B ακουσας δε, which is supported by Pesh. ܡܥܪܝܐ.

14. Pesh. has ὁ Ἰησοῦς, which B omits.

15. Οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ : so Pesh. ; B omits αυτον.

Ἀπόλυσον : a few authorities add ον, but not Pesh.

18. Αὐτοὺς ὤδε : so Pesh. ; B ωδε αυτους.

19. Λαβών in the majority and B., but Pesh. and a few και λαβων.

22. Καὶ εὐθέως ἠνάγκασεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ. B and others with Pesh. omit Ἰησους. A few omit ευθεως and 8 and several αυτου : Pesh. reads both.

[illegible]

25. Ἀπῆλθε in the majority, Βηλθε, which seems to be supported by 14 of the Peshitto, for απηλθε is generally rendered by 𐌐𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌳𐌰.

'Ο Ἰησοῦς, which B omits, is read in Pesh.

26. Καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταί: Β οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν :
Pesh. as the majority, but reading *his* disciples.

27. Αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς in nearly all MSS.; B ο Ἰησ. αυτοῖς: a few omit ο Ἰησοῦς: Pesh. has *but Jesus at once spake with them.*

28. Αὐτῷ ὁ Πέτρος εἶπε . . . πρὸς σε ἐλθεῖν: B ο Πετρος ειπεν
αυτω, ελθω προς σε, which readings correspond to ܐܠܗܝܐ ܩܠܝܠ ܕܥܡܝܢ
ܕܡܪܝܢܐ . . . ܕܡܪܝܢܐ in Pesh.

29. Ἐλθεῖν is represented by 𐤀𐤋𐤊, of Pesh.; B και ηλθεν.

30. Ἄνεμον ἰσχυρόν: B omits ἰσχυρόν, Pesh. reads it.

33. Ἐλθόντες προσεκύνησαν: so Pesh.; B omits ἐλθοντες.

34. Γεννησαρέτ: B, but not Pesh., prefixes εις.

36. Παρεκάλουν αὐτόν : so Pesh.; B omits αὐτον.

5. In examining the character of the Peshitto in fourteen chapters, we have noted the readings of the version in two hundred and forty-three verses or places; but several of these readings have no importance for the purpose in hand. In not a few cases the evidence of the Peshitto is doubtful. In others, where the witness is clear, the Greek readings, which are attested by the Syriac, have no direct connexion with the subject of our inquiry. An instance of the latter class of passages is Matt. ii. 11, where the agreement of the Peshitto with B is of no significance, for the majority of MSS. of all ages supports the same reading, while only a very few have the alternative reading of the Textus Receptus. We exclude therefore the seventy-six following places:—

Title, i. 1; ii. 11, 23; iii. 11; iv. 13 a, 18; v. 4, 5, 9, 11, 13, 27, 28, 31, 39, 48; vi. 5 b, 15, 16, 18, 20, 22 b, 24, 32; vii. 2, 5, 12, 13, 16, 19, 29; viii. 5, 8, 13 b, 15; ix. 2, 5, 6, 11 bis, 18, 22, 26, 33, 34, 36; x. 8, 12, 14 b, 19, 23; xi. 5, 10 b, 16, 21 b; xii. 3, 8, 10, 11, 22 b, 28, 32, 35, 40; xiii. 11, 14, 15, 17, 31, 33, 35, 52; xiv. 15 b, 19, 22.

The remaining one hundred and sixty-seven passages form two groups; (I) those in which the Peshitto supports the readings of the majority of Greek MSS., (II) those in which the Peshitto supports the readings of codex B.

I. i. 5, 7, 10, 18 a, 25; ii. 21; iii. 14, 16; iv. 9, 12, 23, 24; v. 11, 22, 25 b, 30, 32 b, 44 ter, 47 b; vi. 1, 4 bis, 5 a bis, 6, 13, 21, 22 a, 25, 33; vii. 9, 10, 14; viii. 2, 3, 9, 10, 13, 21, 25 bis, 27, 29, 31; ix. 2, 12, 14, 23; x. 3, 10, 14, 33; xi. 8 bis, 9, 10 a, 15, 16, 17, 21, 23 bis, 26; xii. 4, 15, 25, 27, 31, 38, 44, 46, 47; xiii. 1, 9, 16, 22, 23, 28, 34, 35, 36 bis, 37, 40, 43, 44 a, 45, 51 bis, 55, 57; xiv. 3 bis, 4, 10, 14, 15 a, 18, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 33, 34, 36.

II. i. 6, 15, 18 b; ii. 17, 18, 19; iii. 3, 6, 7, 12, 16 bis; iv. 3, 5, 10, 13 b, 16, 23; v. 25 a, 32 a, 47 bis; vi. 12; vii. 8, 9, 15, 24, 29; viii. 5, 7, 13, 28, 32; ix. 4 bis, 5, 8, 13, 17, 18, 32, 35; x. 2, 4, 10; xi. 2, 5, 16, 19, 23 bis; xii. 4, 14, 22 a, 38; xiii. 24, 44 b, 46; xiv. 6, 12, 13, 22, 24, 25, 28.

Several of the verses, which are cited, involve more than one distinct point in the evidence; they are therefore necessarily entered in the summary under more than one head. Some of the verses, which are excluded, may be thought to contain evidence of the connexion of the Peshitto with the majority of the MSS. on the one side, or with cod. B on the other. We have preferred in all cases of doubt to exclude the verse, rather than to seem to overstate the case; but a few instances more or less would make no real difference in the general result, which is as follows:—

In fourteen chapters the readings of the Peshitto are found to support the Traditional Greek Text in one hundred and eight places, and the Text of codex B in sixty-five places—more than half the number.

II.

1. It is not our intention in this essay to pursue our investigations beyond the Holy Gospels. Questions concerning the value of the evidence of the Peshitto are limited to those books for the present; when *Curetonian Epistles* and a *Lewis Acts* have been discovered, a wider field will be opened up; but the results we have already obtained, and the considerations to follow, are, we think, sufficient in amount and weight to stamp the character of the Peshitto as a whole. These results will by some be received with surprise; yet Westcott and Hort have already said¹:—

‘Nevertheless the two texts are not identical. In a considerable number of variations the Vulgate Syriac² sides with one or other of the Pre-Syrian texts against the Antiochian Fathers and the late Greek text, or else has a transitional reading, which has often, though not always, some Greek documentary attestation.’

The first two assertions in this quotation are, on the whole, confirmed by our examination of the text of Matt. i–xiv. The last assertion is somewhat vague, but appears intended to mean that the Peshitto readings form a connecting link between the texts which the writers call respectively ‘Pre-Syrian’ and ‘Antiochian and late.’ To complete our investigation, we will now collect from the same chapters of St. Matthew those places in which the Peshitto witnesses to independent readings, as distinguished from those in which, as we have already seen, it supports either codex B or the Traditional Greek Text. We will add in each case a com-

¹ *New Test.*, Introd., § 189

² By which they mean the Peshitto. As has often been pointed out, this epithet expresses the reception and popularity of this version, but assumes a theory about its origin which is still a subject of discussion.

parison with the Curetonian and the Lewis¹ MSS., and give, where necessary or desirable, confirmatory readings, especially those of D, and the evidence of the Old Latin; but we shall not attempt to exhibit the attestations in full: space would not permit, and the reader can verify our conclusions from the pages of Tischendorf.

2. ST. MATTHEW, i-xiv.

I. 20. Om. ἰδοῦ, also ii. 1, and often. As the use of ܝܕܘܐ , *lo*, is in accordance with Syriac idiom, it is difficult to believe that a translator would fail to employ the particle, if ἰδοῦ were before him in his Greek MS. Sometimes, but not often—e. g. xii. 49— ܝܕܘܐ , *lo*, is introduced, where there is no ἰδοῦ in the Greek. Cur. and Lp. omit at i. 20, but at ii. 1 read *and lo*.

23. Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός, $\text{ܡܝܬܝܬ ܗܡܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ}$, *Our God is with us*, but *our* may be intended to express ὁ. Cur. and Lp. as Pesh., but trans. ܕܗܡܘܢ .

25. Ἐγίνωσκεν: Pesh. ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܐܘܬܝܢ , *ἐγνώ αὐτήν*, the reading of D and the Old Latin. Cur. and Lp. different.

II. 1. Om. ἰδοῦ, see i. 20.

Τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ܕܝܘܕܝܐ , *Bethlehem of Judah* (so Cur. and Lp.) as ver. 6, and so ver. 5.

5. Om. αὐτῷ: so ܐܘܬܝܢ Chrys. (codd. Moscuenses 3), but not Cur. and Lp.

6. Om. γῆ, Pesh. Cur. Lp.

8. Εἶπεν: Pesh. adds ܕܐܘܬܝܢ , *αὐτοῖς*, with Cur. and Lp. Pesh. has the order π. τ. παιδιον ἀκριβῶς: so Cur.; Lp. omits ἀκριβῶς.

Ἐπὰν δὲ εὑρητε, ἀπαγγείλατέ μοι, $\text{ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܐܘܬܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܐܘܬܝܢ}$, *And when ye have found him, come tell me*. It is doubtful if the translator had *αὐτον*, but probable that he read *δευτε*. Cp. xxviii. 6, where *δεῦτε ἴδετε* is rendered ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ . Cur. and Lp. as Pesh.

11. Pesh. ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ *σμίρναν και λίβανον*. So Cur. and Lp.

13. Om. ἰδοῦ, see i. 20; so Cur. and Lp.

14. Ὁ δὲ ἐγερθεῖς: Pesh. Cur. Lp. *But Joseph arose*. This is hardly to be reckoned a *v.l.*; probably the name is added for clearness; yet it is supported by Old Latin MSS.

¹ I shall use the symbol *Lp.*, which I employed six years ago when writing in the *Critical Review*, to indicate the palimpsest discovered and published by Mrs. Lewis. Every one calls the companion text the *Curetonian*, after its discoverer. Appellations which tend to confuse the *Sinai Palimpsest* with the *Codex Sinaiticus*, may mislead some readers. S resembles S, the symbol of a tenth century MS.

19. Τοῦ Ἡρώδου: Pesh. Cur. Lp. add τοῦ βασιλέως, having, as it seems, the same reading as in ver. 1, and again omit ἰδού.

21. *Joseph* added, as ver. 14; not Cur. nor Lp.

23. ܡܢ ܡܢܬܐ sing., *the Prophet*, Pesh. Cur. and Lp.

III. 3. Pesh. omits λέγοντος, with slight support. Cur. and Lp. read it.

8. Καρπὸς ἀγίων Pesh. with Cur. and Lp.

10. Ἦδη δέ: Pesh. ܕܐܝܢ, reading, as it seems, Ἰδὸν δέ. Cur. Lp. ܝܕܝܢ, καὶ ἰδού.

12. Pesh. reads ἅλωνα, σῖτον, and ἀποθήκην as if plurals; Cur. so reads the last two, Lp. the second only. All omit αὐτοῦ after σῖτον.

16. Ἰδού omitted in Pesh., read in Cur. and Lp.

IV. 1. Τοῦ Πνεύματος: Pesh. and Cur. add ܡܚܝܡܐ, ἁγιοσύνης, i. e. ἁγίου, but rather as an explanation than following a different reading. Lp. follows the Greek. All have the order υπο τ. πνευ. εἰς τ. ἐρημον with N K.

15. Pesh. omits καὶ before γῆ, and proceeds ܡܚܝܡܐ ܡܢ ܡܢܬܐ, which certainly looks like a reading ὁδός, for the adverbial sense of the accusative ὁδὸν would require a preposition before ܡܢܬܐ. Cur. and Lp. read καὶ but have ܕܐܝܢ as Pesh.

19. Λέγει αὐτοῖς: Pesh. and Cur. add *Jesus*¹. Ὑμᾶς: Pesh. with D and Old Latin MSS. adds γενεσθαι: not Cur. nor Lp.

20. Δίκτυα: Pesh. adds αὐτων: so Cur. and Lp.

23. Pesh. omits the second πᾶσαν: not Cur. nor Lp.

24. ܡܢ ܡܢܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܢܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܢܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܢܬܐ, τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας . . . καὶ τοὺς βασάνους συνεχομένους, the repetition of ܡܢܬܐ suggesting that Pesh. read τοὺς before βασάνους. Cur. and Lp. are different and diverge from the Greek.

V. 1. Ἰδὼν δέ: Pesh. adds *Jesus*, as iv. 19; not Cur. nor Lp.

11. Pesh. ܡܢ ܡܢܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܢܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܢܬܐ. Three transpositions, as though reading καθ' ὑμῶν πᾶν ῥῆμα πονηρὸν ἔνεκεν ἐμοῦ ψευδόμενοι. ῥῆμα πονηρὸν is the usual Syriac order of noun and adjective, the other two changes are not required by the idiom and certainly suggest a different order in the Greek. Cur. and Lp. have καθ' ὑμῶν in the same position: the former certainly, the latter probably, omits ῥῆμα. Cur. has ψευδόμενοι before ἐν. ἐμ.: Lp. omits it.

¹ It may be said with good reason that this addition is like that of *Joseph* in ii. 14 and 21, but Dr. Sanday treats the addition or omission of *Jesus* in xvi. 21 as a var. lect., see *Append.* p. 107. On the other hand, the case of copies, with which Dr. Sanday was dealing, is different from that of a Version.

12. **ܐܦܝܢ ܕܥܡܝ**, *Then rejoice*, as though reading *τότε χαίρετε*. Not Cur. nor Lp.

17. Old editions of Pesh. omit the second *ἦλθον*. The true text agrees with the Greek, so also do Cur. and Lp.

31. Pesh. Cur. Lp. omit *δέ*.

36. All transpose and add **ܐܘ**, as though reading *ποιῆσαι ἐν αὐτῇ μίαν τρίχα λευκὴν ἢ μέλαιναν*.

37. **ܐܘ ܐܘ** *καὶ οὐ οὐ*, Pesh. Cur. Lp.

44. Pesh. **ܐܘ ܐܘ**? **ܐܘ**, *τῷ καταρωμένῳ ὑμᾶς*, in sing. Cur. and Lp. omit the clause.

45. *Ὅτι*: Pesh. **ܐܘ**, *He who*. Pesh. also transposes *ἀγαθούς καὶ πονηρούς*. In each case P is supported by Cur. Lp. and some Old Latin MSS.

VI. 1. *Προσέχετε*: Pesh. (not Cur. nor Lp.) adds *δέ*, with **ܐܘ** and others.

5. *Φιλοῦσιν*: Pesh. and Cur. add *σῆμαι*, the Old Latin reading, and omit *ἐστῶτες*. Lp. omits the verse.

17. Pesh. transposes, *Νύμει τὸ πρόσωπόν σου, καὶ ἄλφειαι τὴν κεφαλὴν σου*. So Cur. Lp. is defective to viii. 3.

18. **ܐܘ**, *αὐτὸς ἀποδώσει σοι*, Pesh., not Cur.

32. *Πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη*: so the true text of the Peshitto, but the old editions and some MSS. add **ܐܘ**, *τοῦ κόσμου*. Cur. adds **ܐܘ**, with the same meaning. *Ὁδὲ γάρ*: Pesh. (not Cur.) *δε*, with slight support.

VII. 16. **ܐܘ**, *ἀπὸ δὲ τ. καρ. αὐ.*, Pesh.; Cur. **ܐܘ**, *οὖν*.

VIII. 2. **ܐܘ**, *λεπρός τις*, Pesh. and Cur.

3. *Τὴν χεῖρα*: Pesh. adds *αὐτοῦ* with Cur. Lp. and **ܐܘ**.

4. **ܐܘ**, *to the Priests*, pl., Pesh. and Cur. The reading of Lp. is conjectural, and given as sing. by the Editors.

Τὸ δῶρον: so Pesh., but a well supported v.l. is **ܐܘ**, *thy gift*. Cur. and Lp. have *the gift*.

5. Pesh. adds *τις*, as ver. 2; so Cur. In Lp. there is a lacuna.

8. Pesh. has **ܐܘ**. The same construction is found in ver. 13. Probably in each case **ܐܘ** stands for the article and does not represent a reading *ἐκεῖνος*. Cur. and Lp. have also **ܐܘ**, but here before the noun, ver. 13 after as Pesh.

12. *Ἐκβληθήσονται*: Pesh. **ܐܘ**, *shall go forth*; so Cur. and Lp. with **ܐܘ**.

14. *Πέτρον*: Pesh. **ܐܘ**, *Σίμωνος*, cp. Mark i. 29 in the Greek. So Cur. and Lp.

16. ܐܠܗܐ, τὰ πνεύματα αὐτῶν, Pesh., but Cur. and Lp. only ܐܠܐ, αὐτά.

23. ܐܡܥܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܝܢ. There is no *Jesus* in the Greek, but see note on ii. 14. Cur. and Lp. are both defective here.

24. Αὐτὸς δέ: Pesh. adds ܐܡܥܐ, *Jesus*, as in the preceding verse; so vers. 26, 28, 32. Cur. is defective to x. 32. Lp. has not the addition, here or below, but is defective in the beginning of ver. 26.

25. Κύριε: Pesh. here, and ix. 28, xiii. 51, has ܕܡܠܟܐ, *Our Lord*, but the difference is rather of idiom than of reading. Lp. agrees with Pesh. Cur. is defective: at xiii. 51 both omit the word.

26. Pesh. and Lp. *the wind* in the singular, with ܐܡܥܐ and others.

27. Pesh. and Lp. omit καὶ before οἱ ἄνεμοι.

29. Pesh. om. ἰδοῦ: cp. note on i. 26.

32. Pesh. omits ἰδοῦ and the second ܡܠܟܐ: so Lp., but there are many differences between the texts.

33. ܐܡܥܐ ܡܠܟܐ, as though reading πάντα τὰ γινόμενα: cp. the Syriac of xviii. 31. Lp. has ܐܡܥܐ, πάντα, but the rest is illegible.

IX. 2. Pesh. om. ἰδοῦ, as viii. 29 above. Lp. is defective, here and the next two verses.

3. Καὶ ἰδοῦ, τινὲς τ. γ.: Pesh. τινὲς δὲ τ. γ.

4. Εἶπεν: Pesh. adds αυτοῖς, with D and some others.

5. Pesh. seems to have Ἀφ. σοὶ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι σου, reading both σοὶ and σου. Lp. the same. On ἀφένται or ἀφίενται see note on ix. 2, p. 202.

6. Pesh. om. τότε (with M) and has ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܝܢ, for which see note on viii. 8. Lp. reads τότε but has ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܝܢ.

10. Pesh. omits ἐγένετο and reads αὐτῶν ἀνακειμένων, with ܐܡܥܐ. It also omits καὶ ἰδοῦ. Lp. is defective.

15. For πενθεῖν Pesh. has ܡܠܟܐ, νηστεύειν, with D and Old Latin MSS. Lp. follows the Greek.

16. Pesh. omits δέ: so Lp.

18. Pesh. om. ἰδοῦ. Lp. ܐܡܥܐ, καὶ ἰδοῦ.

19. Pesh. transposes, καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ, reading 3rd pers. pl. as E and some other copies. Lp. follows the Greek.

28. ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܝܢ, but perhaps as before (viii. 8) only the article is intended, οἱ τυφλοί. So Lp.

30. ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܝܢ, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνέβησαν: so Lp.

32. ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܝܢ: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܝܢ, And as *Jesus* went forth, they brought. ἰδοῦ is omitted. Lp. omits ἰδοῦ, but otherwise follows the Greek.

36. Ἰδὼν δέ: Pesh. adds Ἰησοῦς (not Lp.) with some support.

37. Τότε: Pesh. ο, και: Lp. ܡܢ ܗܝܬܐ, τότε.

X. 1. Ἐξουσίαν: Pesh. adds κατὰ with E and others, but not Lp. ܐܝܢܐ, και μαλακίαν, πῶσαν being omitted; so Lp.

2. ܐܝܢܐ? ܡܢ ܥܕܐ?, Ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν δώδεκα. In Lp. the sentence is inverted, but there is no ἐκείνων.

4. Pesh. prefixes και to Σίμων, and reads ܣܥܪܝܬܐ, *Scarjuta*; so Lp. Both omit και before παραδούς.

10. Μή: Pesh. and Lp. ܡܢ, μηδέ.

24. Διδάσκαλον: Pesh. adds αὐτοῦ with Lp. and ܐ.

25. Pesh. has always ܥܕܪܝܬܐ, *Belzebub*; so Cur. So also Lp. here; in the other places the MS. is defective.

28. Καὶ before ψυχὴν is omitted by Pesh. and Lp.

30. Pesh. adds ὑμῶν after κεφαλῆς. So apparently Lp., but the wording is different.

XI. 5. Pesh. has και before λεπροί, as well as the other nouns. So Cur. Lp. is defective here.

14. Δέξασθαι: Pesh. ܡܠܟܐ, δέξασθε, as E and some cursives, but not Cur. nor Lp.

20. Τότε ἤρξατο: Pesh. adds *Jesus*. So Cur. Lp. is defective.

21. Pesh. prefixes ܡܢ ܗܝܬܐ, and he was saying; Cur. ܡܢ ܗܝܬܐ, and he said; Lp. defective.

πάλαι ἂν: Pesh. ܡܢ ܥܕܐ. The same occurs at Luke x. 13. It looks like a reading δέ, for ἂν is usually passed over in the Syriac rendering. Cur. as Pesh. Lp. is again defective.

24. ܡܢ ܗܝܬܐ, λέγω σοι, Pesh., with slight support. Cur. omits the pronoun; Lp. is defective.

XII. 2. Ἰδόντες: Pesh. adds αὐτοὺς with Cur. and Old Latin and some Greek MSS. Lp. is defective to ver. 7.

5. Pesh. om. τοῖς σάββασιν: so Cur.

9. Ἐκεῖθεν: Pesh. adds *Jesus* (not Cur.) with C and some others.

10. Pesh. reads Καὶ ἄνθρωπός τις: see note on i. 20: Cur. has ἰδοὺ and τις.

11. Pesh. and Cur. omit τοῦτο and read κρατεῖ, ἐγείρει, with D and others. Lp. seems also to have the present tense, but is defective.

13. Pesh. Καὶ ἐξέτεινε τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ, and omits ἰγίης. So Cur. and, as it seems, Lp., but the writing is in part defective.

24, 27. See note on x. 25.

30. ܡܢ ܗܝܬܐ, ܡܢ ܗܝܬܐ, as though they read σκορπίζων σκορπίζει. So Cur. In Lp. the writing is lost.

32. Pesh., with Cur. and Lp., ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι μέλλοντι, but the repetition of the noun is almost required by the idiom.

44. Σεσαρωμένον: Pesh. prefixes και with Cur. Lp. & others.

46. For ἰδού Pesh. has ܐܠܗ, ἡλθον. Cur. and Lp. agree with the Greek.

49. Pesh. καὶ, ἰδού, οἱ ἀδελ., repeating ἰδού, which is so often omitted, cp. i. 20. Cur. as Pesh., but Lp. has a different expression.

XIII. 1. ܐܠܗ . . . ܐܠܗ (cited by Tischendorf) exactly represent ἐξῆλθεν καὶ ἐκάθητο, but participle and finite verb are often resolved into two finites, with or without copula. Lp. here omits *and*, Cur. agrees with Pesh.

10. Pesh. adds αὐτοῦ τοῖς μαθηταί, with Cur. Lp. and others.

13. Pesh. ܐܠܗ at end of clause, as though reading λαλῶ αὐτοῖς: but inferences from order of words are somewhat doubtful. Cur. and Lp. as Pesh.

18. ܐܠܗ, τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ σπέρματος. Cur. and Lp. agree with the Greek.

23. Τὸν λόγον: Pesh. adds μου, ܐܠܗ, and has the order ἀκούων τ. λογ. μου. Cur. and Lp. have this order, but not μου. Old Latin q has *verbum meum*.

*Ὅς δὲ καρποφορεῖ: Pesh. and Cur. ܐܠܗ, which perhaps represents δέ, the reading of Δ, rather than δῆ. Lp. has *and then it yieldeth*, the Old Latin reading.

28. Pesh. (against the majority, but with D and Old Latin) has the order λέγουσιν (not εἰπον) αὐτῷ οἱ δοῦλοι: but it is a natural Syriac order. Cur. and Lp. as Pesh.

29. Οὐ μήποτε: Pesh. ܐܠܗ, omitting οὐ, but Cur. and Lp. have it. The negative is implied in either reading.

Pesh. (with slight support) ἅμα αὐτοῖς καὶ (ܐܠܗ) τ. σῖτον. Cur. and Lp. transpose, καὶ τ. σῖτον ἅμα αὐτ.

30. Εἰς δέσμας: Pesh. ܐܠܗ, δησ. αὐτα δεσμας: so Cur. Lp. with Old Latin and some Greek MSS.

32. Μείζον τῶν: Pesh. μ. πάντων τῶν. So Cur. Lp. and some Greek MSS.

41. Τοὺς ποιοῦντας: Pesh. Cur. Lp. *all them which do*.

48. Ἀναβιβάσαντες: Pesh. adds αὐτήν, with some support. It has the καί, which some omit, and after καθίσαντες, proceeds ܐܠܗ, they selected; and the good they put into vessels. Cur. and Lp. have αὐτήν and καί, but express the latter part of the verse differently.

54, 57. Pesh. for πατρίς has ܐܬܬܐ, *city*. So Cur.; also Lp. at ver. 54, at 57 it is defective¹.

XIV. 1. Ἐν ἐκείνῃ: Pesh. adds δέ: so Cur. and, no doubt, Lp., but the writing is defective.

4. At the end Pesh. adds ܐܬܬܐ, *wife*; so Cur., but not Lp.

6. ܡܥܬܬܐ ܦܪܥܐ, ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀνακειμένων, cp. Mark vi. 22. So substantially Cur., but Lp. omits the clause.

7. Ὁμολόγησεν: Pesh. ܡܥܬܐ, *swore*, with slight support, but not Cur. nor Lp.

8. Pesh., with Cur. and Lp., has *She said, Give me here*. The order was perhaps altered for the sake of the Syriac idiom, but it is supported by the Greek of D.

9. Pesh. adds at the end ܐܬܬܐ, *to her*, with Cur.; so apparently Lp., but the word is illegible.

13. Πεζῇ: Pesh. ܡܥܬܐ, as if reading διὰ ξηρᾶς, but the same rendering of πεζῇ is found in Mark vi. 33. Cur. more literally ܡܥܬܐ; Lp. is defective.

15. Τοὺς ὄχλους: Pesh. adds ܡܥܬܐ, τῶν ἀνθρώπων, not Cur.; Lp. is defective.

16. Pesh. omits Ἰησοῦς, with Cur. Lp. ܐ and D.

19. Ἐπὶ τοὺς χόρτους: Pesh. ܡܥܬܐ, *on the ground*, but Cur. ܡܥܬܐ, Lp. ܡܥܬܐ, to express the χόρτους.

ܡܥܬܐ ܡܥܬܐ ܡܥܬܐ ܡܥܬܐ ܡܥܬܐ, and gave to his disciples (omitting τοὺς ἄρτους) and the disciples set them before the multitudes. Cur. *He brake the bread and gave to his disciples and his disciples gave to the multitudes*; so Lp.² Pesh. has some slight support from the Old Latin.

21. Pesh. omits ὥσεί: so Cur.; Lp. is defective.

24. Pesh. omits ἦδη, with D and Old Latin MSS. It also has ܡܥܬܐ ܡܥܬܐ, βασιανίζόμενον πολὺ. Most of Lp. is illegible. Cur. does not read ἦδη or ܡܥܬܐ. Cur. and Lp. have *and they were distressed*, mas. pl.

25, 26. ܡܥܬܐ bis, *water*, for τῆς θαλάσσης. τὴν θάλασσαν, looks like an early error for ܡܥܬܐ, *sea*. Lp. is defective at ver. 25, and has ܡܥܬܐ at ver. 26. Cur. has ܡܥܬܐ ver. 25, ܡܥܬܐ ver. 26.

¹ The Syriac expresses a special meaning of the word—'native place,' in general, hence 'city.' Besides instances in the Gospels, it is so used by Philo and Josephus; see Thayer's *Grimm's Lexicon*, Blomfield's *Lexicon to the Greek Testament*, s.v. It would therefore be unreasonable to suppose that the Syriac had a reading πόλις.

² On ܡܥܬܐ, which is read in Cur. as well as in Pesh., but not in Lp., see remark on the use of ܡܥܬܐ, viii. 8, above.

26. Tischendorf quotes Pesh. for the inversion περιπατοῦντα ἐπὶ τ. θάλ., but the order seems due to the Syriac idiom. Cur. and Lp. have the same order.

29. 'Ο δέ: Pesh., with E and others, adds 'Ιησοῦς: not Cur.; Lp. is defective here.

31. 'Ο 'Ιησοῦς: Pesh. ܝܫܘܥ, *our Lord*. Cur. has *Jesus*, Lp. is defective.

34. Pesh. ܐܕܡܝܢ (the land) of Gēnēsar. So Cur. and Lp.

3. In our examination of the text of these fourteen chapters, we find one hundred and thirty-seven places where the renderings in the Peshitto agree neither with the Greek Text of codex B, nor with that of the mass of Greek copies. In this number we do not include the variations in v. 17 and vi. 32 a, because the true text of the Peshitto¹ is now found to be in agreement with the Greek; nor viii. 4 b, because, though there is a well-supported reading '*thy gift*,' the true text appears to be '*the gift*,' as the Greek; nor the doubtful readings in viii. 8, 13, 25, ix. 28, xiii. 54, 57, xiv. 19 a and 26. In the majority of the hundred and thirty-seven places, the Peshitto has the support of the Curetonian and the Lewis, or one of them. In many others it is supported by the Old Latin, or by a few Greek copies. There remain thirty-one places—almost one-fourth of the whole number—in which the Peshitto appears to stand alone; places, at least, where no variation in other authorities is quoted by Tischendorf in his notes, with the two exceptions (if exceptions they be) which we have recorded below. As the presence of such a large number of Peshitto readings in only fourteen chapters is significant, it will be well to collect and set them down. They are:—

ii. 21 *Joseph* added; iii. 16 ἰδοὺ omitted; iv. 15 καὶ omitted; 23 second πᾶσαν omitted; 24 τοὺς added; v. 1 *Jesus* added; 12 τότε prefixed; 44 the singular τῷ καταρωμένῳ ὑμᾶς; vi. 18 αὐτὸς inserted before ἀποδώσει; vii. 16 δὲ added; viii. 16 αὐτῶν added; 23 *Jesus* added, and below; 29 ἰδοὺ omitted;

¹ At v. 17 the MSS. and the American Edition have the second ܡܠܟܐ, *ἡλθον*. At vi. 32 the addition is found in two important copies, but is rejected by the majority. See *Tetraevangelium*, pp. 39 and 48.

33 πάντα τὰ γειόμενα; ix. 2 ἰδοὺ omitted; 3 τινὲς δὲ τῶν γραμματέων; 10 καὶ ἰδοὺ omitted; 18 ἰδοὺ omitted; 32 *Jesus* for αὐτῶν; 37 καὶ for τότε; x. 2 ἐκείνων added; xii. 46 ἦλθον for ἰδοὺ; xiii. 18 τοῦ σπέρματος; 23 μου added to τὸν λόγον¹; 29 omission of οὖ; 48 the reading *they selected; and the good they put*²; xiv. 13 the probable reading διὰ ξηρᾶς; 15 τῶν ἀνθρώπων added; 24 πολὺ added; 26 ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα; 31 the reading *Our Lord*.

4 a. We have noted that two of these Peshitto readings receive external support, one from a codex of the Old Latin, the other from a passage in Chrysostom. It is in a high degree probable that others of the readings agree with variants in some of the cursive copies, the bulk of which has never been examined exhaustively³. At present our argument is merely negative: in these many places the Peshitto appears to stand alone. We can however foresee that ultimately one or other of two positions must be taken. If the many Peshitto readings, which witness to Greek variants such as are found in none of the best known copies, are hereafter discovered to represent variants lurking, some in one, some in another, cursive copy, it will follow that the cursives embody much independent matter; that they are not mere replicas of one archetype, the reproduction, in publishers' style, of a single text; that they can no longer be disregarded by those who would settle the text of the Greek Testament on an irrefragable basis. If they contain nothing but one late type of text, let them be laid aside, and the issue will be between Tischendorf's codex \aleph , and Westcott and Hort's codex B. If they represent a large number of very ancient, but now lost, archetypes, we shall neglect the greater part of the evidence if we only admit the testimony of a few uncials.

¹ Tischendorf adduces Old Latin q as a sole authority for this addition.

² Tischendorf quotes from Chrysostom a passage resembling this reading, but adduces no authority of MSS. or Versions.

³ Gregory in Tischendorf's *Nov. Test. Gr.* (vol. iii, viii, p. 453) recognizes that some cursives witness to a text much older than themselves, and adds, 'haud ita multi vero ad hunc diem accurate examinati sunt.'

b. This will be one position. But an alternative may have to be taken. It may be that whether the cursive texts be hereafter resolved into many, or proved to be only one, the Peshitto will be found to possess a large store of readings, which unquestionably presuppose variations in the Greek, and yet are supported by no Greek copies now known to us. Full allowance must here be made for differences, which are rather of translation than of reading; still there will yet remain a considerable number of places, where the Peshitto (as distinguished from the Curetonian and the Lewis) will be an independent witness to very ancient Greek readings, and will claim to be heard in addition to the attestations of \aleph and B. Westcott and Hort in their *Introduction*, to which we have already referred, suppose that there was 'an authoritative revision [of the Greek] at Antioch, which was then taken as a standard for a similar authoritative revision of the Syriac Text.' But since we have shown that the Peshitto readings do not exactly represent any extant Greek Text, it follows that, if the conjecture of the Cambridge Doctors be right, the Peshitto is the *sole* witness to a very ancient and authoritative type of the text of the New Testament.

III.

At this stage in our investigation it may be convenient to re-state what is known and generally admitted in connexion with the history of the Peshitto Version of the New Testament.

1. No one questions the fact that it has been received for many centuries as their accredited version by both branches of the Syrian Church ¹.

2. The text of the version is attested by an exceptionally large number of very ancient MSS. These, though written in different localities, exhibit the text at various epochs with a certainty and uniformity, which is almost, or quite, without a parallel among the MSS. of ancient books ².

3. The pre-eminence of the Peshitto was due to the high estimate in which it was held, and not to the absence of competitors. At the beginning of the sixth century, and again at the beginning of the seventh, revisions were undertaken ³ with a view to bringing the text of the Syriac into conformity with the type of Greek text then prevalent, and rendering the translation more literal and accurate; but neither of these revisions superseded the ancient Peshitto.

4 a. So far all critics are in agreement. But it has been supposed that in the era preceding the time when our oldest copies of the Peshitto were written, some other form of translation was in general use. It was observed that Aphraates ⁴, whose Homilies were composed between A. D. 337 and 345, and

¹ For the history of the Syriac Versions of the New Testament see Wright, *Syriac Literature*, pp. 6-20, where many authorities are quoted. Cp. Mr. Burkitt's *Early Christianity outside the Roman Empire*, pp. 15, 18, 19.

² Compare Mr. Rendel Harris' remarks in *L. Q. R.*, pp. 103, 104.

³ The *Philoxenian*, by Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabog, in 508, and the *Harkleian*, by Thomas of Harkel, in 616.

⁴ For Aphraates and Ephraim see Wright, *Syriac Literature*, pp. 32-38, and the article 'Ephraim' in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

therefore are anterior to our earliest Peshitto MSS., did not habitually quote from the New Testament Peshitto Text. The usage of this writer is of importance in the question, because his Homilies contain a very large number of Biblical citations, and afford sufficient materials for arriving at a definite conclusion.

b. The usage in citations of the other great Syriac writer of the period, Mar Ephraim¹, is perhaps the pivot on which the present controversy will turn. Formerly it was supposed that Ephraim made use of the Peshitto. If, as appeared to be the case in not a few places, he used some other translation from time to time—perhaps his own independent rendering—yet the presence of the Peshitto in his writings was proof of the antiquity of the version, and that it was known, and in use amongst Syriac writers, in a period earlier than that of our earliest copies of it². Many years ago I indicated that the solution of the problem might be found by a careful examination of all the quotations in the earliest Syriac writers³. Mr. Burkitt has proceeded on the path, which I pointed out as the route to our destination; and his observations and conclusions are, naturally, to me of peculiar interest. After an exhaustive study of the genuine works of Mar Ephraim, he contends that the resemblance of Ephraim's quotations to the Peshitto Text is due to corruption of Ephraim's own text, and that the true text of Ephraim, as attested by the best MSS. of the Father's writings, shows that he used the *Diatessaron* in the main⁴. Hence Mr. Burkitt infers that the Peshitto did not exist in the fourth century. His inference

¹ See Mr. Woods' 'Examination of the New Testament Quotations of Ephrem Syrus' in *Studia Biblica*, vol. iii.

² It is allowed by all Syriac scholars that some of the oldest of the extant MSS. of the Peshitto N. T. are not later than the fifth century, and were perhaps written about a hundred years after the death of Ephraim, which took place in 373. A recent examination of the most ancient Syriac MS. in the Bodleian Library, a Tetraevangelium, has led to the conclusion that it is much older than has hitherto been supposed, and rivals in antiquity all, except a few, of the oldest copies. See a note by the present writer on 'The Age of Dawkins 3' in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1902.

³ In a paper published in *Studia Biblica*, vol. i; see pp. 168, 169.

⁴ On the disuse of this work in the Syrian Church see p. 232 (2) below.

is exposed to the obvious objection that the use of the *Diatessaron* does not preclude the existence of Separate Gospels. He even admits the use of the Peshitto in eight out of his forty-eight selected examples. * But Mr. Burkitt's theory derives support from the phenomena presented by those few quotations which have been traced in other extant remains of the Syriac literature before the fifth century. It is not disputed that they bear a greater resemblance to Curetonian, or Lewis, readings, as the case may be, than to the Peshitto Text. But from the fifth century and onwards the Peshitto held undisputed possession of the field in the usage of the Syrius. A theory of its origin is demanded, and Mr. Burkitt considers the action taken by Bishop Rabbula affords sufficient explanation of the rise of the great version¹.

¹ Burkitt, op. cit., p. 57; see also p. 232, n. 1, below.

IV.

1. Our inquiry presents two problems which are related, but yet distinct: (1) the antiquity of the Peshitto, (2) its place amongst the witnesses to the Greek Text of the New Testament. Mere antiquity is not the hall-mark of value. A version might have been made at the beginning of the second century from a Greek copy, which was inaccurate, or imperfect, or had even been wilfully vitiated. Such a work, in spite of its antiquity, could not outweigh the evidence of much later Greek copies, which would attest the text of their archetypes, though themselves separated from them by a long interval. The origin and history of the Peshitto Version of the New Testament is an interesting literary problem, and, of course, the date of the version, if it could be ascertained, would be an important element in determining its value; but the date is not the only consideration. We still have to take account of the Greek MSS. on which it was based, of the authority by which it was promulgated, of the estimate in which it has been held by the Church, in her character as the Keeper of Holy Writ.

2. We claim to have shown in the preceding pages of this *Studium* that the Peshitto bears an independent witness to the Greek Text of the Holy Gospels. It exhibits, as we have seen, readings which are almost peculiar to itself. It not unfrequently sides with the text of codex B. It more often supports the readings of the Traditional Text; but language has been used about it, which implies a far closer relation to the latter Text than our observations confirm. The Peshitto is supposed to be its main support, and has been called its 'sheet-anchor.' So when Mr. Burkitt's investigations seemed to result in depreciation of its authority, the paean of victory

was raised¹. It was confidently asserted by those who disparage the Traditional Text, that the cause of their opponents had suffered shipwreck and was hopelessly lost. But the school, in which I have for many years been a scholar, has never considered the Peshitto the sheet-anchor of our position. I have yet to learn that Scrivener or Burgon ever set such an extravagant value on the Peshitto, although, as we allow, they held the evidence of that Version in very high esteem. The epithet 'sheet-anchor' was invented in the opposite camp, perhaps by Dr. Sanday². It was first used in my hearing by him in his speech at the Debate on New Testament Criticism, held in New College five years ago³. Those who spoke on the other side were careful to insist on the necessity of weighing all the evidence. Their language is opposed to any intention of making some single part the sole support of the whole⁴. We admit that Burgon and Miller held the Peshitto Version in very high esteem, but we are sure that their estimate would have been modified in deference to any certain conclusions derived from accurate study of the history of that Version. But even in the extravagant supposition that the Peshitto was the worthless rendering of a falsified Greek codex, palmed off upon good Bishop Rabbula by a crafty monk of Antioch; even if thus the Peshitto had to be expunged from our Apparatus Criticus, the critical position of the late Dean Burgon would be unchanged. He would still have said, 'I base my text on the evidence of all the available and credible and creditable witnesses⁵.'

¹ A note of triumph sounds all through Mr. Rendel Harris' review in *L. Q. R.* and reaches *fortissimo* in the last paragraph.

² Mr. Burkitt, in a letter to the *Record* dated Feb. 24 last, says, 'The statement that the Peshitta New Testament was the "sheet-anchor" of the defenders of the *Textus Receptus* represented my own deliberate opinion.' Allowing that for *Textus Receptus* must be substituted *Traditional Text*, as we have already explained, yet the statement shows an entire misapprehension of our position. Our primary witnesses are the MSS. Versions and Fathers, however valuable, are only subsidiary, not essential, supporters.

³ *The Oxford Debate on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, with a Preface explanatory of the Rival Systems*, 1897.

⁴ See Miller's introductory speech, *Debate*, pp. 4 and 16, and compare my own remarks, p. 30.

⁵ Thus in substance he expressed himself repeatedly. See, for example, *Revision Revised*, pp. 338, 339.

V.

We will see how the evidence for the Traditional Text would be affected by the omission of the testimony of the Peshitto. To avoid the slightest suspicion of partiality, we will again avail ourselves of the presentment of evidence given by our opponent, Dr. Sanday, in the Oxford New Testament, and if from the readings, which begin on p. 102, we take always that which stands at the top of each page, we shall clear our selection from any appearance of design. We ask the reader to note that here is no question to which side the evidence belongs, as when discussion arises on the reading of a copy, or the text which underlies a passage in a version. The evidence of the Peshitto has already been allowed to our side by Dr. Sanday. We simply inquire what difference it will make in the verdict if we direct this witness to stand down.

1. Matt. i. 25 τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν πρωτότοκον: or, υἱὸν only. We will quote Burgon's own words¹. 'Only **NBZ** and two cursive copies can be produced for the omission. . . . Besides the Vulgate, the Peschito and Philoxenian Syriac, the Aethiopic, Armenian, Georgian, and Slavonian Versions, a whole torrent of Fathers are at hand to vouch for the genuineness of the epithet. . . . And how is it possible that two copies of the ivth century (**B**) and one of the vith (**Z**) . . . backed by a few copies of the Old Latin, should be supposed to be any counterpoise at all for such an array of first-rate contemporary evidence as the foregoing' (namely, the Fathers, whom he quotes by name)? It is clear that the subtraction of the more important Syriac Version, though it would affect the evidence, would not change the Dean's decision, for that is based on the consentient testimony of the bulk of MSS. and Fathers; nor, on our principles, can the verdict be different, even though we add to the Dean's statement, that the Curetonian and the Memphitic-Thebaic side here with **B** and **Σ**.

¹ *The Revision Revised*, p. 123.

2. Matt. v. 44 ἐπηρεάζοντων ὑμᾶς καί. These words are omitted by \aleph B and some other authorities. The scale is not turned, if we withdraw the Peshitto from the mass of evidence by which the words are supported.

3. Matt. vii. 14. ὅτι is the reading of \aleph^*B^* and some other authorities, τί of such a mass of authorities, that the omission of the Peshitto, which supports it, can make no possible difference in the result.

4. Matt. xi. 19. ἔργων, the reading of \aleph and B^* , is here supported by the Peshitto, in spite of which we accept the Traditional reading τέκνων, which is found in nearly all copies.

We pass the reading at the top of the next page (106), because the Peshitto is not there cited, nor is its evidence available with certainty. Some other readings will be passed over for the same cause. We take next:—

5. Matt. xix. 9 καὶ ὁ ἀπολελυμένην γαμήσας μοιχᾶται. Burgon wrote¹:—‘Those thirty-one letters probably formed three lines in the oldest copies of all. Hence they are observed to exist in the Syriac (Peshitto, Harkleian and Jerusalem), the Vulgate, some copies of the Old Latin, the Armenian, and the Ethiopic, besides at least seventeen uncials (including B Φ Σ), and the vast majority of the cursives.’ It is obvious that the omission of the Peshitto from such a formidable list would not affect the Dean’s decision.

The addition in Matt. xx. 28 (p. 109) and the omission in xxii. 44 (p. 110), with some other variations on subsequent pages, do not enter into the present discussion. The next is:—

6. Matt. xxvi. 28. καὶ ἡς, which Westcott and Hort, bound by their allegiance to codex B, omit, is attested by such a multitude of witnesses, that the further evidence of the Peshitto is superfluous, though gratifying.

7. Mark v. 1. Γερασσηνῶν \aleph^*BD and the Latin, Γαδαρηνῶν A and the majority, with the Peshitto. Here the evidence of the Peshitto is of more consequence than in some of the instances already considered; but even without it, Γαδαρηνῶν enjoys the support of the mass of witnesses.

8. Mark ix. 23. With or without the Peshitto, πιστεῦσαι will be read by those who accept the testimony of the majority of witnesses.

9. Mark xi. 3. ‘Traces of πάλιν linger on only in those untrustworthy witnesses $\aleph B C D L \Delta$, and about twice as many

¹ *The Causes of the Corruption of the Traditional Text of the Holy Gospels*, Burgon and Miller, 1896, p. 40.

cursive copies,' Burgon¹. After this it matters little that the Peshitto here sides with the majority against B.

10. Mark xv. 28. The omission of this verse in 'a very few ancient authorities' was brought about 'by the influence of the Lectionary practice,' according to Burgon's explanation in *Causes of Corruption of Text*, pp. 75-8.

11. Luke iv. 18. It has been said that the words *ἰάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένους τὴν καρδίαν* are open to suspicion as being a genuine portion of the Old Testament Text, but not also of the New². We accept them, however, on the authority of the mass of copies, with, or without, the Peshitto.

12.* Luke vi. 48. The gloss *διὰ τὸ καλῶς οἰκοδομῆσθαι αὐτήν*, exhibited by *AB* and a few others as the genuine text, cannot be accepted in place of the familiar words against the evidence of the great majority, whether we include the witness of the Peshitto or not.

13. Luke x. 1. *ἑβδομήκοντα* *NA*, &c.; B and a few authorities add *δύο*. The Peshitto for the former reading is a counterpoise to the Curetonian and Lewis for the latter, but its absence would not turn the scale against the weighty evidence of the mass of MSS.

14. Luke xi. 4. The witness of the Latin for the clause *ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ* is divided, but it is found in the Curetonian, though not in the Lewis, and even without the 'sheet-anchor' of the Peshitto, is secured by overwhelming weight of diplomatic evidence. Only a slavish adherence to *N* and B could induce editors to omit it.

15. Luke xvi. 12. *ἡμέτερον* cannot be read on the authority of B and L, with some slight further attestation, when *ὑμέτερον* is attested by a host of witnesses, irrespective of the Peshitto.

16. Luke xxiii. 15. (1) *ἀνέπεμψα γὰρ ὑμᾶς πρὸς αὐτόν*, or (2) *ἀνέπεμψε γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς*. Seven uncials (including *N* and B and some cursives) are quoted for the latter reading, which is necessarily adopted by those editors who follow *N* and B. The former reading is that of the majority of MSS. and of the Latin, and receives some support from the reading *for I sent him to him*, which is found in the Curetonian, the Lewis, and the Peshitto. The additional testimony of the latter confirms the authority of reading (1), but we do not deem the evidence essential to our decision.

¹ *The Revision Revised*, p. 57 bot.

² See Scrivener's *Plain Introduction* (ed. Miller), i. p. 13.

17. Luke xxiii. 45. καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος receives almost unanimous support. Those who prefer τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλείποντος have (says Burgon¹) 'but a single Version—not a single Father—and but three-and-a-half Evangelia to appeal to, out of perhaps three hundred and fifty times that number.' Such a weight of evidence for the traditional reading is hardly affected by the fact that the Peshitto sides with it. In such a case its testimony is immaterial.

18. Luke xxiv. 42. The omission or retention of the words καὶ ἀπὸ μελισσίου κηρίου is the subject of a Dissertation of twelve pages by Dean Burgon, and forms Appendix I of *The Traditional Text*. It will be seen by reference to the summary of evidence on pp. 250, 251, that the testimony of the Peshitto, though included, is not essential to the writer's decision.

It would consume space without necessity, and tire the patience of the reader, if we were to add other examples. These eighteen, taken almost at random from three Gospels, are enough to illustrate our position. So great is the wealth of attestation to the Traditional Text of the New Testament, that the evidence of a Version or a Father can, *argumenti causa*, be laid aside. No 'sheet-anchor' is required where there is no fear of drifting. The loss of codex B would be fatal to the stability of the structure raised by more than one critical editor. Without the Old Latin the advocates of Western readings would lack an indispensable witness. As the discovery of \aleph afforded a support to the text of B, so the presence or absence of the Peshitto may affect the evidence which we accept, but would not turn the scale so as to disturb our estimate of the whole text. I do not deny the possibility of our judgement being altered as to some particular and isolated readings; but in the vast majority of cases the verdict depends on the different principles adopted by the rival schools in sifting the evidence, and not on the attestation of an individual witness. Formerly it was lawful to take our stand on the acknowledged antiquity of the Peshitto. It was impossible indeed to prove, but neither was it possible to disprove, that the version dated from the third or second century, the

¹ *The Revision Revised*, p. 64.

latter being the era assigned to it by many competent scholars. Now Ephraim and Rabbula have been summoned to intercept the connexion with such great antiquity. But New Testament critics cannot wait, and delay the settlement of the Greek Text, while experts are arguing about the date of a Version. We are bold to sweep the difficulty aside, and dispense with the evidence of the Peshitto. We do not admit that its evidence is of no value. We insist that even on the hypothesis of our opponents, it is adjudged to be a witness of ancient readings, while it is most assuredly an independent witness. Yet, in spite of its value, we can afford to do without it, so abundant is the evidence which the Providence of God has provided for the establishment of the Text of His Word.

For the evidence for the true text of the New Testament is not the witness of the venerable codex B, taken alone; nor the reconstruction effected by the labours of Drs. Westcott and Hort¹; nor the independent testimony of 'Western' documents²; nor the occasional consent of a few very ancient copies, which are frequently at variance in their witness; but the sufficient evidence is the testimony of the Catholic Church, as shown in the form of text which she has handed down to us. In saying this we do not mean that one unvarying form has been current in all places and at all times. There have been corrupt as well as correct copies. Some Versions were made from better MSS. of the original than others were. Some of the Fathers were more critical than others, and sought out the best readings, while others quoted with little regard to accuracy. There is therefore not only room, but an imperative demand for the exercise of the most search-

¹ Although Westcott and Hort assigned to codex B a position of paramount importance, they sometimes rejected its evidence (which usually they accepted unhesitatingly) in a way which certainly savours of arbitrariness. An example is Matt. vi. 22, where, with the majority, they read *ἐστὶν ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς*; but B (with some support) adds *σου*, which Lachmann adopted. Compare the strictures in *Revision Revised*, p. 307.

² For this form of Text see *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (Kenyon), chap. viii, § 4, Salmon, op. cit., chap. vi; *Oxford Debate*, Pref., p. ix.

ing criticism in dealing with the readings of Holy Scripture. 'It is the study,' said Burgon, 'of a lifetime.' Codex B, as interpreted by Dr. Hort, is evidence enough for some. Those who are not satisfied with the witness of one MS., and the explanations of one clever mind, desire judiciously to sift all the evidence. To them the Peshitto is a most important witness, because it is independent, and speaks from out of a remote past; but it is not the 'sheet-anchor' of their textual faith. They rest on the collective wisdom of the Church, not on the opinions of a part only. In arguing for the antiquity of the Traditional Text, Miller has said¹ that it is *confirmed* by the witness of the Peshitto. He does not say *proved*, nor does he claim the witness as *necessary* for the argument. If the witness has not all the evidence to give, with which he was credited, Miller's argument may be modified, but his conclusion is not disproved. Mr. Burkitt's contention does not remove the Peshitto. We still need it, though not in the pressing and imperative sense, which has been supposed. We shall continue to appeal to it, even if the conditions of the problem are somewhat changed.

¹ See the Preface to *Oxford Debate*, p. xiv.

VI.

In the uncertainty which enwraps the origin of the Peshitto conjecture has special attractions, but on the present occasion I shall content myself with the humbler, but not, I think, unprofitable task of inviting the reader to consider certain aspects of conjectures which have been made to serve for history in a region of mist and obscurity.

1. It was recognized that there was ample evidence to witness to the spread of the Gospel in Syria at a very early period in the Christian era, in view of which it was not unreasonable to conjecture that the Holy Scriptures were translated into the Syriac vernacular even as early as the second century A.D.¹ The Peshitto Version occupied the field, and was by tradition credited with being the ancient and original Syriac Bible, of which some later versions were revisions.

2. Comparison with the history of the Latin Versions next suggested the conjecture that the Peshitto was evolved from some earlier version. This conjecture had the advantage of offering an account—though not an adequate and satisfactory one—of the relation of the Peshitto Text to another Syriac Text (the Curetonian) which, meanwhile, had been brought to England from Egypt². It had also the effect of greatly reducing the antiquity of the Peshitto.

3. When it was discovered that writers anterior to the episcopate of Rabbula³ did not always and accurately quote from the Peshitto, while writers of subsequent ages were evidently familiar with the Peshitto Text, and used it as their

¹ See Burkitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-13; Miller's *Scrivener*, vol. ii. chap. ii.

² Mr. Rendel Harris, however, has justly insisted on 'the fallacy of reasoning in textual matters from analogy.' *L. Q. R.*, pp. 103, 104.

³ He was Bishop of Edessa from 411 to 435. See article by E. Venables in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, and Wright's *Syriac Literature*, pp. 32-38.

On the other hand the conjecture is unsatisfactory in that it leaves unexplained the following facts:—

2. The loss of the Older Text. If it be granted that the Curetonian and the Lewis are Pre-Peshitto copies, it must be allowed that their divergences one from another are so great that at the best they only contain some Old Syriac Text²; and they are only two in number against the multitude of Peshitto copies. To attempt to account for their differences does not come within the scope of this essay, and in our present knowledge would probably be futile. On the other hand, the fact that they are connected by the application to both of the term *Mepharreshe* may be significant. It is not unreasonable to suppose that they represent first attempts to carry out the order of Rabbula, that copies of the Separated

² See p. 236 n. below.

(*Mepharreshe*) Gospels were to be substituted for the *Diatessaron*, which hitherto had been much in use ¹.

3. Quite as remarkable as the loss of the Old Syriac Text was the rapidity with which (on Mr. Burkitt's hypothesis) the new Peshitto Text sprang into favour. As far as we can judge from the evidence of Peshitto MSS. now extant, the old Text was entirely neglected, and copies of the new were multiplied without admixture of Old Syriac elements.

If however these various difficulties present so little force to some minds that no hesitation is felt in accepting Mr. Burkitt's conjecture, then it should be noted that certain consequences will follow, and necessarily, from the hypothesis.

1. The origin of the Peshitto Text is traced to a very early date in the history of the authorities for the Text of the New Testament. Rabbula's episcopate lasted from A.D. 411-435. Within that period *ex hypothesi* the Peshitto was produced. It is therefore as old as any of the oldest MSS. of the Greek Testament, with the exception of α and B.

2. Rabbula translated afresh, where necessary, from the original. Therefore he had access to Greek documents. It is obvious that an ecclesiastic in his position, who was approaching the formidable task of a revision of the Text of the New Testament in use in his country, would employ the most accurate documents which he could obtain ². If he was not satisfied with those which were accessible in his own country, he could send to Alexandria or to Constantinople for better copies ³. We know nothing, and my reader is free to

¹ See *The Traditional Text*, chap. vi, 'Witness of the Early Syriac Versions.' Prebendary Miller favoured the hypothesis that in various parts of Christendom incorrect readings and extraneous glosses were handed down beside the streams of genuine traditional text and authorized translation, and that this erroneous matter was gradually rejected, and now only survives in certain documents or classes of documents. Compare the Dialogue with an Objector in *Revision Revised*, pp. 320-328.

² Dr. Salmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 84, 85, recognizes that the Syrian reviser 'had one important advantage over us in his better knowledge of the current text of the fourth century.' This is indeed true; but such considerations are too much neglected by those who would set the arm-chair conjecture of the modern student above the testimony of contemporaneous witnesses.

³ He had friends in both cities, for he corresponded with Cyril and preached at Constantinople. See Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 48, 49.

adopt any conjecture he pleases; but this he must grant, that Rabbula's Greek MSS. exhibited a Text which is not identical with what is read in codex A, or in any other codex in our *Apparatus Criticus*. This we have already demonstrated, from the broad features of the Canon down to the minutiae of trifling variations. The *readings* (as distinguished from *renderings*) which are peculiar to the Peshitto, may with propriety be called 'Syrian Readings,' because they depend on the Greek readings, which were accepted by the great Syrian Bishop, whether he used imported MSS. or copies preserved in Syrian Libraries. They are not, however, identical, as we have seen, with the 'Syriac Readings' condemned by Drs. Westcott and Hort, and they often agree with the readings of codex B, the great authority of the Cambridge Doctors. As regards their age, it would be no unreasonable supposition that Rabbula used copies made a century or so before his time, copies as old as, or older than, A and B. Even if he used copies made in his own day, to his own order, these would represent more ancient documents. On any hypothesis, Rabbula's Peshitto represents the readings of Greek codices of great antiquity, and independent alike of the oldest uncials and the latest cursives¹.

This aspect of the question was enforced by Dr. Waller in a correspondence between Mr. Burkitt and himself, which appeared in the *Record* newspaper in the early months of the year 1902. Mr. Burkitt retorted that it was 'a new plea.' It is not so. Our plea is one and the same always. We plead the judgement of the universal Church. In an inquiry such as this, which is partly literary, partly historical, partly theological, fresh discoveries affect different portions of the evidence. When the readings of the codex Rossanensis were made known, Dr. Sanday described it as 'lending its support decidedly to the defenders of the Traditional Text².' At an

¹ I would also refer the reader to what I have written before in *Studia Biblica*, vol. ii. pp. 265, 266.

² *Studia Biblica*, vol. i. The Text of the codex Rossanensis (Σ), p. 112.

earlier date the discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus strengthened the position of those who base their text on a few ancient documents. But, though the presentment of the evidence may be modified, the rival schools of criticism remain in hopeless antagonism, because they differ on first principles.

3. The Peshitto has long enjoyed the authority belonging to common use and general acceptance in an ancient branch of the Catholic Church, and thus occupies a superior position as compared with the two other forms of Text, the Curetonian and the Lewis. These have no history, and can claim no authority beyond the antiquity imparted to some of their readings by the resemblance they bear to quotations in early Syriac writers. The two Texts are contradictory on the supreme question of our Lord's human nature, and the Lewis is heretical in some of its statements¹. But the Peshitto enters the witness-box to testify to the Text of the New Testament with the weight of accepted credibility. Its Text has been handed down to us as that which the Syriac Church has received as authentic. It represents a stage in the process of eliminating ancient textual errors—for it is well known that some of the worst were perpetrated in the earliest ages²—and preserving the genuine readings. I venture to remind my readers that my argument has always been, 'We know that the Peshitto is ancient, but we know nothing, indisputable and adequate, about any earlier version. We do not deny³ that such may have existed, but we contend that it certainly was neither the Lewis nor the Curetonian, in their present forms.' 'No one,' says Mr. Burkitt⁴, 'supposes that S. Jerome used either of the particular MSS. which we call *a* and *b* as the basis of his revision.' Perhaps not. But the epithet 'Old Syriac' was constantly prefixed to a reading copied from the Curetonian, or is nowadays prefixed to one

¹ See *Church Quarterly Review*, April, 1895, pp. 112-114.

² See *Causes of Corruption in the Traditional Text* (Burgon and Miller), pp. 12, 13; Miller's *Scribener*, II, chap. ix, §§ 2, 3.

³ Cp. my words in *Studia Biblica*, i. p. 172; ii. pp. 89, 90.

⁴ *S. Ephraim's Quotations*, p. vii.

taken from the Lewis, as though 'Curetonian,' 'Lewis,' and 'Old Syriac' were equivalent terms; a very inaccurate mode of expression, in view of the hopeless differences between the Curetonian and Lewis Texts¹.

If Mr. Burkitt is right in ascribing the present form of the Peshitto New Testament to the pen of Rabbula, he has (I fear, unintentionally) greatly enhanced its weight, by giving it a definite history, a distinguished origin, and the shelter of an authoritative authorship. He reminds me that I appealed unto Caesar, and he thinks the appeal will result in a decision to the condemnation of our cause. As far as judgement has yet been pronounced, we have nothing to complain of. The path I indicated, when followed up, has led to a satisfactory result. The unknown author of the Peshitto has been found in the person of a distinguished churchman, who revised an ancient work by Greek MSS. which have no representatives now extant, and thus has transmitted to us an independent witness to the Greek Text of the New Testament. We wait with curiosity to see whether further research will establish the truth of Mr. Burkitt's hypothesis, or whether it will fail to bear the weight of the difficulties which attend the adoption of it. Meanwhile we note an interesting resemblance between the work of Mr. Burkitt and of Drs. Westcott and Hort. *They* (albeit unwittingly) established the antiquity of the Textus Receptus of the Greek. *He* has confirmed the authority of the Textus Receptus of the Syriac.

¹ Mr. Burkitt (*ibid.*) recognizes the divergence between these forms of Syriac Text. I add the words of an eminent and well-known Orientalist, whose name I do not mention, as I quote from a private letter. After speaking of the peculiar interest attaching to the new edition of the *Tetraevangelium*, because of the possible connexion of Rabbula with the Peshitto, he says, 'Allerdings wäre es viel wichtiger, wenn wir die *alte* Uebersetzung in ihrer ursprünglichen Gestalt hätten.' But this he explains is unattainable, on account of 'die grossen Abweichungen des Sinaiticus von Curetonianus.'

ADDENDUM

THE death of Prebendary Miller has delayed, but, we hope, will not put a stop to, the publication of Burgon's Text. The portion, however, of the *Textual Commentary* already printed affords good examples of the changes which Burgon considered were demanded by the evidence. Instances will be found in every chapter. As interesting specimens we may quote:—Matthew ii. 11, *Textual Commentary* (Miller), p. 8. Here Textus Receptus reads *ἐδρον τὸ παιδίον*, but Burgon with Westcott and Hort and the Revisers reads *εἶδον τ. π.* iii. 8, p. 12; T. R. *καρποὺς ἀξίους*, Burgon, W. H., Revisers, *καρπὸν ἀξίον*. iv. 10, p. 18; Burgon, *ὀπίσω μου*, which T. R., W. H., and Revisers omit. v. 21, p. 26; T. R. and W. H. *ἐρρήθη*, Burgon with Lachmann and cod. B, *ἐρρήθη*. v. 47, p. 38; T. R., W. H., Revisers, *ἀδελφούς*, Burgon, *φίλους*. vi. 18, p. 46; T. R. at the end of the verse adds *ἐν τῷ φανερώ*, Burgon and W. H. omit with B. vii. 14, p. 55; *τί στενὴ ἡ π.*, Burgon and Revisers' margin; *ὅτι σ. ἡ π.*, T. R., W. H., Revisers' Text. viii. 15, p. 60; *διηκόνει αὐτοῖς*, T. R.; *διη. αὐτῷ*, Burgon, W. H., Revisers. The reader may be surprised to discover that Burgon frequently accepted the readings of Westcott and Hort. In these cases those editors are supported by the majority of the Greek MSS. and by the Fathers.

BAPTISM AND CHRISTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

CHAPTER I

THE AGES OF PERSECUTION

Scope of the inquiry undertaken.

It is the object of this essay to examine the evidence from archaeology as to the custom of the early Church, while only such references to literature will be made as may serve for the purpose of illustration. The first three chapters will deal with the positive side of the question, by considering the actual representations of the rite that have been preserved, while in the last two the negative evidence will be examined, by studying such fonts as have survived from early days, with a view to determine whether their structure was such as would admit of the submersion of a catechumen.

Direct evidence as to the custom of the Ante-Nicene Church is confined to the paintings of the catacombs of Rome. They are by far the most important witness that has survived, for they have been preserved where stuffs have perished, household articles broken, even inscriptions and marbles destroyed. They were hidden from public gaze; and so the expression of Christian sentiment and representation of Church custom could be freely painted, and moreover after the Lombard invasions of the seventh and eighth centuries, when the bodies of the saints were removed within the walls of the city, they became entirely neglected, so that their frescoes escaped the fate of so many ancient monuments that were destroyed in later building and restoration.

In representations of baptism there is sometimes a considerable difference of opinion as to whether that of Christ is

pictured or that of a catechumen. For our purpose it is a matter indifferent, for though the doctrinal significance of S. John's baptism was entirely distinct, there is no reason to suppose that it was conceived of as varying in method.

It is generally assumed that the usual custom of the early Church was to baptize by total immersion, and though the reasons for supposing that affusion may have been practised even by the Apostles have often been set out and may be found in any special treatise on the subject, it is generally taken for granted that it was only in exceptional cases that the latter method was adopted.

This assumption is based mainly on the evidence supplied by literature. No doubt the works which have survived to the present day represent what was best in the thought of the early Church and so most worth preserving, and we do well in giving them the first place in our consideration, since it is always more profitable to study what is typical of any age, even if the average stood at a lower level; but we must not forget that the writings of the Fathers, as giving the best work of the leaders of the Church, tend to depict the ideal in their minds rather than to chronicle the actual that lay before their eyes.

The average of Christian sense and practice is best discovered by studying the way it worked itself out in liturgies and in the recognized devotions of the people, but even the Church orders will reveal to us what was aimed at rather than what was attained. To find out what was actually done by the mass of Christians we must turn to the evidence of archaeology, for which the data are drawn so largely from cemeteries and other regions where the popular will has always had freest scope.

So, were a stranger to examine our customs to-day, he would find frequent allusions in sermons to the symbolism of baptism which would seem to assume the practice of total immersion; on turning to the Prayer Book he would suppose it to be the custom, and affusion to be permitted occasionally, but an examination of the fonts in our churches would prove submersion always impossible for adults and nearly for infants.

Ex. 1. Fresco in the Crypt of Lucina. c. 100 A.D.

The earliest representation is that painted over the door of one of the chambers of what was probably the original crypt of Lucina on the Appian way (Fig. 1). It now forms part of the catacomb of S. Callistus and dates from the first or early second century¹.

The scene is that of the baptism of Christ. The Baptist, clothed in an exomis, stands on the right; he stoops forward and holds out his right hand to a nude figure moving towards him as if to come out of the water. The dove flying towards the right is seen above the figure of the Saviour.



Fig. 1.

The fresco is .61 m. high and .4 broad. A copy was made by an artist named Dickmann under the supervision of Mgr. Wilpert in 1884; since that time it has considerably faded. The tongue of land on which the Baptist stands in the reproduction in De Rossi, as well as the water-line, do not appear in the original. Wilpert noticed that the traces of colour were more blue under the figure of the Baptist and of a greener shade beneath that of the Saviour. The olive branch indicated in the beak of the dove in De Rossi is emphasized in Garrucci, whose picture is that most frequently reproduced, but seems to have been inserted in his copy from some confusion with the left wing of the bird.

From the relative position of the figures the water could not have been pictured as rising higher than the knees of the

¹ *Römische Quartalschrift* (in future *R. Q. S.*), 1896, p. 335: 'Die Taufe Christi auf vorconstantinischen Gemälden der Katacomben,' von A. de Waal.—De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, vol. i, p. 324, tav. 14, Rome, 1864.—Garrucci, *P. R., Storia dell' arte cristiana*, vol. i, p. 203; vol. ii, tav. i, Prato, 1873.—Schultze, V., *Archäologie der christlichen Kunst*, p. 365, München, 1895.

Saviour, as the Baptist seems to have been represented as standing on dry ground.

The painting has been explained as symbolical of deliverance from persecution (Garr., vol. i, p. 203) and as the saving of S. Peter (Martigny, *Dict.*² art. Pierre). V. Schultze interprets it as the baptism of a catechumen on the ground that our Lord would not have been represented naked in pre-Constantinian times. Against this opinion see Dr. J. Strzygowski, *Iconographie der Taufe Christi*, p. 3, München, 1885, and the fresco in the cemetery of SS. Petrus and Marcellinus described below.

*Ex. 2. Fresco in the Gallery of the Sacraments
in S. Callistus. c. 200.*

The so-called gallery of the sacraments in the cemetery of S. Callistus dates from the second or early part of the third century. The sacrament of baptism is represented in the two oldest cubicula.

In the first, A², the baptizer stands on dry ground to the left of the picture (Fig. 2). He is clothed in a white toga, and his feet are bare. He lays his right hand on the head of the catechumen, and in his left holds an object generally considered to be a scroll.



Fig. 2.

The catechumen is represented as a boy, nude, holding his hands straight down and inclining a little to the left

towards the baptizer. The water rises to the ankles.

The fresco is between two loculi; above the upper one is a shipwreck, and in the corresponding place on the wall to the left is Moses striking the rock and a man fishing in the water which flows from it¹.

¹ De Waal, *R. Q. S.* 1896, p. 344.—De Rossi, vol. ii, tav. 11 and 15, cc. 12 and 13.—Garr., vol. ii, tav. 5, 3.

*Ex. 3. Fresco in the Gallery of the Sacraments
in S. Callistus. c. 200.*

In the other cubiculum, A³, the baptizer stands on the right side with bare feet and a cloth round his loins (Fig. 3). The catechumen is again represented as a boy, nude, holding his hands down and slightly turning his face away. Both are standing in the water, and the baptizer is in the act of pouring water over his head. The falling water is represented by six large strokes of dark blue paint. The dove behind the right-hand figure flies towards the group.



Fig. 3.

Above is represented Jonah being cast out of the ship and swallowed by the whale, to the left is a man fishing, to the right a man carrying his bed, generally described as the paralytic (Mark ii. 12), but more probably intended for the sick man of Bethesda (John v. 9). The symbolism of the whole leaves no doubt that a scene of baptism is represented, while the absence of the dove in the first example suggests that it is perhaps a catechumen rather than our Saviour that we have before us¹.

In the reproduction in De Rossi the strokes indicating the water are too finely drawn, and the water-line is represented as passing behind the knees and leaving the baptizer's feet dry as well as those of the baptized down to the ankles, below which he shows the picture as destroyed. Garrucci and others copy him. The water should cover the ankles, allowing the feet to show through the water. The dove is omitted in De Rossi and Garr., but is given in the *R. Q. S.* The picture in the latter is

¹ De Waal, *R. Q. S.* 1896, p. 344.—De Rossi, vol. ii, tav. 13 and 16, cc. 12 and 13.—Garr., vol. ii, tav. 7, 2.

reproduced by photography from a painting and does not show the blue strokes of water.

Ex. 4. Fresco in the Cemetery of SS. Petrus and Marcellinus. c. 250.

Another representation occurs in the roof of cubiculum 54 in the cemetery of SS. Petrus and Marcellinus (Bosio's numbering), and dates from the middle of the third century



Fig. 4.

(Fig. 4). The Baptist is represented on the left standing on dry ground with his left foot raised on a stone, leaning a little forward and laying his right hand on the head of Christ. He wears a cloak or skin reaching to the knees and leaving the right shoulder and arm free. The Saviour is represented as a nude boy,

standing in the water, and His arms raised as in prayer. Above in the clouds is the dove flying downwards.

The dove, taken with the fact that the three corresponding scenes represent the Magi following the star, the Adoration, and (?) the Annunciation, leaves no doubt as to the subject and forms a link to Ex. 1 in the crypt of Lucina, where the baptism of Christ is represented, and Exx. 2 and 3 where the person baptized is a boy¹.

It is interesting to note that the newly baptized were commonly called *pueri* or *infantes* (cf. Le Blant, *Étude sur les sarcophages chrétiens antiques de la ville d'Arles*, p. 27). The custom of giving them a mixture of milk and honey mentioned by Tertullian (*De Cor.* 3, *Adv. Marc.* i, 14: 'Ille [Dominus] . . . nec aquam reprobavit creatoris, qua suos abluit, nec oleum,

¹ Wilpert, J., *Ein Cyclus christologischer Gemälde aus der Katacombe der heiligen Petrus und Marcellinus*, Freiburg im B., 1891.

quo suos unguīt, nec mellis et lactis societatem, qua suos infantat') is enjoined in the *Canons of Hippolytus*, ch. 19, § 144, as teaching them that they have become as little children, 'ut doceant eos qui communicant iterum se natos esse ut parvuli, quia parvuli communicant lac et mel.' In § 148 however the custom is regarded as a symbol of the future life in the promised land, the waters of baptism corresponding to those of the Jordan, and thus further emphasizing the similarity of the baptism of Christ as conceived in the popular imagination with the administration of the sacrament as men were accustomed to witness it. Later tradition declared that the stone on which the Baptist stood while pouring the water over our Saviour's head was preserved in the church on the banks of the Jordan at the traditional place of Christ's baptism, where it served as the prototype of the bishop's cancellarium usually found in early Christian baptisteries. (Garr., vol. i, p. 368, quoting Epiphanius.)¹

Another example is mentioned by De Waal (*R. Q. S.* 1896, p. 346) as having been discovered by Wilpert in the cemetery of Domitilla but as not having been edited. No description is given, but it is attributed to the same period as the examples above.

Beyond these there are two pictures of doubtful significance, and two with possible but improbable reference to baptism.

*Ex. 5. Fresco in the Cemetery of Praettestatus.
Second century.*

In the cemetery of Praettestatus there is a fresco, dating from the end of the second century, the meaning of which has been much disputed. It represents three beardless figures, clothed in tunic and toga but with bare feet (Fig. 5). That on the right stands with the head slightly turned to the left; the two figures on the left hold long cane-stalks with leaves in their hands; that in the hand of the central figure touches the head of the figure to the right, round whose head are short

¹ *Peregrinatio Silviae*, ed. Gamurrini, ch. 68, p. 98, who quotes Paulinus *Ep. 21 ad Sev.* and the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*.

strokes of paint. To the extreme right is a growing cane on the bend of which is a dove. Near the picture are painted the woman with the issue of blood and the woman of Samaria, giving no clue to the meaning of the scene.

This fresco is usually interpreted as the Passion of Christ, though mainly on the ground that the figures are clothed and so could not represent baptism 'by immersion.' Passion scenes are rare at so early a date, but baptism scenes it is true are hardly less so. The whole is in a peculiar style of painting



Fig. 5 (after Garrucci).

due, according to De Rossi, to the work having been executed by Greek artists.

On the other hand the presence of the dove would seem to indicate baptism; the canes have been interpreted as symbolizing the Jordan; and the second figure may be a disciple witnessing the event, or a representative of the church as in the mosaics in the church of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna in the series depicting our Lord's miracles. The marks round the head, usually explained as representing the crown of thorns, have a parallel in the indications of water in the fresco in the cemetery of S. Callistus (Ex. 3) mentioned above, though here they are much smaller¹.

¹ Garr., vol. i, p. 368, and vol. ii, tav. 39, 1.—De Rossi, *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana*, 1872, p. 64.

Garrucci first explains the fresco as a scene of the Passion; then, after a long discussion, concludes that it represents our Lord's baptism. De Rossi in the *Bullettino* describes it as the mocking of the soldiers, though without discussing the question. F. X. Kraus interprets it as the crowning with thorns, and refers to Le Blant (*Revue de l'art chrétien*, 1894, p. 37) as seeing Docetic influence in it, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, vol. i, p. 161, Freiburg im B., 1896.

*Ex. 6. Symbolical fresco in S. Callistus.
Third century.*

The region of S. Soter in the cemetery of S. Callistus dates from the third century. A fresco painted on the semicircle at the back of an arcosolium in one of its chambers has given it

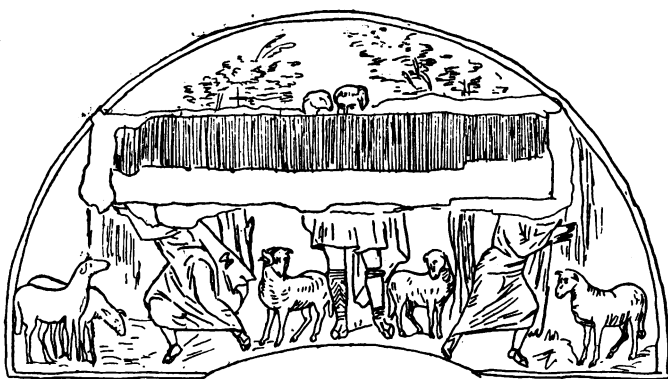


Fig. 6 (after Garrucci).

the name of the chapel of the sheep. A loculus has been cut across the picture since it was painted, but its general features are clear (Fig. 6).

In the centre is the Good Shepherd carrying a sheep on His back and with two at His feet. On either side water is falling and two men are hurrying to it, holding out their hands to drink from it. Below are sheep at each corner, over which the water descends in a shower.

On the wall to the right is represented a beardless Moses

raising his left foot on a stone to loosen his shoe, then a bearded figure striking the rock, while a third hastens toward it holding



Fig. 7 (after Garrucci).

out his hands in the same attitude as the two figures in the central painting (Fig. 7). The painting opposite represents the miracle of the multiplication of the loaves¹.

To understand the significance of this picture we must consider three post-Constantinian representations of baptism.

Ex. 7. Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus. 359.

The sarcophagus of Junius Bassus in the Crypt of S. Peter's dates from the year 359. Its front consists of a double row of scenes from the Old and New Testaments, standing in the recesses of an arcade of carved and twisted pillars. In the spandrels of the lower arcade are small reliefs in which Christ and the Christian disciple are represented as lambs. In the second space from the right He is represented laying His right fore foot on the head of the disciple lamb, while a stream flows over its head from the beak of a dove and the hind quarters of the lamb are covered with a stream that flows down from a rock (Fig. 8).



Fig. 8.

The other reliefs represent:—first, on the right, raising of the dead (much damaged); second, the receiving of the law (?); third, the Lamb multiplying loaves; fourth, the Christ

¹ De Rossi, vol. ii, Tav. d'Aggiunta A, and vol. iii, p. 70, tav. 9.—Garr., vol. ii, tav. 18, 2 and 4.

Lamb striking the rock (while a disciple lamb drinks from the water which flows down in a stream similar to that represented in the Baptism scene); and fifth, the Christ Lamb meeting the disciple lamb in a ship at sea,

The similarity of the cycle with that in the Chapel of the Sacraments in the cemetery of S. Callistus leaves no doubt of the meaning of the relief¹.

The engraving in Garrucci fails to give the water flowing over the hind quarters of the lamb.

Ex. 8. Unpublished drawing of a Sarcophagus.

De Rossi (*Bullettino*, 1876, p. 11) refers to an unpublished drawing of a sarcophagus made by a Flemish archaeologist Philip de Winghe, in which 'the centre of the front is occupied by the mystic lamb, whose feet are in a stream, while on its head and back there flow two streams of water from the dove which descends from heaven.'

The feature of the stream flowing from the dove's mouth reappears in the mosaic representing the Baptism of Christ in the Arian baptistery of Ravenna (S. Maria in Cosmedin). According to Strzygowsky the same feature was in the original in the orthodox baptistery, but was destroyed and remade to represent the water as poured from a vessel in the hand of the Baptist (*Icon. d. Taufe Christi*, p. 10).

Ex. 9. Sarcophagus at Arles. I. Fourth-fifth centuries.

In the third chapel of the museum at Arles is a representation of the Baptism of our Lord on the small end of a sarcophagus of the fourth or fifth century.

The Baptist is represented bearded, standing on the left, clothed in a skin which leaves his right shoulder free (Fig. 9). He lays his right hand on the head of the Saviour and slightly raises the left. The Saviour is represented as a

¹ Garr., vol. v, tav. 322.—*Bull.* 1876, 10-11.—*R. Q. S.* 1896, p. 325.

nude boy with his arms slightly raised and hands held up, and turning towards the water which falls in a mass like a



Fig. 9 (after Garrucci).

stream of water, and on the other half (if the two parts really belong to one another) is represented a figure in tunic and pallium holding a scroll in his hand. The whole is very roughly executed; the water flows over the feet of the

Saviour (the engraving in Garrucci does not give this feature).



Fig. 10 (after Garrucci).

flows down (Fig. 10). On the right side of the water is a Jew in tunic and chlamys running towards it and

holding out his hands to catch it as it falls. In the space corresponding to that occupied by the Baptist is another figure in tunic and chlamys holding up his hand in a similar attitude. Such representations of Moses striking the rock with the water falling in this peculiar way are very common both at Arles and at Rome¹.

With this should be compared the carving on another sarcophagus-end in the same museum.

Ex. 10. Sarcophagus at Arles. II. Fourth or fifth century.

On the left is represented a beardless figure clothed in a toga standing in front of a tree (Fig. 11). In the centre is



Fig. 11 (after Garrucci).

a stream of water flowing straight down from a knob of rock in the form described in the last example. In the middle of the stream directly under the rock stands a nude boy

¹ Garr., vol. v, tav. 351, 5 and 6.—Le Blant, *Sarcoph. d'Arles*, pl. xv. 1.

holding his hands down and turning his face to the right. The water half covers him.

The stone has either been sawn in two down the centre, or is joined to a similar piece on which is represented the stream of water towards which two figures are hastening to drink¹.

The engraving in Garrucci represents the boy as more covered by the water than he is in the original carving.

With these it is interesting to compare a passage in the 'African Acts of S. Perpetua' (J. A. Robinson: *Texts and Studies*, Cambridge, vol. i, p. 29).

In her second vision the saint sees her brother Dinocrates, who had died at the age of seven years and no doubt without having been baptized, trying to get at the water of a font (piscina, κολυμβήθρα) to drink, but is unable to do so as the rim is above his head. In a later vision she sees him cleansed, clothed and refreshed, the rim of the font is lowered to his waist, the normal level, and he drinks water out of a stream that never fails, which she interprets as a sign that he has had the loss of the sacrament on earth made good to him in heaven.

'Erat deinde in ipso loco ubi Dinocrates erat piscina plena aqua, altiore marginem habens quam erat statura pueri, et extendebat se Dinocrates quasi bibiturus. Ego dolebam quod et piscina illa aquam habebat, et tamen propter altitudinem marginis bibiturus non esset. Et experrecta sum et cognovi fratrem meum laborare. Sed fidebam me profuturam labori eius, et orabam pro eo omnibus diebus quousque transivimus in carcerem castrensem, munere enim castrensi eramus pugnaturi; natale tunc Getae Caesaris. Et feci pro illo orationem die et nocte gemens et lacrymans ut mihi donaretur. Die quo in nervo mansimus ostensum est mihi hoc; video locum illum quem retro videram et Dinocratem mundo corpore bene vestitum refrigerantem, et ubi erat vulnus video cicatricem, et piscinam illam quam retro videram, submisso margine ad umbilicum pueri, et aquam de ea trahebat sine

¹ Garr., vol. v, tav. 398, 9.—Le Blant, pl. i. figs. 2 and 3.

cessatione ; et accessit Dinocrates et de ea bibere coepit ; quae fiala non deficiebat, et satiatu accessit de aqua ludere more infantium gaudens et experrecta sum. Tunc intellexi translatum eum esse de poena.' Ch. 7.

From these examples we see the close connexion of idea in all these subjects. In each sarcophagus the representation of Moses striking the rock so frequently associated with the figures hastening to drink is connected with that of baptism ; in the case of Ex. 9 with the baptism of Christ, in Ex. 10 with that of a catechumen, while in Ex. 7 the catechumen, and in Ex. 8 Christ, are each symbolized by a sheep.

In the vision of S. Perpetua we have the same idea of the drinking of the water directly connected with baptism.

This general agreement in the fourth and fifth centuries from France, Spain, and Rome points to a widespread conventional symbolism. Christian sarcophagi do not show much originality in execution, and repeat designs in forms little different from those generally found in the catacombs. These would need some time to become established and to spread throughout the West. This fact, supported by the second-century evidence from Africa, justifies us in holding that the fresco in the chapel of the sheep in S. Callistus (Ex. 6) should be interpreted as a symbolical representation of baptism.

*Exx. 11, 12. Gold treasure from Sinigaglia.
Seventh or eighth century.*

This interpretation is further confirmed by a similar symbolic representation of baptism on a gold treasure found in 1880 near Sinigaglia, and which came into the possession of Cav. C. Rossi. The work is in the Lombard or late Ravennese style, and is possibly as late as the seventh or eighth century, but it carries on the traditional symbolism of the lamb and the fish so frequently found in the catacombs. In one scene a bishop is represented, standing on a mound with two sheep

on each side (Fig. 12). He holds a palm branch in his left hand, and in his right is a jug from which he pours water



Fig. 12.

over one of the sheep. There can be no doubt that this is intended to symbolize baptism as the corresponding picture portrays the Eucharist; and that the sacrament so symbolized was administered by affusion is proved by another scene on the same casket, where a bishop is repre-

sented in his vestments, holding a pastoral staff in his left hand, while he pours water over the head of a kneeling woman out of a spoon or bowl which he holds in his right (Fig. 13)¹.



Fig. 13.

Three doubtful representations.

A fresco in the cemetery of SS. Petrus and Marcellinus is generally interpreted as the healing of the blind, but might possibly refer to baptism.

¹ *R. Q. S.* 1888, p. 148.

It represents a beardless figure clothed in a tunic and chlamys and holding a rod in his left hand, while he lays his right on the head of a boy who is clothed in a short tunic and barefoot. The boy seems to lean back a little and hold his hands in front of him, in which action Garrucci sees an indication of blindness.

The companion picture represents a similar beardless figure striking the rock. The rod in the hand of the principal figure suggests some connexion of idea between the two, and the healing of the blind is generally represented by the touching of the eyes, rather than the laying on of hands ; but the absence of any indication of water makes the reference to baptism very doubtful ¹.

A somewhat similar picture formerly in a cemetery on the Via Latina (Garr. 40, 1) now destroyed, and a picture in the cemetery of S. Domitilla, where a woman lays her hands on the head of a girl (Garr. 33, 3), suggest that we have here merely a scene of benediction.

Another painting in the cemetery of S. Priscilla may possibly represent baptism. A figure to the right lays his hand on the head of another who is clothed in a long white dress. After careful examination this has been pronounced by Mgr. de Waal as a representation of the healing of the blind, but solely on the ground that the figure is clothed ².

Ex. 13. Glass fragment in the Vatican. Fourth or fifth century.

This, however, is no conclusive proof, as is shown by the cut-glass fragment of the fourth or fifth century found in the ruins of the Roman house near the baths of Diocletian, and now in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican Library. On it is a clothed child apparently about to step to the right out of

¹ Garr., vol. ii, tav. 44, 2 and 3.

² *Bull.* 1888, tav. iii.—Hennecke, E., *Altchristliche Malerei und altkirchliche Literatur*, p. 70, Leipzig, 1896.

some vessel or pool which has been broken off (Fig. 14). She turns her head to the left towards a male figure clothed in



Fig. 14 (after Garrucci).

a toga with a halo round his head. He points with the right hand to the child and turns his head to the left, as if others were following from that direction. His name Mirax is given as well as that of the child Alba. Above from an inverted pitcher-mouth a stream

descends on the child's head, the hand of a figure to the right is laid on the head also; the rest is broken off. A dove flies down to the left with an olive branch in its beak¹.

It has been suggested that *alba*=*albata*, and that the child has been clothed in white after the actual baptism (cf. the *con-signatorium alvatorum* built at Naples, below, p. 339). In the absence of further indications, all we can say is that this fresco in the cemetery of S. Priscilla may very well represent baptism, but we have no sufficient proof to justify our using it as evidence.

Summary of evidence for the Ages of Persecution.

To sum up the evidence from archaeology for and against the practice of baptism by immersion in pre-Constantinian times. We have four actual representations of the act, one

¹ Garr., vol. vi, 464, 1.—*Bull.* 1876, tav. 1, 1, pp. 7 ff.

from the first or early second century, two from the late second or early third, one from the middle of the third. We have one certain symbolical representation from the third, one possible one from the second or third. Two that are more than doubtful date from the third.

Of the five certain representations four come from the cemetery of S. Callistus, though only two from the same region, one from that of SS. Petrus and Marcellinus. In favour of immersion is the fact that the figure is represented naked and standing in the water in all examples that certainly refer to baptism (Exx. 1, 2, 3 & 4).

Against is the fact, that in no case is there any attempt to represent immersion, and in two cases the actual affusion is represented, once directly (Ex. 3), and once symbolically (Ex. 6).

In the three cases where the water is clearly marked it only rises above the feet, and is therefore not deep enough to allow of immersion.

In the paintings we have examined there is no sign of influence from liturgical custom, or of desire for historical accuracy. They are less self-conscious than those of later date, and seem to aim simply at representing what was felt to be the essential idea of baptism.

The obvious difficulty of representing immersion must be allowed its full weight. We have no evidence to show how it would have been attempted in pre-Constantinian times, but the frequent representations in the fourth-century sarcophagi of the drowning of the Egyptians suggest a very different treatment. It is interesting also to compare the picture of the Flood in the Vienna Genesis, the passage of the Red Sea on the gates of S. Sabina at Rome (Fig. 15), or that of the figure of the Jordan on the chair of Maximian at Ravenna (Ex. 42, Fig. 39), where the idea of immersion is intended to be expressed.

To conclude, the direct evidence from archaeology alone may not be conclusive to show that in pre-Constantinian times baptism by affusion only was practised generally, or

indeed in any one single case ; but it does show, that there was nothing repugnant in it to the general mind, that no stress was laid on total immersion, that the most important moments were held to be those when water was poured over the catechumen, and when the minister laid his hand on his head. This, taken in connexion with the known customs of later ages, makes it more than probable that the usual method of administration was by affusion only.



Fig. 15 (after Garrucci).

CHAPTER II

THE AGE OF THE COUNCILS

Christian Sarcophagi.

AFTER the conversion of Constantine the Christian community rapidly increased in wealth, and now that persecution had come to an end it was no longer necessary to bury underground in the catacombs, or to conceal the fact when a tomb belonged to one of the adherents of the favoured religion. These two causes combined to make sarcophagi the most characteristic examples of Christian art in the post-Nicene age; for as soon as there was no longer the same reason for buying cheaply from the 'ready-made' pagan shops, or being content with an ambiguous symbolism that would not attract attention from outsiders, an original style grew up that was purely Christian and was only very slightly influenced by the earlier artistic tradition of Rome.

On the other hand the marked similarity to one another in the examples that have survived, and the general low level of workmanship that they display, seem to prove that they were mere productions of journeymen-workers, turned out mechanically from the shop. This, however, while detracting from their artistic merit adds to their archaeological value; the fact that their choice and treatment of subjects are nearly stereotyped shows that they reflect in some degree the general mind of the church, and gives them a quasi-official sanction. We must not, however, press this point too far, as the conventional decoration of our modern cemeteries can hardly be said to represent fairly the average Christian sentiment of our own day.

Most of these sarcophagi are of Roman origin and have been collected in the Museo Cristiano at the Lateran. The next largest collection is that of Arles, while several more examples exist in various parts of Spain, France, and Italy.

Those dating from the second century are very simple, being merely ornamented with figures of the Good Shepherd or the female figure raising her hands in prayer generally known as an Orante. In the third century we find the ideas suggested by the former of these elaborated into pastoral and vintage scenes, a single design occupying as a rule the whole front of the sarcophagus. In the early fourth century this is resolved into a symmetrical disposition of a cycle of scenes usually separated from one another under arcades; while in later examples they are more crowded together and less clearly defined. The examples at Rome date almost entirely from before the troubles of the fifth century, though in France they probably continued to be produced till a somewhat later date. Those preserved at Ravenna are of a different type and represent a new tradition. Thus the evidence that we may draw from this source throws light on the custom of Latin Christianity and of the western Church generally in the fourth and early fifth centuries.

The baptismal representations on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (359), and on two of those at Arles, have been already described on pp. 248-251.

Ex. 14. Sarcophagus at Ancona. Fourth century.

On the lid of a sarcophagus in the cathedral of Ancona the



Fig. 16 (after Garrucci).

the Saviour is represented as a nude boy, standing immediately under a stream of water which flows behind Him from a sort of rose (Fig. 16). He holds His hands down and leans slightly to the left towards the Baptist, who lays his right hand on His head, and slightly raises his left hand. To the right stands a figure (? of a prophet) with a scroll in his hand. There is no dove. The group is to the extreme right

of the lid of the sarcophagus, the other subjects being the Nativity and the Magi, Moses receiving the law (?), and David and Goliath (?)¹.

The sarcophagus bears the name of Gorgonius; but in the opinion of Garrucci this can hardly refer to the man, mentioned by Symmachus, who became consul in the year 379, unless indeed he had his coffin prepared some time before his death, since there is no mention in the inscription of his having borne office.

Ex. 15. Sarcophagus from Soissons. Fourth or fifth century.

A sarcophagus of the fourth or fifth century was formerly at Soissons in the church of Ste. Marie. It had been used for the tomb of S. Vodalis who died 720 A.D., and was seen by Mabillon and published in the *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti* in 1703-39.

On it Christ is represented on the right as a boy, nude, standing on dry ground, holding His hands down, and turning slightly to the left (Fig. 17). Two other figures clothed in tunic and pallium stand on the left, both of whom raise their right hands; the left foot of the figure nearer the Saviour is raised as if on a stone. Between Christ and the Baptist the water falls in a stream broadening from a point. The dove is seen above to the right.



Fig. 17 (after Garrucci).

The sarcophagus is divided into five arcades, and in the niche corresponding is Moses striking the rock; the other subjects are the woman with the issue of blood, the centurion, and the soldiers sleeping by the cross².

¹ Garr., vol. v, tav. 326, 1.—Str., p. 6, and taf. 1, 6.

² Garr., vol. v, tav. 403, 4.—Le Blant, *Les sarcophages chrétiens de la Gaule*, p. 14.—Str. p. 6, taf. 1, 7.

Ex. 16. Sarcophagus at Madrid.

On a sarcophagus in the Academy of History in the National Museum of Madrid, Christ is represented as a boy, nude,



Fig. 18.

and nearly up to His knees in water which flows behind Him from a boss of rock above (Fig. 18). He holds His hands down and turns His head to the left. The Baptist, clothed in an exomis, stands on dry land on the left, laying his hand on the Saviour's head and slightly raising his left foot. The dove is represented above on the rock.

The other subjects are—Moses striking the rock, the healing of the blind, Christ surrounded by four apostles, and the sacrifice of Isaac¹.

Ex. 17. Sarcophagus at the Lateran. I.

The baptism of Christ is twice represented on sarcophagi in the Lateran collection.



Fig. 19 (after Garrucci).

On that numbered 183 Christ appears as a boy, standing in the water which rises to His knees, holding His hands down and turning His face to the left (Fig. 19). The water

falls in two streams, one of which descends on the head of the Saviour, while the other takes the usual pillar-like form to

¹ Garr., vol. v, tav. 341, 3.—Str., p. 6, taf. 1, 8.

the right of the group and turning to the left flows over His feet. The Baptist stands on the opposite side, clothed in a skin, raising his left foot on a stone.

The hand of the Baptist holding a patera and the head of the Saviour are restorations, as well as (?) the first of the two streams just mentioned.

The other scenes are—Christ before Herod, the imprisonment of S. Peter, the manger and the shepherds, and the raising of Lazarus¹.

No mention of the restorations is made in the official catalogue of the Museum.

Ex. 18. Sarcophagus at the Lateran. II.

No. 152 (a) is a fragment to the left of which the Baptist is represented as bearded, clothed in a woollen exomis and with bare feet. Christ stands nude, holding His hands down, while the water rises to His thighs. The top part of the carving is broken off, so that the position of the hand of the Baptist, the existence of the dove, and the source of the water cannot be determined. The rest of the fragment is occupied by a scene of the mystic feast of fish and bread².

This fragment was discovered by Prof. Marucchi in the Vatican gallery, and was transferred to the Museo Cristiano in the Lateran in 1866.

*Ex. 19. Sarcophagus from
S. Maria Antiqua.*

Another example has recently been discovered in the excavation of the church of S. Maria Antiqua in the Forum (Fig. 20). The Baptist, clothed in a toga, stands on dry ground to the



Fig. 20.

¹ Garr., vol. v, tav. 316, 1.—Str., p. 6, taf. 1, 9.

² De Rossi, *Bull.*, 1882, p. 90, tav. ix.

right and lays his hand on the head of the Saviour. Christ is represented as a boy, nude, and turning His head slightly to the left. The water rises to His knees. The dove appears over His head flying towards the right¹.

Three Sarcophagi in bad condition.

Three others may be mentioned to make the list complete.

Ex. 20.

A part of a frieze from the Aliscamps at Arles, nearly destroyed by exposure to the weather; published by Le Blant from an earlier print².

Ex. 21.

Another in a similar condition at Servannes near Arles, but described in a sixteenth-century Latin MS. at Paris, in the handwriting of Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc, as possessing the same features of the dove and the falling water (Ioan. Bapta pellibus indutus baptizans superveniente columba aquam de coelis cadentem rostro gestante)³.

Ex. 22.

An unpublished sarcophagus in the basilica of SS. Nereus and Achilleus⁴.

Two others at Naples, believed by Ciampini (*Mon. vett.*, vol. ii, ch. 4) to be those of Agilulphus, husband of Theodelinda (590), and of Arrichius, second Duke of Beneventum (591), are probably spurious⁵.

A doubtful example occurs on a sarcophagus in the church of Le Mas d'Aire on the Adour in south-west France. At the

¹ *Bull.*, 1901, p. 205, tav. vi.

² Le Blant, *Sarcophages d'Arles*, xii, fig. 3, text 24, xvii.—Str., p. 7, taf. 1, 10.

³ Garr., vol. v, tav. 316, 2.—Le Blant, xxix and xxx, text pp. 46 ff.—Str. p. 8, tav. 1, 13.

⁴ Kraus, *Real-Encyclopædie*, art. 'Taufe,' and referred to by Grousset, *Études sur l'histoire des sarcophages chrétiens*, Paris, 1885, 105, n. 187.

⁵ Kraus, *R.-E.*, art. 'Taufe,' p. 834.

extreme right a naked man is carved, turning towards the right, with hands slightly raised. Before him a robed figure, standing equally on both feet, lays his hand on the naked man's head. Both stand under a tree. No water is indicated, but a dove (?) sits in the tree. Next to this group are to be seen Adam and Eve on either side of the tree of knowledge¹.

This may be intended for a scene of baptism, as the restoration to grace forfeited at the Fall, but is more probably intended for the Creation of man. Pératé (*Archéologie Chrétienne*, p. 323) describes it as 'le baptême d'un adolescent.'

Summary of evidence from Sarcophagi.

Thus we have thirteen examples of the representation of the baptism of Christ from sarcophagi. In every case where the carving is perfect He is represented nude and as a boy, while the Baptist lays his hand on His head or at least raises it with that object. In one case (Ex. 15) He stands on dry ground, once the water flows over His feet (Ex. 9), twice it rises to His knees (Exx. 16, 17), once to the thighs (Ex. 18). In four cases it falls from a knob of rock or spout, in two of which it falls all over His body.

It will be noticed that in all examples hitherto cited, with the exception of Exx. 1, 4 and 9, the Saviour is represented as holding His hands down and not raising them in the attitude of prayer. The dove also is usually represented as visible at the moment of baptism; whereas in Luke iii. 21 it is stated that our Saviour was praying when the heavens opened, and in all three Gospels the dove is described as descending after He had gone up out of the water. It is obvious therefore that the conception of the scene is drawn from current practice rather than from the pages of Scripture.

In connexion with these it is interesting to study other

¹ Garr., vol. v, tav. 301, 3.—Le Blant, *Sarcophages de la Gaule*, p. 98 and pl. xxvi.

evidence from the western Church as to the mode of administering baptism to catechumens.

Ex. 23. Tombstone from Aquileia. Fifth century.

We have described the Vatican glass fragment above, Ex. 13. A similar treatment appears on a fifth-century tombstone at Aquileia, which was probably erected in memory of a young girl who died soon after her baptism.

She is represented as standing in a large bowl, nude, wearing a necklace,

and holding her hands down (Fig. 21). The water streams on her over the crescent-shaped lower edge of a circular opening which is sown with small crosses or stars

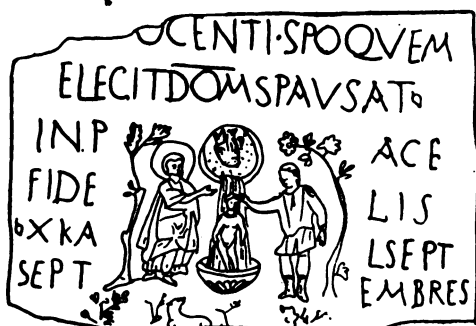


Fig. 21 (after Garrucci).

and out of which a dove flies. On the right a man in a tunic lays his hand on her head; to the left stands a haloed figure clothed in a toga and pointing to her with his right hand. There is a tree on each side of the group¹.

This is described by Garrucci as an example of baptism by affusion 'as well as immersion' (!).

Ex. 24. Spoon from Aquileia. Fourth or fifth century.

From the same place comes a spoon, dating from the fourth or fifth century, with a scene of the same nature engraved on its bowl (Fig. 22). A nude figure stands in a large shallow

¹ Garr., vol. vi, tav. 487, 26.—*Bull.*, 1876, tav. 1, 2.

basin; above him appears the dove from whose beak the water descends. A figure to the left in an exomis holds a patera in the stream over the head of the catechumen, while another figure stands on the right. At the point of the spoon on the left is a figure in a toga standing by a sort of altar¹.

This spoon, which was found with several others inscribed with various names, was probably not used for liturgical purposes. Possibly it was a present given on the occasion of the ceremony pictured on it.



Fig. 22 (after Garrucci).

The feature of the stream from the mouth of the dove occurs on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (Ex. 7), on the ivories in the Bodleian Library (Ex. 29), in the British Museum (Ex. 33), at Amiens (Ex. 30), at Milan (Ex. 28), on the MS. of Rabula (Ex. 34), in the Etzschmiadzin Gospel Book (Ex. 35), and in the mosaic of the Arian baptistery at Ravenna, all of which are described below.

Use of a patera in Baptism.

According to Strzygowski (*Iconographie*, p. 10) this feature was also found in the original mosaic in the orthodox baptistery (S. Giovanni in Fonte) in the same city. He maintains that the patera from which the Baptist pours the water in the picture, as it now appears, must be due to a later restoration, on the ground that it is borrowed from a liturgical use first arising in the fourteenth century. A similar vessel is, however, represented on this spoon from Aquileia, which he seems to have overlooked.

In the so-called Attila treasure at Vienna are two paterae of gold weighing 287 gr. and 305 gr. respectively. They are each of the same design, and have a cross in the centre

¹ Garr., vol. vi, tav. 462, 8.

round which run letters read by Dr. Joseph Hampel as follows:—

ΔΕΛΥΔΑΤΟCΑΝΑΠΑΥCΟΝΑ(ΦΙ)ΕΙCΠ(Α)ΝΤΟΝΑΜΑΡ(sic)ΤΙΟΝ

διὰ ὕδατος ἀναπλῦσων ἀφίεις πάντων (sic) ἁμαρτιῶν (Fig. 23),
 'if thou purifiest thyself with water thou shalt be free from all sin.' The word ὕδατος at least he considers to be certain. He holds that these paterae were baptismal vessels ('Taufschalen') and attributes them to the fourth or fifth century. Kondakov,

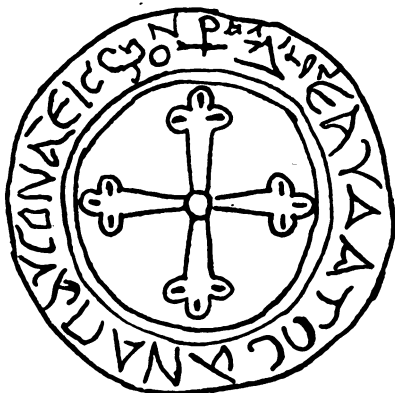


Fig. 23.

however, believes the letters to be Bulgarian, and would therefore assign them to a date later than 864, when the Bulgarian race adopted Christianity¹.

There is good reason to suppose that a bronze bowl with a handle, found in ruins above the cemetery of Praettestatus and now in the Museo Kircheriano at Rome,

was also used for the administration of baptism. It is in the shape of a hemispherical pan embossed with anglers, boats, and fishes, and in the centre is the head of a river-god with crab-claws growing out of his head, like those on the head of the allegorical figure of Jordan in the Arian baptistery at Ravenna (Fig. 24)².

In the history of S. Silvester in the *Liber Pontificalis* (314-335) we read that Constantine gave to the church which he built at Ostia a basin of silver for baptism weighing 20 pounds ('pelvem ex argento ad baptismum pens. lib. xx.' *Lib. Pont.*

¹ Hampel, J., *Der Goldfund von Nagy Szent Miklós*, Buda-Pesth, 1886, pp. 27 and 64, Fig. 16.—Kondakov, N. P., *Geschichte und Denkmäler des Byz. Emaille*, p. 39. Another at Odessa. Venturi, *Storia dell' arte Italiana*, vol. ii, 1902, p. 30.

² Garr., vol. vi, tav. 461.

S. Silvester, ch. 28). The weight of this vessel shows it must have been used as a font, as in the two examples from Aquileia,



Fig. 24 (after Garrucci).

while the whole basin of the Lateran baptistery seems to have been covered with silver (*ib.* ch. 13). A similar gift was made by Xystus III (432-440) to the basilica of S. Laurence of a 'conca aurocalca pens. lib. xx,' as well as of 'ministerium ad baptismum vel paenitentiae ex argento pens. lib. v'; either a vessel used for oil, such as the 'patenam argenteam auroclusam chrismalem pens. lib. v' that Constantine gave to the 'titulus Equitii' near the baths of Diocletian, or one similar to that in the Museo Kircheriano described above (Xystus, ch. 6, Silvester, ch. 3).

Ex. 25. Cross-shaft at Kells. c. 800.

A similar vessel also appears in a baptismal scene on a broken cross-shaft at Kells, which

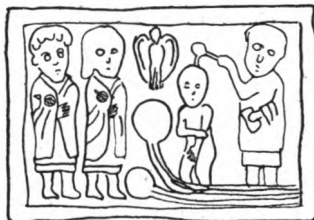


Fig. 25.

was the chief seat of the Columban monks about the year 800 A. D. (Fig. 25)¹.

Description of the Lateran font.

The font in the baptistery which Constantine built at the Lateran is described in the *Liber Pontificalis* (Silvester, ch. 13) as having been made of porphyry and overlaid with silver. In the centre rose a candelabrum also of porphyry, ending in a golden vessel containing balm, which burning with a wick of asbestos served a double purpose of giving light and perfume. On the edge of the piscina, probably opposite the steps by which the catechumen entered the water, were life-sized silver figures of Christ and the Baptist. Between them was a lamb of gold, from whose mouth a stream of water fell into the basin (unless indeed it flowed in four streams from a rock at its feet, as so frequently represented in early Christian art), while seven figures of stags ranged round its parapet served the same purpose.

Fontem sanctum ubi baptizatus est Augustus Constantinus ex lapide porfyretico et ex omni parte coopertum intrinsecus et foris et desuper et quantum aquam continet ex argento purissimo lib. iii viii. In medio fontis columna porfyretica qui portat fiala aurea ubi candela est, pens. auro purissimo lib. lii, ubi ardet in diebus Paschae balsamum lib. cc, nixum vero ex stippe amianti. In labio fontis baptisterii agnum aureum fundentem aquam pens. lib. xxx, ad dexteram agni, Salvatorem ex argento purissimo, in pedibus v, pens. lib. clxx; in leva agni, beatum Iohannem Baptistam ex argento, in pedibus v, tenentem titulum scriptum qui hoc habet 'ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi'; pens. lib. cxxv.

Cervos argenteos vii. fundentes aquam, pens. sing. lib. lxxx.

Tymiaterium ex auro purissimo cum gemmis prasinis xlviiii, pens. lib. xv.

Innocent I (401-417) gave a similar stag to the 'titulus Vestinae' weighing 25 pounds.

The figure of the stag is of frequent occurrence in connexion

¹ J. Romilly Allen, *Christian Symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 231.

with baptisteries and baptismal scenes (e.g. at Salona, in the cemetery of Pontianus, &c.).

The water seems to have fallen in a stream from some such head in the baptistery of S. Stephen built by Eustorgius at Milan (early sixth cent.), which is thus described by Ennodius (*Carm.* ii. 149, Migne, *Patr. Lat.* lxxiii. p. 361; cf. *Bull.*, 1876, p. 12):—

En sine nube pluit sub tectis imbre sereno,
Et coeli facies pura ministrat aquas.
Proflua marmoribus decurrunt flumina sacris,
Atque iterum rorem parturit ecce lapis.
Arida nam liquidos effundit pergula fontes,
Et rursus natis unda superna venit.
Sancta per aethereos emanat lympa recessus
Eustorgii vatis ducta ministerio.

The present building at the Lateran dates as far as the lower part is concerned from the time of Xystus III (432-440), during whose pontificate the above description was written. He, however, probably altered the outline but little, and there is good reason to believe that the lists of Constantine's gifts were copied from contemporary records and do not represent later accumulations (Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.*, *ad loc.* notes; cf. also his description of the baptistery in *Origines du culte chrétien*, p. 298).

Analogies from the customs of the Baths.

In Greek and Roman baths it was common for the water to flow from the heads of animals (*Dict. of Class. Antiq.*, art. 'Baths'). A Greek vase painting shows four women standing under such jets (Fig. 26). It was also customary for the attendant to pour water over the heads of the bathers, while the bath was always followed by anointing, as an unction by the bishop followed the act of baptism.

The orthodox baptistery at Ravenna was built by Bp. Neon in 449-452 A.D. on the foundations of an earlier building, supposed to have been a bath, while the Arian baptistery

was similarly adapted a few years later (Ricci, *Guida di Ravenna*, 1900, pp. 32 & 10).

We read in the story of the martyrdom of Perpetua that



Fig. 26.

when Saturnus was covered with blood from the bite of a leopard, the crowd in the amphitheatre jokingly cried out that he had been well bathed, using the language of the baths, which the author writing at the end of the second century interpreted as an allusion to baptism.

Inluxit dies victoriae illorum et processerunt de carcere in amphitheatrum... sequebatur Perpetua... item Felicitas salvam se peperisse gaudens ut ad bestias pugnaret, a sanguine ad sanguinem, ab obstetrice ad retiarium, lotura post partum baptismo secundo.

Et statim in fine spectaculi leopardo eiecto, de uno morsu tanto perfusus est (Saturnus) sanguine, ut populus revertenti illi secundi baptismatis testimonium reclamaverit 'salvum lotum, salvum lotum,' plane utique salvus erat qui hoc modo laverat. 'Salvum lotum' is a phrase of the baths to which *καλῶς λούσας* corresponds. (*Texts and Studies*, vol. i. *Passio Perpetuae* cc. 18 & 21; cf. *Introd.* p. 8.)

So fifty years later Cyprian argues that the recognized analogy of the baths must not be pressed too far. He had been asked whether men who received baptism in sickness

were to be counted true Christians, since they were not washed in the life-giving water but had only had a little poured over them (*eo quod aqua salutari non loti sint sed perfusi*). He explains it is not necessary for the whole body to be touched by the water, as if it were an actual bath with salt of nitre and a seat to wash yourself in, so that aspersion or perfusion is sufficient to constitute a valid sacrament (see below, p. 312).



Fig. 27.

Analogy of Mithraic customs.

The Mithraic custom of baptism as practised in the third and fourth centuries was probably borrowed from, or at least influenced by, Christian practice. A conception of new birth suggested by, or taught in opposition to, the Christian doctrine of baptism was supposed to be involved in the Taurobolium. In the ceremony the recipient sat in a trench under a platform on which a bull was killed in such a manner as to allow the blood to fall all over him. The man so purified was described as 'renatus.' Symbolically this was represented in art by a dog drinking at the stream that flowed from the neck of the bull slain by the young Mithra (Fig. 27), as

Christian baptism was symbolized by the Jews drinking from the rock struck by Moses, or S. Peter, or by lambs, or stags drinking at a fountain (Figs. 6, 10, 11, 38)¹.

Summary of evidence for the Age of the Councils.

To sum up the conclusions drawn from the evidence from sarcophagi, from the analogy of the baths, and of Mithraic customs as to the practice of the Church in the Western empire.

In the fourth and fifth centuries baptism took place before a witness or witnesses, in a fixed spot, either in a structural baptistery, into which the water usually fell from a spout or figure-head, or in a movable basin. In the latter case the officiant poured water over the catechumen from a vessel; in the former he led him under one of the spouts, and either directed the flow over his head with the vessel or guided his head under the water with his hands. This we know from other sources was done three times.

An immersion *may* have preceded this, but there is no mention of a double act by any writer of early date, and at least it was not considered the most significant element of the rite. With the peace of the Church the ceremony has become slightly more elaborate, and the flow of water is fuller and more continuous owing to the influence of the baths. The officiant seems to have stood on a raised platform or step and not to have entered the water himself.

L'immersion baptismale ne doit pas s'entendre en ce sens que l'on plongeât entièrement dans l'eau la personne baptisée. Elle entrait dans la piscine, où la hauteur de l'eau n'était pas suffisante pour dépasser la taille d'un adulte; puis on la plaçait sous l'une des bouches d'où s'échappaient des jets d'eau; ou encore, on prenait de l'eau dans la piscine elle-même pour la répandre sur sa tête. C'est ainsi que le baptême est représenté sur les anciens monuments².

¹ Bigg, C., *Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, p. 237.

² Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, p. 302; and also *Églises Séparées*, p. 93.

CHAPTER III

THE AGE OF NORTHERN INVASIONS

Christian Art after the fifth century.

THERE are but scanty remains of early Christian art dating from after the fifth century in Italy. The successive invasions of Goths, Vandals, and Lombards, if not destroying as much as is popularly supposed of the productions of earlier years, left the country impoverished, and as little inclined to spend much on costly works as it was able to train artists to execute them.

In the East, however, the policy of Diocletian in removing the seat of government from Rome, and the subsequent action of Constantine in establishing a strong centralized power at Byzantium, secured the firm holding together of the Empire for many centuries. As a consequence Byzantine art long survived that of Rome, and, in architecture at least, had a development that compares not unfavourably with the later evolution of the Gothic cathedral in the West. The gradual elaboration of Syrian architecture, with its small domed buildings, up to the construction of Justinian's great church of the Hagia Sophia is the most characteristic work of Byzantine genius, though at the same time it is the feature that has had the least influence on the artistic life of Western Europe.

The question of the nature and influence of Byzantine art cannot yet be said to be fully determined. Apart from church building its chief productions seem to have been illuminated manuscripts, and it was in executing them, and possibly also in making designs for woven stuffs, that its artists appear to have received their training. It became therefore a characteristic of its less important works that they were chiefly executed with the purpose of illustrating

continuous historical narratives, and whilst showing considerable skill in technique, they tended to become stereotyped and conventional from constant repetition of subjects that differed but little from one another. This influence is felt specially in mosaic work, ivory carving, and fresco painting, where it is generally a series of scenes that is pictured, though in such objects as flasks, gems, or medals the same style reappears¹.

Ravenna.

An exception to the general artistic poverty of Italy in the fifth and sixth centuries is to be found at Ravenna. As the seat of the court of Honorius and under the enlightened reign of Theodoric, it became for one hundred and fifty years the most important city of the West, and a series of monuments rose up within its walls upon which the most skilful artists of the day were employed, and which attracted the attention of Justinian.

The mosaic workers came from Rome, and the general plan of the churches, which are almost the sole remains of the former glory of the city, follows that of the Roman basilica, while the classical spirit is still felt in the drawing of the earlier figures in the Baptistry and S. Apollinare Nuovo. The vigour of the Gothic race appears in the originality of choice and treatment in the New Testament scenes in the nave of the latter; and the essential difference between northern and southern architecture is already seen in the mausoleum of Theodoric, for there for the first time the horizontal line gives way to the vertical as the characteristic feature in construction, and in its erection the first step was taken which inaugurated the change from classic styles of building, just as his reign may be said to be the first beginning of

¹ Kraus, F. X., *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, vol. i, bk. 9, and vol ii, bk. 13, Freiburg im B., 1896; Strzygowski, J., *Orient oder Rom*, Introd., Leipzig, 1901. For a different view see F. Wickoff, *Die Wiener Genesis*, Wien, 1895, who sees in Byzantine art merely the last stage of the decadence of that of Rome.

the Middle Ages. Theodoric had been brought up at the court of Byzantium, and the building of the church of S. Vitale fell in the time of Byzantine rule. If Justinian was not actually present at its consecration he regarded himself as in some sense its founder. He appears on the mosaics of its walls, and his authority seems to have modified the plan of the building, and to have decided that the gallery should rest not on wooden beams, as originally planned, but on stone arches in accordance with the rules of Byzantium¹.

We have therefore at Ravenna an art in which three different streams of influence, Roman, Gothic, and Byzantine, united, and in which the extent to which each makes itself felt can be traced with something like precision.



Fig. 28 (after Garrucci).

Ex. 26. Mosaic in the Orthodox Baptistry.

449-452.

Two important baptism scenes are to be found in the mosaics of the baptisteries at Ravenna alluded to in the last

¹ Ricci, C., *Guida di Ravenna*, p. 40, Bologna, 1900.

chapter. That in the orthodox baptistery (Baptisterium Ursianum or S. Giovanni in Fonte) was probably set up by Bp. Neon in 449-452.

Here Christ is represented bearded and with a halo, holding His hands down to His side, naked, and standing in the water which rises to His waist (Fig. 28). On the left side is the Baptist wearing an exomis and with a halo. He stands on a promontory of rock with his left foot raised, holding a jewelled cross in his left hand, while with his right he pours water from a patera over the head of Christ. Overhead is the dove flying downwards vertically; in the water to the right is an allegorical figure of Jordan marked by the name, a bearded man with a reed, holding a cloth in his hands. Plants spring from the banks¹.

According to Strzygowski the patera is a fourteenth-century restoration, as 'no such instrument was used till that date.' We have already considered the reasons for believing in its use at an earlier period. The head and right arm of the figure of Christ are restored, the halo and beard being possibly modern additions.

Ex. 27. Mosaic in the Arian Baptistery.

In the Arian baptistery (S. Maria in Cosmedin) is a similar mosaic occupying a corresponding place in the centre of the dome.



Fig. 29 (after Garrucci).

In it Christ is represented beardless, with a halo, holding His hands down to His side, and up to His waist in water (Fig. 29). The dove flies down vertically from above, and from its beak a stream descends on the head of our Lord. The Baptist stands to the right on a rock which rises out of the water. He is clothed in a spotted

¹ Garr., vol. iv, tavv. 226 and 227.—Str., p. 10, taf. I, 14.

skin and holds a curved stick in his left hand, while he lays the right on the head of the Saviour. To the left sits Jordan, out of the water, and represented as an old man with two crab-claws growing out of his head, holding a reed in his right hand while he raises his left in astonishment (Pss. lxxvii. 16 and cxiv. 5)¹.

These two examples fall within the first and second period respectively of the history of Ravenna's greatness, while Roman influences were still strong in her art, but had been weakened by being transplanted and modified by new surroundings. They show a new conception of the scene which almost entirely breaks away from the old tradition, and would appear to be due to an attempt to picture more exactly the scenes of the Gospels.

Influence of apocryphal writings.

An interesting account of the apocryphal additions to the story of our Lord's baptism as related in the Gospels will be found in a work entitled *Ein bisher unbeachteter Bericht über die Taufe Jesu*, by Adolf Jacoby (Strassburg, Trübner, 1902). The author believes that he has traced them to a lost Church Order connected with the Syriac *Didascalia*, and therefore dating from the third century. In certain fragments of a fourth-century Epiphany sermon based on this document we find it related that at the baptism of our Lord the waters of the Jordan first fled back and then rose in a heap. Similar allusions to the miracle are quoted from Ephraem Syrus (325-379), Jacob Baradaeus (451), Jacob of Sarug (521), from several Epiphany sermons of the fifth or sixth centuries, Cyril of Jerusalem (348, *Cat.* xii. 15), from hymns of Anatolius (450), and the Ambrosian collection. The narratives of the pilgrim Antoninus Placentius (570-600) and others state that the miracle was repeated yearly, and references to the legend are found in Armenian and Coptic writings.

Jacoby believes that both the retiring of the water and the

¹ Garr., vol. iv, tav. 241.—Str., p. 10, taf. I, 15.

rising in a heap were dwelt on to emphasize the doctrine of the Divine Nature of our Lord ; and that the former, which is alluded to in all the above writings, was suggested by Pss. cxiv. 3, 5, lxxvii. 16, while the latter, which is less frequently dwelt upon, was regarded as an act of homage to the Incarnate Word, and found support in Ps. xxviii. 3 (LXX).

He further holds that the influence of this widespread tradition can be traced in Christian art, and to its influence he ascribes the feature of the symbolic representation of the Jordan first found in the Ravenna mosaic, and that of the water rising in a heap to the waist or neck of the Saviour; which first definitely appears in the fresco at Monza (Ex. 51, c. 700). It may be doubted, however, whether the legend had any great influence on the artistic representation of the scene, for though Jordan is shown in the Ravenna mosaics as holding up his hands in astonishment, the water is not represented as receding. The fear of the river is emphasized only in the ivories at Ravenna and in the British Museum (Figs. 39, 40), while in later examples the tendency is for the allegorical figure to occupy a subsidiary place or to be omitted altogether.

It is still more doubtful if the representation of the water as rising in a heap to cover our Lord's body has any connexion with the legend. It seems rather to be merely the conventional way of indicating the river in an age when the laws of perspective were not understood.

The whole legend is obviously based on the Old Testament stories of the passage of the Red Sea and of the passing of the Jordan by the Israelites, and the rising of the waters in a heap was supposed to have taken place, not round the Saviour's body for the purpose of covering Him, but in the stream above, that He might stand on dry land while He was being baptized, just as it stood to allow the Israelites to pass over dryshod. The only persons in the whole cycle of symbolism who are conceived of as submerged are the Egyptians who pursued after the Chosen People.

Milan school of ivories. c. 500.

The rule of Theodoric (493-526) secured a time of comparative prosperity for the rest of Italy; and though the government was in the hands of one of the conquering race the old Roman civilization continued with very little consciousness of change. The influence of Byzantium or of the Goth would have been felt less elsewhere than they both were at Ravenna, and in the art of this time the old tradition is still strong.

To this period may be assigned five ivories of probable Italian origin.

Ex. 28. Ivory in the Cathedral at Milan. c. 500.

An ivory 'five pieces' book-cover (? originally a diptych) in the treasury of the cathedral at Milan contains sixteen scenes from the life of Christ.

In that of the baptism He is represented as a beardless youth, nude, and standing up to His knees in water which falls from a pillar of rock in a copious stream behind and all round Him (Fig. 30). The Baptist stands also up to his knees in water, and holds a crooked staff in his left

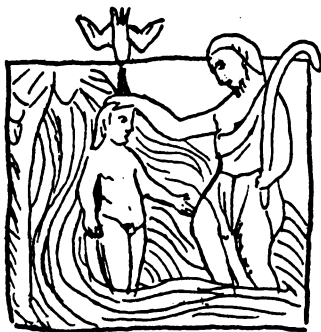


Fig. 30.

hand. A stream flows from the beak of the dove¹.

Garrucci describes this last feature, which we have already noticed above (p. 267), as a ray, the symbol of grace, and quotes Chrysologus, *Serm. CLX*:—'Spiritus Sanctus in specie columbae totam in caput parentis novi chrismatis pinguedinem fundit ut impleat illud quod propheta dixit "Propterea unxit te Deus tuus oleo laetitiae"'. This does not, however, exclude its being also intended for a stream of water, for we

¹ Garr., vol. vi, tav. 454.—Str., p. 13, taf. ii, 2.

may notice the same feature in the Aquileia spoon (Ex. 24, fig. 22), where it is in this stream that the baptizer holds his patera; while in the relief at Monza described below (Ex. 51), in the Berlin ivory from the Micheli collection (Ex. 52, fig. 44) as well as in Exx. 53 & 54 (fig. 45), the dove pours the water from a vessel held in its beak.

Ex. 29. Ivory in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

c. 500.

A very similar treatment (Fig. 31) appears on another



Fig. 31.

book-cover in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, as one of twelve scenes in the life of the Saviour, who is represented in the centre throned and with the four evil beasts under His feet (Ps. xci. 13). The features of the pillar of rock, and of the water falling from it as well as from the dove's beak and rising to the Saviour's knees, are repeated,

while the Baptist holds the crooked staff but stands on dry ground raising his left foot¹.

Ex. 30. Ivory at Amiens. c. 500.

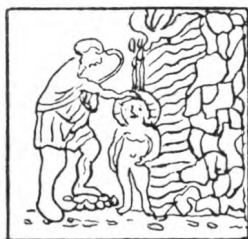


Fig. 32.

An ivory of the same school is in the possession of M. Mallet at Amiens, and was published by M. l'Abbé E. van Dreval in the *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, XIX, 1875, pl. xix, p. 352. In it the Baptist is represented as clothed in an exomis, holding a crooked staff and raising his left foot (Fig. 32). There is a stream that

¹ Str., p. 12, taf. ii, 1.—Westwood, *Fictile Ivories in S. Kensington Museum*, p. 55, pl. 6.

flows from the dove as well as a broad stream falling from a bossy pillar of rock. The Saviour is pictured as a boy with a simple halo and on dry ground¹.

Ex. 31. Werden Ivory at South Kensington Museum.

The carving on the remains of an ivory box in South Kensington Museum, and formerly at Werden in Rhenish Prussia, is of very similar workmanship to the last two examples (Fig. 33). The Saviour is represented as a nude boy and with a crossed halo. Both He and the Baptist are up to their knees in water, but on the left is a personification of the Jordan holding branches in his hands, leaning on a pitcher from which the water flows. The whole work is marked with a certain originality that seems to suggest the working of a new influence².



Fig. 33 (after Garrucci).

Stuhlfauth³ points out the similarity of these works, and believes them to be productions of a Milanese school of carving, and to date from the latter half of the fifth century. He holds that the example at Milan (Fig. 30) is the oldest, while that at Amiens (Fig. 32) he suggests may date from the period between the invasion of the Huns in 452 and that of the Ostrogoths in 490. The Bodleian example he considers to be Byzantine in its details and in the style of the seventh and ninth centuries: but he holds it to be a modern forgery, mainly however on the ground that it bears a Latin inscription. That at South Kensington (Fig. 33) he would place a little later, as having a crossed nimbus and generally showing a more

¹ Stuhlfauth, G., *Die altchristliche Elfenbeinplastik*, p. 75, Mohr, Freiburg i. B. and Leipzig, 1896.

² Garr., vol. vi, tav. 447, 3.—Westwood, No. 99.

³ *Die altchristliche Elfenbeinplastik*, pp. 74, 77, 199.

developed style. Strzygowski¹, on the other hand, considers this last example to date from the time of Theodosius (392-395), to which period he also ascribes the book-cover at Milan (Fig. 30); while he holds the Bodleian ivory (Fig. 31) to be a work of the school of Ravenna that became more and more influenced by Byzantium in the sixth century.

Ex. 32. Ivory cover to the Missal of Gregory at Munich. ? c. 500.

A fifth example of the same school, though not mentioned by Stuhlfauth, may be seen in the Royal Library at Munich, where it forms part of the cover of the so-called missal of Gregory the Great. (Cim. 143. Cod. Lat. 10077.)

The carving is somewhat worn, but the Saviour seems to be



Fig. 34.

represented as a boy without a halo (Fig. 34). The Baptist stands on dry ground, clothed in an exomis and holding a crooked staff; he raises his right foot while he lays his hand on our Lord's head. Jordan stands on the opposite side holding in his left arm a tree, and with an inverted pitcher from which the water

flows, rising to the thighs of the Saviour. The massacre of the Innocents appears above and the miracle of Cana below, as in the example from Amiens (Ex. 30, fig. 32). The ivory is attributed in the library catalogue to the eleventh or twelfth century, but the choice of subjects as well as certain peculiarities of treatment (e.g. the woman throwing up her hands in the scene of the massacre of the Innocents) seem to show that it is of the same school as the above example, and dates from the fifth or early sixth century.

¹ *Das Etzschmiadzin Evangeliar*, Wien, 1891. Cf. Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, vol. i, p. 507.

Ex. 33. Ivory in the British Museum. ? c. 500.

To the same date may perhaps be referred an ivory in the Christian Antiquities room in the British Museum, in which the feature of the stream from the dove's beak reappears (Fig. 35). In it the Saviour is represented as a nude boy, with a halo, holding His hands down and standing on the ground.



Fig. 35 (from a photograph).

The head alone of the dove appears. The Baptist is scantily clothed in an exomis which leaves both arms and legs bare, and he lays his hand on the Saviour's head. To the left stands a bearded figure with wings, and clothed in a toga. There are indications of water behind the feet of Christ. On either side are candlesticks similar to those on an early fifth-century silver casket in the Museo Cristiano at the Vatican, and to those on a sarcophagus at Ravenna of the same period. The rest of the ivory is occupied with the finding of Christ in the temple, a rare subject which, however, also occurs on the Milan ivory.

This example is ascribed to the fifth century, but its peculiar features make it difficult to assign it to any particular place or date ¹.

• Oriental types. Ex. 34. Rabula MS. at Florence. 586.

The first baptism scene in which Christ appears bearded (if the mosaic at Ravenna has been altered in restoration) is in one of the miniatures of the Syriac Rabula MS. in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence (Fig. 36). In it the Baptist is represented in the usual attitude, raising his left foot, but

¹ Dalton, O. M., *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities in the British Museum*, 1901, No. 293.—Graeven, H., *Elfenbeinwerke aus Sammlungen in England*, No. 22.—Westwood, No. 154.

stooping as the Saviour is immersed in the water as far as the waist. He turns His head a little aside, and the stream or ray descends on it from above, where the hand with two outstretched fingers appears in the heavens and beneath it flies the dove. The Jordan is marked by banks on which flowers are growing¹.



Fig. 36.

The monk Rabula lived at Zagba in Mesopotamia and wrote the MS. in 586. It is the earliest example that we possess of the art of illumination by miniatures that had such

a wonderful development in the later Middle Ages, and undoubtedly influenced the work of the schools of Karl the Great (Kraus, F. X., *Gesch. d. christl. Kunst*, I, 463 & II, 25. Freiburg im B., 1895-7).

Ex. 35. Etzschmiadzin Gospel Book. c. 500.

Very similar in design is a miniature in the Gospel book of Etzschmiadzin in Armenia. The hand in the heavens, the dove and the stream or ray reappear, but the Saviour is represented as beardless, without nimbus, and only immersed in the water as far as His loins.

Strzygowski considers that this proves the MS. to be earlier than the Rabula MS., and adds that while the style of dress and the type of the apostles' heads that appear in the margin suggest that it dates from the sixth century, the architectural ornamentation in which the pictures are set would seem to point to the fifth. He is inclined to attribute it therefore to the first half of the sixth. In any case the obvious connexion of the two miniatures would point to an archetype of earlier date than 586².

¹ Garr., vol. iii, tav. 130.—Str., p. 17.

² Strzygowsky, J., *Byzantinische Denkmäler*, I, *Das Etzschmiadzin Evangeliar*, p. 73 and taf. 6, 2, Wien, 1891.

Ex. 36. Flask at Monza. Before 599.

A flask at Monza may also be of Syrian origin. It is said to have been given by Gregory the Great to Theodolinda (599), but is probably of earlier date, and would seem to have served originally to bring back oil from the Holy Land, as is shown by its Greek lettering. It is ornamented with seven small scenes from the life of Christ. In that of the baptism the Saviour is represented as a boy in the water up to His knees. The Baptist in a tunic stands on dry ground raising his left foot. An angel on the right holding a cloth shows eastern influence. All three figures are haloed ¹.

Ex. 37. Bronze Medal at the Vatican.

A bronze medal in the Museo Cristiano shows Christ up to His knees in water. The Baptist raising his foot holds the crooked staff in his left hand and lays his right on the Saviour's head. The word IORDA is written underneath, and around is the legend 'Redemptio filiis hominum'. This object, if genuine, was probably a keepsake from the Holy Land ².

Ex. 38. Censer from Syria. ? 6th century.

A censer found at the convent of Mar Muza el Habashi, between Damascus and Palmyra, is now at the British Museum (Fig. 36 a). On it S. John is represented standing on the left with his right hand stretched out over the head of our Lord, who appears as a boy, holding His hands straight down, with the water rising to His knees. A single attendant angel holds a cloth and the dove appears overhead. There is a considerable distance between the hand of the Baptist and the head of the Saviour on which he appears to pour the water. The figures, however, are much worn, and in the companion scenes the hands are all of the same peculiar long shape, so

¹ Garr., vol. vi, tav. 433, 8.—Str., p. 14, taf. ii, 5.

² Garr., vol. vi, tav. 480, 15.—Str., p. 14, taf. ii, 6.—Bull., 1869, p. 58.

that it is impossible to say whether it was intended to show an act of affusion¹.



Fig. 36 a.

The censer is attributed to the ninth or tenth centuries, but the scenes seem to follow a much earlier tradition and to be of the type found in the West in the fifth or sixth centuries, just as the fifth-century fonts of the Hauran seem to be of

the same type as those of Italy and Africa (pp. 327, 350).

Ex. 39. Horn Medallion from Egypt. c. 500.

A horn medallion, found in the burial ground of Achmim,



Fig. 37.

near Panopolis in Upper Egypt, represents the Baptist standing on the banks of the Jordan clothed in a short tunic and laying his hand on the Saviour's head (Fig. 37). Both are beardless, and our Lord wears a cloth round His loins. He crosses His hands over His breast and stands on dry ground. Both He and the Baptist have each a plain nimbus. The dove flies overhead, and on the right bank

stands an angel in a tunic holding a cloth. This object is attributed to c. 500².

¹ Dalton, O. M., *Catalogue*, No. 540. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries in London*, 1872. Plate opp. p. 290.

² Forrer, R., *Die frühchristlichen Alterthümer aus dem Gräberfelde von Achmim-Panopolis*, taf. xi, 1, Strassburg, 1893 'Die Zeit der Herstellung dürfte die Mitte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Ch. sein.'

Ex. 40. Seal at Rome. Sixth or seventh century.

A seal, which he attributes to the sixth or seventh century, is mentioned by Stuhlfauth as existing in the museum of the German Campo Santo at Rome. He describes the figure of Christ as bearded, and mentions an angel holding a cloth as in the last example¹.

*Ex. 41. Fresco in the Cemetery of Pontianus.
Sixth century.*

In a fresco in the cemetery of S. Pontianus in Rome Christ is represented as an adult and standing up to His waist in

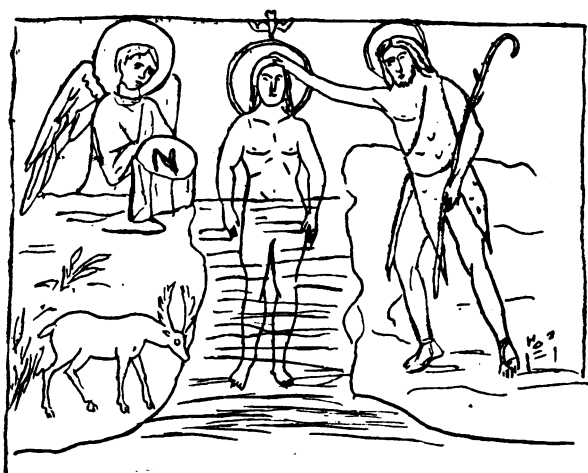


Fig. 38 (after Garrucci).

water (Fig. 38). He is bearded and has a plain nimbus round His head. The Baptist stands on a river bank to the right, holding a reed in his hands; an attendant angel, covering his hands with a cloth, appears on the left in a cloud. Below is a stag drinking. The painting has been attributed to the ninth

¹ Stuhlfauth, G., *Der Engel*, p. 193, Mohr, Freiburg im B., 1897.—*Bull.*, 1887, p. 48.—*Römische Quartalschrift*, 1887, tav. iv, 4, p. 113.

or tenth century, but seems to follow the older Roman tradition and more probably dates from the sixth¹.

Byzantine types.

A new period of art as of literature arose with Justinian. It had certain well-defined characteristics of its own, and

created types that became fixed in later ages of decadence, and lasted far into the Middle Ages with little alteration.



Fig. 39.

Ex. 42. Chair of Maximian at Ravenna. 454-556.

The chair of Maximian (454-556) in the treasury of the cathedral at Ravenna still represents Christ as a boy, but the water is made to rise as high as His waist (Fig. 39). The Baptist clothed in a skin stands raising his foot as usual, while two angels with cloths stand on the right. Jordan is represented allegorically

in the water below as starting away in amazement. The dove appears as usual overhead².

Ex. 43. Ivory at the British Museum. II. ? Sixth century.

A very similar ivory carving is in the Mediaeval room at the British Museum, where it is described as Italian and of the sixth century. The workmanship is perhaps coarser, but the general disposition of the figures is the same (Fig. 40). The

¹ Garr., vol. ii, tav. 86, 3.—Marrucchi, O., *Éléments d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, vol. ii, p. 63.

² Garr., vol. vi, tav. 418, 2.—Str., p. 15, taf. ii, 8.

Baptist, clothed in an exomis, raises his left foot and lays his right hand on the Saviour's head, who is represented as a boy with a thick mass of curly hair. The water rises to His waist. Behind is a (?) female figure covering her hands with a cloth, and with a veil over her head; there were probably originally two such figures, but the right side of the ivory is imperfect. Below in the water is Jordan, with crab-claws growing out of his head, starting away in astonishment. Above is the hand appearing from heaven, while below is the dove holding in its beak a circular object. This may be intended for a crown or halo (as on a font at Liège, c. 1112), but it is more probably a patera; for though we do not find this feature elsewhere, it has a close parallel in the examples of Lombardo-Roman art cited below, where a pitcher is held by the dove in a similar manner¹.



Fig. 40
(from a photograph).

Ex. 44. Ivory from Marsal.

A fragment found at Marsal in Lothringen may have been part of a similar scene. Only the figure of Christ remains. The water rises to His thighs and His arms are crossed over His breast, an attitude, before the finding of the medal at Achmim (Ex. 39, fig. 37), known in no instance earlier than an Armenibibel in Munich. The water falls from a hand. The Baptist stood on the right, but the figure has been broken off, as well as those of the attendant angels if they originally existed. The Saviour is marked with a square nimbus, proving that the custom of restricting that form to persons still living

¹ Dalton, O. M., *Catalogue*, No. 294, pl. 7.—Graeven, H., *Elfenbeinwerke aus Sammlungen in England*, No. 28.

in this world was not without exceptions. The work is roughly executed ¹.

Ex. 45. Pillar at Constantinople. Sixth century.

A sixth-century representation of Christ's baptism appears in the carving of a pillar found at Constantinople, and now in the museum of the Tschinili Kiosk in that city. It shows our Lord up to His thighs in the water, with the same two attendant angels holding cloths on the left. The figure of the Baptist is much larger than that of our Lord, but we cannot tell whether He was pictured as a boy or with a beard as the head has been broken ².

Ex. 46. Ring at Palermo. ? Sixth century.

Two attendant angels also appear on a ring found at Syracuse and now in the museum at Palermo. The Saviour is described as standing up to His breast in the water, and the work is considered to be Byzantine and of the sixth or early seventh century ³.

The scene is one of a series running round the hoop of the ring. The work is very minute, but in the reproduction in Kondakov the water appears to rise no higher than the waist. There are also scenes of the crucifixion and of the visit of the Maries to the sepulchre, which Kondakov thinks are similar in style to those on the flasks in the treasury at Monza (Ex. 36).

¹ Kraus, F. X., *Kunst und Alterthum in Elsass-Lothringen*, vol. iii, p. 309 and taf. ii.

² Sturzygowski, *Byz. Zeitschrift*, 1892, p. 575, 'Die alt. Byz. Plastik der Blütezeit,' reproduced in Schultze, *Archaeologie der altchristlichen Kunst*, p. 331.

³ Salinar, *Del Real Museo di Palermo*, Palermo, 1873, pl. A. 1. *Arch. Journal*, vol. xxxviii, 1881, p. 154.—Kondakov, N., *Geschichte und Denkmäler des Byz. Emails*, p. 264. A precisely similar ring is to be seen in the gold collection of the British Museum, Dalton, O. M., *Catalogue*, No. 129, who refers to yet another formerly in the Pichon collection sale catalogue, 1897, No. 26, and figured by Schlumberger, *Mélanges d'arch. byz.*, p. 67.

Lombard and Carolingian types.

The seventh century in Italy is marked by the preponderance of barbarism in civil life, while all that survived of classic culture was being gathered into the monasteries. After the time of Gregory the Great (ob. 604) both liturgical custom and ecclesiastical art underwent considerable modifications, and it is from this era that it is usual to reckon the beginning of the Middle Ages.

After this date therefore we may expect to find two widely differing types of art. The one vigorous and original in idea, but rough in execution and only slightly influenced by tradition; the other continuing the older style on its general conception, but becoming more and more conventional, while the working of the new spirit appears in details.



Fig. 41 (from a photograph).

Ex. 47. Rough ivory carving at South Kensington.

To this period may be ascribed a very rough carving on ivory in South Kensington Museum, which represents Christ as

being baptized in a sort of tub-like font in which He stands immersed to the waist (Fig. 41). On the reverse side is a fine piece of work, probably of Carolingian origin and attributed to the eighth or ninth century. The inferior work must therefore be of earlier date¹.

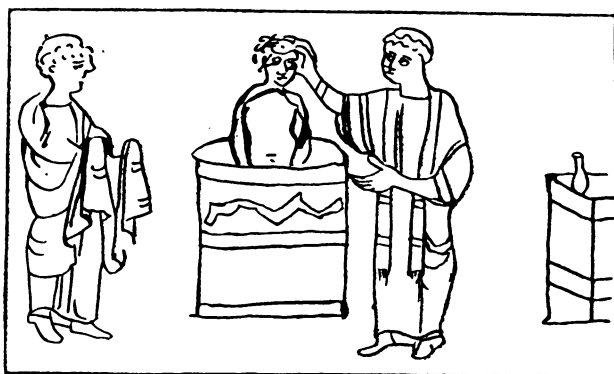


Fig. 42 (from a photograph).

Ex. 48. The Wessobrunner Gebet. 814.

In the 'Wessobrunner Gebet,' a MS. of the year 814, preserved in the library at Munich, is an illustration of the baptism of a Jew, who stands in a small circular font which reaches to his waist (Fig. 42)².

*Ex. 49. Ivory from S. Mark's chair at Grado.
Sixth or seventh century.*

An ivory originally forming part of the chair of S. Mark at Grado, and now in the Museo Archeologico at Milan, is considered by Graeven and Garrucci to be work of the seventh century. It represents the Evangelist baptizing Anianus with his wife and son, who stand up to the breast in water in a large tank (the son up to the neck), while

¹ Westwood, *Fictile Ivories*, No. 256.

² Reproduced in Springer, A., *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, vol. ii, p. 93, Leipzig, 1902, 3rd edition.

the saint stands on dry ground (Fig. 43). If the date be correct this is the earliest representation of baptism in which submersion could be intended ¹.

The chair is said to have been brought from Alexandria to Constantinople and to have been presented to the church of Grado by the Emperor Heraclius (610-640). If this is the same chair the reliefs must have been executed at an earlier date, but they cannot, in the opinion of Graeven, be much older. A companion relief in the British Museum is attributed to the sixth century.



Fig. 43 (from a cast).

Ex. 50. Paliotto of S. Ambrose at Milan. 827.

The paliotto (altar frontal) of S. Ambrogio at Milan was set up in the year 827 by Archbishop Angilbert and executed by a certain Wolfinius, as shown by an inscription on the back. On it is represented the baptism of S. Ambrose, who stands naked in a small octagonal font which reaches to his thighs, while an attendant pours water over his head from a large pitcher ².

Ex. 51. Relief at Monza. c. 700.

The use of a pitcher also appears in a relief in S. Giovanni in Fonte at Monza (c. 700), where it is held in the beak of the dove, which flies down in the centre overhead and pours water from it over the head of the Saviour. The Baptist stands on the left, and there is one attendant angel holding

¹ Westwood, No. 156.—Graeven, H., *Frühchristliche und mittelalterliche Elfenbeinwerke aus Sammlungen in Italien*, Rom, 1900, No. 44.—Garr., vol. i. p. 570.

² Str., p. 36, tav. viii, 2.

a cloth to the right. The water is here for the first time definitely represented as rising miraculously in a heap, a feature which becomes very common in later times¹.

Ex. 52. Ivory from Micheli Collection at Berlin.

An ivory in the Berlin Museum formerly belonging to the Micheli collection at Paris shows the dove as pouring



Fig. 44.

water from a pitcher over the Saviour's head, who is represented as a full-grown man, nude, holding His hands down and immersed in the water to His thighs (Fig. 44). The Baptist is clothed in an exomis of skin, holding a crooked staff, and on dry land. On the other side is the figure of Jordan, out of the water, nude, but with a cloth over his lap. He points upwards with his right hand, and in his left holds an inverted pitcher from which the water flows. Above are three winged

heads of angels holding cloths. The hand appears in heaven over the dove. The work is ascribed to the seventh century².

Ex. 53. Ivory at Strassburg.

Another example presenting the same features is mentioned as being in the possession of Herr Forrer at Strassburg, and is mentioned by A. Jacoby in his *Bericht über die Taufe Jesu*. The hand of God appears above. The dove holds a pitcher in its beak, and an angel stands in the

¹ Str., p. 33, tav. viii, 1.

² Westwood, No. 240.—Str., p. 36, taf. viii, 3.

background to the right. S. John, on the left, lays his hand on the Saviour's head. Our Lord stands with the water rising above His thighs, and Jordan hastens in astonishment away to the right¹.

Ex. 54.

The pitcher in the beak of the dove also appears in a tenth-century ivory at Rheims, which represents the baptism of Chlodwig (Fig. 45)².



Fig. 45 (from a cast).

Ex. 55. Gem found at Rome.

A gem found at Rome represents the Baptist and our Lord, both clothed and standing in the water. The dove rests on the head of Christ whom S. John appears to embrace³. The water rises only as high as the ankles of the two figures.

This ring was bought by Mr. Fortnum and is now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (No. 71 in the collection of Christian gems; cf. *The Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxxvii, 1880, p. 360, where it is said that the object may be anterior to the third century).

Ex. 56. Fresco in a catacomb at Naples. 759.

A symbol of the open heaven from which the dove descends appears in the fresco in the catacomb of S. Gennaro at Naples, which was painted soon after 759 under Greek influence (Fig. 46). The two attendant angels also appear holding cloths covering their hands, but they raise them and look up as if in prayer. The Saviour is in the water up to the thighs⁴.

¹ Jacoby, A., *Bericht über die Taufe Jesu*, Strassburg, 1902, p. 82.

² Westwood, No. 325.

³ Garr., vol. vi, tav. 478, 41.—*Bull.*, 1877, p. 48.

⁴ Garr., vol. ii, tav. 94, 3.—*Str.*, p. 18.

This is considered by Strzygowski to be the earliest instance in which the open heaven is represented, but we have already

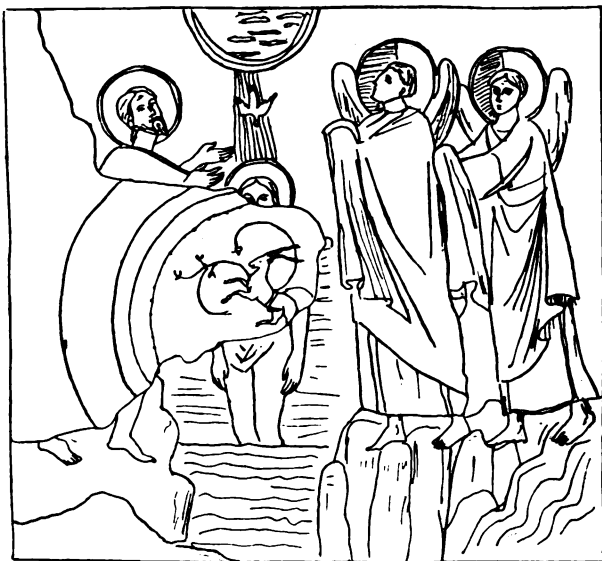


Fig. 46.

met with it on the gravestone from Aquileia (Ex. 24, fig. 21). How beautiful a feature this can be made can be seen in the



Fig. 47 (from a cast).

fresco by Fra Angelico in the cloister of San Marco at Florence, where the traditional arrangement is preserved as late as the fifteenth century in nearly all its details.

*Ex. 57. Ivory from
Rheinau.*

On an ivory in a collection from Rheinau the Saviour stands with His feet in a small font (Fig. 47). The Baptist stands to the left, an angel on the right. The hand from

heaven and the dove with a stream issuing from its beak also appear, as well as the figure of Jordan seated on a pitcher, and another with a serpent and a fish symbolizing (?) earth and water ¹.

Ex. 58. Ivory from Bamberg.

An ivory in the Royal Library at Munich originally belonging to the cathedral at Bamberg shows an angel on the right, S. John on the left, as well as the hand and the dove (Fig. 48). The water rises in a heap to the waist, and above are symbolic figures of the sun and moon with a host of angels ².



Fig. 48 (from a cast).

Ex. 59. Ivory at Darmstadt.

Another ivory from western Germany now in the museum at Darmstadt shows Christ standing in a pool of water with a scalloped margin. Two angels stand on the right (Fig. 49) ³.

The classic details of these three works and their selection of features from various schools suggest that we have in them examples of Carolingian art from the eighth or ninth century.



Fig. 49 (from a cast).

¹ Westwood, No. 277.

² *ib.*, No. 275.

³ *ib.*, No. 299.

The second Council of Nicaea (787) ordered a uniform mode of picturing the scene. It ruled that Christ should be represented in the centre between the banks of the Jordan, with S. John on the left and the two attendant angels on the right, and so the similarity of treatment that had grown up by custom was stereotyped by a positive enactment. The custom of baptizing infants had by this time become almost universal, and as the administration of the sacrament no longer formed a striking public ceremony, all temptation to modify the pictorial representation of the Gospel scene by the influence of liturgical custom was still further removed.

Ex. 60. Menologion of Basilus II. 976-1025.

The earliest example of such an illustration is probably that in the menologion of Basilus II (976-1025) in the Vatican Library at Rome, where the correct disposition of the figures is observed, and the water is represented as covering the body and the shoulders¹.

*Summary of evidence from the age of the
northern invasions.*

It will be noticed that in the examples from the fifth and sixth centuries, where the older tradition is still strong, the water is made to rise to the knees, while it is still represented as falling from a rock or fountain-head (Exx. 28-30, figs. 30-32). In early Ravennese (Exx. 26, 27, figs. 28, 29) and Oriental art generally it is made to rise higher, to the thighs (Exx. 44, 45), or to the waist (Exx. 34, 35, 41, 43, figs. 38-40). In two later examples it rises to the breast (Exx. 46, 49, fig. 43), while in the latest example we have quoted (Ex. 60) it reaches as high as the neck. In all such examples, however, the Baptist is raised very little higher than the Saviour (though in the Rabula MS. he has to stoop), and in most

¹ Str., p. 19, tav. ii, 11.

cases it is only by disregarding the laws of perspective that the water can be so pictured. In the fresco at Monza (Ex. 51, c. 700) the difficulty is avoided by showing the water rising miraculously in a heap to the waist, and this feature appears frequently in later examples (e.g. in the paliotto of Salerno (eleventh century), the Egbert Codex at Trier (989-993), the font at Liège (1112), &c.). In many later examples it rises to the neck, but in no case does it cover the head.

First traces of the custom of submersion.

The Council of Chelsea (816) first ordered (Canon 11) that priests were to take care not merely to pour the consecrated water over the head of the infant, but always to 'immerse' it in the font, as the Son of God set us an example when He was thrice 'immersed' in the waters of Jordan.

Sciunt etiam presbyterii, quando sacrum baptismum ministrant, ut non effundant aquam sanctam super capita infantium sed semper mergantur in acria; sicut exemplum praebeuit per Semetipsum Dei Filius omni credenti, quando esset ter mergatus in undis Iordanis¹.

It is curious to note that the misunderstanding of the word '*mergo*' (*mergatus*) appears as Latin begins to die out as a spoken language, and that it was in England that it was first understood as involving *submersion*.

In the middle of the ninth century baptism by affusion was evidently still the more common practice. Walafrid Strabo (849) comments on the fact that in the past 'immersion' was not considered necessary, and that in his day it was allowable to administer the sacrament by pouring water over the catechumen, as S. Laurence is said to have done in the case of the soldier who was converted by a vision of Christ wiping the limbs of the saint after he had suffered torture. 'It is with us usually so administered' he adds, 'in the case of an

¹ Darwell Stone, *Holy Baptism*, p. 271, Longmans, 1899.—Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, iii, 584 (who note on the word *acria*, 'This word stands for *aqua*, or possibly for *lavacro*').

older man who cannot be baptized in a small font.' It was evidently coming to be considered that 'immersion' must mean *total* immersion, and that this was the more perfect and primitive way, though as a rule it was not feasible, except in the case of children, in the fonts that existed.

De Eccl. Reb. XXVII. Notandum non solum mergendo verum etiam desuper fundendo multos baptizatos fuisse, et adhuc posse ita baptizari si necessitas sit, sicuti in passione beati Laurentii quendam urceo allato legimus baptizatum. Hoc etiam solet evenire cum provectionum granditas corporum in minoribus vasis tingi non patitur.

The modern Greek custom of dipping probably became universal in the East between the ninth and eleventh centuries, at the time when Byzantine art became stereotyped and so strongly marked by liturgical custom, and when original thought also gave way to rigid traditionalism. The Armenian church similarly adopted it, but retained the more primitive affusion side by side with the more recent practice.

In the time of Aquinas the newer mode of administration prevailed almost universally, and he declares it safer to baptize by 'immersion,' as it is the common use (*Summa* III, 66, 7. *Tutius est baptizare per modum immersionis quia hoc habet usus communior*), though other thirteenth-century evidence shows that even in this 'immersion' it was considered dangerous to allow the child's head to go under the water. (Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der christlichen Archäologie*, vol. vii, ch. 9, p. 235.)

It is curious to notice how this anxiety as to the method adopted appears as infant baptism becomes the rule. Indeed it is difficult to see how any one but a small child can be said to *be* baptized, if the word is to be interpreted as involving *submersion*. This was felt by Duns Scotus, who declared a priest excused if he was weak, or if the candidate was a great country fellow whom he could not lift.

Comment. in IV sentent. dist. 3, qu. 4. Excusari potest minister a trina immersione, ut si minister sit impotens et si sit unus

magnus rusticus qui debet baptizari quem nec potest immergere nec elevare. (Augusti, p. 217.)

In the sixteenth century in the English and Roman ritual affusion is recognized as equally permissible, as was also the case in the Lutheran and Calvinistic bodies ; and since that time the mediaeval custom of dipping has ceased to be practised in the West except by the English Baptist community.

Conclusion of positive evidence from Archaeology.

To sum up :—

We notice from these sixty examples, ranging from the first to the tenth century and coming from Rome, Gaul, Spain, Milan, Ravenna, Armenia, Syria, Egypt, Byzantium, Sicily, Ireland, the Kingdom of Lombardy, and the court of Karl the Great, that the type is persistent, and lasts with little real alteration from the earliest times till it hands on the traditional form to mediaeval art. The oldest scenes simply represent the idea of baptism ; the slight modification of the fourth century is due to elaboration borrowed from liturgical custom ; and the more marked influence of Ravenna, Syria, and Byzantium is due to an attempt to secure historic realism. As far as there is any development in the actual mode of administration it is towards submersion, but the furthest step in that direction consists in representing the water as rising (in most cases miraculously) as high as the neck.

On the other hand :—

Illustrations of what probably indicates immersion are found in two pontificals attributed to the ninth century, one in the Minerva Library at Rome (Kraus, *Realencyclopädie*, art. 'Taufe' p. 838), and one in the Library at Windsor. Both are reproduced in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, art. 'Baptism,' § 43. In both cases it is an infant that is about to be dipped, and in the latter a priest in alb and stole administers the rite while a bishop in chasuble and stole descends from

his desk and prepares to anoint the child. A similar scene occurs on the ivory book-cover of the Sacramentary of Drogo at Metz (ninth century), where eighteen liturgical and other



Fig. 50 (from a cast).



Fig. 51.

scenes are represented. In the eighth the water in a small font under a canopy is being consecrated, while in the ninth two small children are

being dipped. Another scene shows the baptism of Christ represented in the traditional manner, with Jordan and the attendant angels (Figs. 50 and 51)¹.

We have seen then that all the evidence of archaeology goes to prove that the essential part of baptism was considered in the early Church to be the pouring of water over the candidate's head by the bishop, or the guiding his head under a descending stream, followed by the laying on of hands. There remains the question, whether this was preceded by a self-immersion, for a bishop could not have actually dipped a grown man: such an act might conceivably have taken place and yet not be represented, just as the anointing that undoubtedly followed does not appear in any of the examples we have examined that date from before the eighth century.

To answer this question we must consider the evidence of early Christian baptisteries.

¹ Westwood, No. 295.—Kraus, F. K., *Kunst und Alterthum in Elsass-Lothringen*, iii, 575.—*Geschichte*, ii, p. 16.

CHAPTER IV

BAPTISM WITHOUT A FONT

Baptism in Apostolic times.

BAPTISM in apostolic times was no doubt administered without any special font or building being set apart for the purpose. The 3,000 converts at Jerusalem (Acts ii. 41), the jailor at Philippi (xvi. 33), S. Paul at Damascus (ix. 18), the disciples at Ephesus (xix. 5), may have been baptized in some sort of bath, but it is difficult to imagine how the rite could have been carried out by submersion.

The eunuch of queen Candace was baptized in the open air (viii. 38), and the baptism of Lydia and her household (xvi. 15) may have taken place in the river near the place of prayer where she met S. Paul. Tertullian declares (*De Bapt.* 4) that S. Peter baptized in the Tiber, and he evidently contemplated the possibility of open-air baptism in his own day (c. 200).

Ideoque nulla distinctio est, mari quis an stagno flumine an fonte, lacu an alveo diluatur; nec quicquam refert inter eos, quos Ioannes in Iordane et quos Petrus in Tiberi tinxit, nisi et ille spado, quem Philippus inter vias fortuita aqua tinxit, plus salutis aut minus retulit.

The place of Christ's baptism.

The custom of open-air baptizing in the Jordan district continued at least as late as the fifth century. We have seen how such a scene of open-air baptism was interpreted in art, in the representations of our Lord's baptism. The natural features of the Holy Land, as well as local tradition, still further support this interpretation as being correct in the point we are considering, viz. the depth of the water.

‘At the foot of the hills there burst forth all the summer, not only such springs as we have in our own land, but large and copious fountains from three to twenty feet in breadth and *from one to three in depth*, with broad pools of fish, and some sending forth streams strong enough to work mills a few yards away. These fountain-heads, as they are called, are very characteristic features of the Syrian summer¹.’

Sylvia of Aquitaine (385–388) describes the traditional spot as she saw it. The spring had a sort of pool in front where it was supposed S. John had baptized, and she was told that to that day the Easter baptisms for the candidates of that district took place in the same spot².

Tunc ergo quia retinebam scriptum esse baptizasse sanctum Iohannem in Enon iuxta Salim requisivi de eo quam longe esset ipse locus. Tunc ait ille sanctus presbiter; ecce hic est in ducentis passibus; nam si vis ecce modo pedibus duco vos ibi. Nam haec aqua tam grandis et tam pura quam videtis in isto vico de ipso fonte venit. Tunc ergo gratias ei agere coepi et rogare ut duceret nos ad locum, sicut et factum est. Statim ergo coepimus ire cum eo pedibus totum per vallem amenissimam donec perveniremus usque ad hortum pomarium valde amenum, ubi ostendit nobis in medio fontem aquae optimae satis et pure, quia semel integrum fluvium demittebat. Habebat autem ante se ipse fons quasi lacum ubi parebat fuisse operatum sanctum Iohannem baptistam. Tunc dixit nobis ipse sanctus presbiter, in hodie hic hortus aliter non appellatur Greco sermone nisi copostu agiu iohanni, id est quod vos dicitis latine hortus sancti Iohannis. Nam et multi fratres sancti monachi de diversis locis venientes tendunt se ut laventur in eo loco. Denuo ergo et ad ipsum fontem sicut et in singulis locis facta est oratio et lecta est ipsa lectio, dictus etiam psalmus competens, singula et quae consuetudinis nobis erat ubicunque ad loca sancta veniebamur ita et ibi fecimus. Illud etiam presbiter sanctus dixit nobis, eo quod usque in hodierna die semper cata pascha quicumque essent baptizandi in ipso vico id est in ecclesia

¹ Smith, G. A., *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 77; of the many pools or streams of Aenon (ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁ), John iii. 23.

² *Peregrinatio Silviae*, ed. Gamurrini, ch. 45, p. 59.

que appellatur opus Melchisidech omnes in ipso fonte baptizarentur.

The place was also known to Eusebius (265-340).

Jeromè in Eus. De situ et nominibus, 163, Migne, *Patr. Lat.* tom. xxiii. p. 677 (Aenon juxta Salim ubi baptizabat Iohannes sicut in Evangelio cata Iohannem scriptum est et ostenditur nunc usque locus in octavo lapide Scythopoleos ad meridiem iuxta Salim et Iordanem); but he seems to place the scene of our Lord's baptism at Bethabara and mentions the custom of Christian baptism in the river (182, p. 884).

In later times the baptism was believed to have taken place at Bethabara in the river itself, and a cross was erected in the water to mark the spot. Antoninus Placentius (570-600) describes it as surrounded by marble steps by which it was possible to go down into the water. The legend further added that the water rolled back to allow the Saviour to stand on dry ground.

Legends of the Apostolic Age.

The Acts of Xantippe, Polyxena, and Rebecca are a Gnostic work dating probably from the third century, but using the Acts of Paul, which are most likely of the second, and are considered by Zahn to be orthodox.

Polyxena is described as meeting S. Andrew in a wood and asking him for baptism. He replies, 'Let us go, my child, where there is water.'

They come to a spring where they meet Rebecca, a Jewess, coming to draw, and a lion appears who tells the apostle to baptize them, which he does in the name of the Trinity.

The story of the lion reappears in the Acts of Paul and Thecla, and it is this legend that Jerome alludes to when he speaks with contempt of the work with its story of a baptized lion (*baptizati leonis fabulam*, *De vir. illust.* ch. 7)¹.

In the Clementine Homilies (*Hom.* xiv. 1) Mattidia is described as being baptized on the sea-shore between some

¹ James, M. R., *Texts and Studies*, vol. ii, no. 3, pp. 43-85, Cambridge, 1897.

rocks. A river or spring where there is living water is mentioned as a suitable place for baptism in Clem. Hom. *Contest.* ch. i; cf. *Hom.* xi. 26¹.

In the Acts of Linus the story is told of how S. Peter, when imprisoned in the Tullianum (Mamertine prison) under the Capitol, converted his two jailors Processus and Martinianus, and after causing a spring to burst forth baptized them and forty-seven others. The Acts date from the middle of the fourth century, and were probably taken from an earlier Greek form (G. Salmon in *Dict. Christian Biography*, art. 'Linus'). The saints are commemorated on July 2 in the Roman Breviary, and the story forms part of the lessons of the third nocturn. The spring about which the story grew up is still shown. The Tullianum was originally built as a well-house over this spring, having the usual dome form that is characteristic of the earliest buildings of Italy. The present floor of the upper chamber dates from early republican times, but the lower room was still in use in the fifth century A.D. A small circular hole forms the well-mouth, in which there is a constant supply of water. The forty-nine people could not easily have got into a room only 6 metres in diameter; still less could they have been dipped in the well. Doubts have been cast on the Roman origin of the legend on this ground².

Grisar considers the tradition is not earlier than the sixth century, as the building remained a prison in Christian times and was only converted into an oratory in the fifteenth.

Legends of the Ages of Persecution.

The Armenian Acts of Phocas, telling a story of persecution in the time of Trajan (which has however been added to later), describe the bishop as baptizing some soldiers in the sea³.

¹ *Clementis Romani Homiliae Viginti*, ed. Dressel, 1853, pp. 296, 6, 247.

² Grisar, H., 'Der Mamertinische Kerker,' in the *Zeitschrift für kath. Theologie*, 1896, p. 102.—Lanciani, R., *The Ruins and Excavations of ancient Rome*, London, 1897, p. 287.

³ Conybeare, F. C., *The Apology and Acts of Apollonius, &c.*, 1894, ch. xvi, p. 118.

'When the soldiers saw it (a torch, Gr. version 'more than ten thousand lamps') they rushed in, and throwing themselves at his feet sought of him the washing of the font—and the blessed bishop took the men and went as far as the edge of the sea outside the city and gave them the seal in Christ.' Cf. *Acta Sanctorum*, July 14, vol. iii, p. 644.

Victor of Marseilles is said to have baptized in the sea at the end of the third century (Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*, '*S. Victor Massil.*').

S. Apollinaris is said to have baptized in a house as well as in the sea and in a river at Ravenna (Surius, *Vit. Sanct.* July 23, §§ 2, 4, 11).

In the Acts of S. Laurence we read how the saint baptized Lucillus, a fellow prisoner, by pouring water over his head. Hippolytus his jailor was baptized with nineteen others in his own house and it would seem by the same method, though the Acts speak of his being 'raised out of the water,' from which we gather he stood in some bath or vessel. After he had been brought before Decius, one of the soldiers named Romanus, who had guarded him and had seen him tortured, was converted by a vision of Christ wiping his limbs. So the next day he brought a pitcher of water and cast himself at the feet of the saint, who took the water from him and gave him the baptism he desired.

Surius, *Vit. Sanct.* Aug. 10, §§ 16, 17, 21. Tum beatus Laurentius catechizavit Lucillum et accepta aqua dixit ad eum: Omnia in confessione lavantur. Tu autem me pronunciante responde 'Credo.' Benedixitque aquam et cum expoliasset eum fudit super caput eius dicens, &c.

... deinde more solito catechizavit eum, acceptamque aquam benedixit et baptizavit eum... et cum eum ex aqua elevaret... et praeclare baptizati sunt in domo... Porro Romanus urceum afferens cum aqua opportunitatem captabat... accessit et aquam afferens, misit se ad pedes beati Laurentii rogavitque cum lacrymis ut baptizaretur. Et acceptam aquam benedixit et baptizavit eum.

This incident is referred to by Walafrid Strabo (849).

In the Acts of Pope Marcellus, a deacon named Sisinius baptizes a certain Apronianus, who was sent to conduct him to the prefect Laodicius. When they are both committed to prison they are described as baptizing numbers who visited them there.

The baptism of Apronianus, according to the story, took place in a basin within the house; and in a later form of the Acts it is narrated in similar words how the deacon Cyriacus baptized a Persian princess in a silver bath (cp. the tombstone from Aquileia, Ex. 23, Fig. 21). The place where he had erected a baptistery in his own house was afterwards, during the persecution of Diocletian, turned into a bath by a pagan named Carpasius.

Eadem hora allata est aqua et catechizavit eum et benedixit fontem et deposuit eum nudum in pelvim dicens &c. . . et elevavit eum de pelvi et duxit eum ad Sanctum Marcellum.

Cumque essent in custodia veniebant ad eos multi Gentiles et baptizabantur cum omni fiducia¹.

Catechizavit eam et allata aqua deposuit eam nudam in concham argenteam. . . . Cum vidisset Carpasius placatum sibi Maximianum, petiit ab eo domum beati Cyriaci, qui confestim, quod petebatur, ei concessit. Et cum introisset in eandem domum, quam donaverat B. Cyriaco Diocletianus Augustus, invenit locum ubi S. Cyriacus fontem aedificavit, quem consecravit beatus Marcellus episcopus, ubi frequenter baptizabat S. Cyriacus venientes ad fidem. Tunc Carpasius vicarius paganus crudelissimus, cum in eadem domo invenisset baptisterium, fecit in loco eodem balneum, quasi ad deridendam legem christianorum². Cf. Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der christlichen Archäologie*, vol. 7, pp. 187, 189, 225.

The Acts in their present form seem to be of the fifth or sixth century, though they are based on an earlier tradition. Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* vol. i, pp. xcix and 165.

Baptism in Special Circumstances.

A legend of the Diocletian persecution told in the spurious Acts of Peter of Alexandria narrates how a woman in a storm

¹ *Gesta Marcelli Papae. Surti vit. Sanct.*, Jan. 16, § 3, 5, p. 334.

² *Acta Sanctorum, Boll.*, Jan. 16, vol. ii, §§ 16, 23, p. 7.

at sea baptized her child with blood drawn from her breast, and that when she brought it afterwards to the font, the water turned to stone to prevent the repetition of the sacrament.

A tradition of the end of the fourth century relates that S. Athanasius when a boy conferred baptism in play on some children on the sea-shore at Alexandria. He was observed by the Bishop Alexander, who, having ascertained that the necessary questions had been duly answered and the water poured over them (*infusa*), declared the rite was not to be repeated, but that it only needed completion.

Rufinus, *H. E.* bk. i. ch. 14. Videt eminus puerorum super oram maris ludum imitantium . . . statuisset traditur illis quibus integris interrogationibus et responsionibus aqua fuerat infusa iterari baptismum non debere sed adimpleri.

A story is told by Johannes Moschus (620) which he heard from a certain abbot Andrew. He said that as a young man he was very unsettled (*ἀτακτος πᾶν*, *indisciplinatus valde et inquietus fui*) and that he fled into the desert of Palestine with nine others, of whom one was called Philoponos and one was a Jew. The Jew fell ill, and though for some time refusing to desert him, they at last saw it was necessary unless they were all to die of thirst. The Jew begged for baptism, but they demurred, as there was no bishop or presbyter among them, and besides there was no water. Philoponos, however, told them to strip him and set him on his feet, which they did with some difficulty. Then filling his hands with sand he poured it thrice on his head, saying, 'Theodore is baptized,' &c. The Jew was at once healed, and on returning to Ascalon he went to Dionysius the bishop, who called his clergy together to discuss the validity of such a baptism. Some argued that it was valid, as it had been confirmed by a miracle; others said that though Moses baptized in water, in the cloud and in the sea, John in penitence, and Jesus in the spirit, and though Gregory of Nazianzen mentioned the baptism of blood and that of tears, no mention was made of sand; so the bishop thought it best to take him to the Jordan and baptize him

there, making Philoponos a deacon. No one, however, seems to have objected to the baptism on the ground that he had not been totally immersed in the sand¹.

Καὶ μετὰ πολλοῦ κόπου ὄρθιον αὐτὸν στήσαντες ἐξεδύσαμεν. ὁ δὲ Φιλόπονος πληρώσας ψάμμον τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τρις κατέχεεν αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ λέγων κ.τ.λ.

In all the above cases of baptism administered in the ages of persecution, or under special circumstances, we have seen that submersion could not have been practised, and yet there is no trace of justification of the method adopted as though it were unusual or as if excuse were necessary.

Clinical Baptism.

The objection to the clinical baptism of Novatian (Eus. *H. E.* vi. 43) was not that he had not been dipped, but that he had only sought the rite on his sick bed in fear of death, and that he had never made up for the supposed necessity of such an act by seeking the seal of the bishop according to the rule of the Church. No stress is laid on the word 'by pouring' (*περιχυθείς*), but further instances of his cowardice are given immediately after.

So Cyprian (Ep. 76, Migne, *Patr. Lat.* vol. iii, p. 1147), after arguing that baptism out of the church is invalid, goes on to answer the objections of those who considered that persons who had been baptized in sickness ought not to be called Christians, but clinics, on the ground that they were not washed but sprinkled (*non loti sunt sed perfusi*). He says it is not as if it were an actual bath, and there were need of salt of nitre (*aphronitrum*) and a seat (*solium*) to sit on while washing yourself. He quotes Ezek. xxxvi. 25, Numb. xix. 8, 12, 13, viii. 6-7, and xix. 9, and argues that aspersion is allowable if faith is sound; but throughout, the contrast, as far as it refers to the method of administration, is between sprinkling and pouring over the whole body, while the sole objection to

¹ Johannes Moschus, *Pratum Spirituale*, ch. 176, Migne, lxxxvii, pars iii, p. 3043.

clinical baptism in his eyes is that it does not take place in the presence of the Church.

Nec quemquam movere debet quod aspergi vel perfundi videntur aegri cum gratiam dominicam consequuntur. . . . Unde apparet aspersionem quoque aquae instar salutaris lavacri obtinere et quando haec in Ecclesia fiunt, ubi sit et accipientis et dantis fides integra, stare omnia et consummari ac perfici posse maiestate Domini et fidei veritate.

The synod of Neocaesarea (314-325) forbade the ordaining of persons baptized in sickness, on the ground that their acceptance of the faith had been forced on them by circumstances. The rule was only to be relaxed if on recovery they showed a special zeal, or if (an unfortunate alternative) there was a lack of candidates for Holy Orders.

Ἐάν νοσῶν τις φωτισθῇ, εἰς πρεσβύτερον ἀγεσθαι οὐ δύναται . . . οὐκ ἐκ προαιρέσεως γὰρ ἡ πίστις αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης . . . εἰ μὴ τάχα διὰ τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ σπουδὴν καὶ πίστιν καὶ διὰ σπάνιν ἀνθρώπων¹.

Affusion in Church Orders.

In the *Didaché* it is considered the natural thing, if there is no suitable tank with running or other water for the candidate to stand in while the water is poured over his whole body, that it should be simply poured over his head alone, that being considered the only essential part of the ceremony. In the Canons of Hippolytus the presbyter is directed to keep his hand on the catechumen's head while he is being baptized, an injunction which would seem to preclude the idea of dipping, as the water in which both presbyter and catechumen stand is obviously shallow. (Haneberg, *Canon* 19. 125: 'tum prima vice immergitur aquae, dum ille manum capiti eius impositam relinquit.') In the later so-called Canons of Basil we find that submersion has come to be considered the better way, though three handfuls of water poured over the head and body are held sufficient as an alternative.

Findet man nichts, worin man untertauchen kann, soll er im Namen der Dreiheit drei Hände voll Wasser auf sein Haupt

¹ Conc. Neocaes. can. xii, Hefele, vol. 1, § 17.

erhalten, und er soll Wasser auf sein Haupt und seinen ganzen Körper giessen und ihn baden¹.

One would like to know, however, what was the original Greek word, and whether possibly the idea of submersion has not been due to either the Arabic or the Coptic translator through whose hands the Canons seem to have passed in turn, and whether in the earliest form the two alternatives were not simply those of the *Didaché*.

Baptism in Private Houses.

In the earliest times, however, open-air baptism must have been the exception, as such a ceremony could hardly fail to attract attention. Before the conversion of Constantine Christian worship could only be carried on in private houses (*domus ecclesiae*), where the wealth of the owner formed a protection, or in the catacombs, where probably as early as the second century the Church had a legal position as a burial guild; and it is only natural to suppose that baptism, which was followed immediately by the Communion, was conferred in the same places².

In private houses the rite could only have been administered in the impluvium, in the middle of the atrium, or in a bath-room. The atrium of a house was semi-public, and all evidence seems to show that Christians met in the inner peristylum. The arrangements of later churches in the West long continued to follow that of the private house, the catechumens being confined to the more public outer court, where the fountain served for the ablutions of the faithful. Bernini's colonnade before S. Peter's at Rome, with its two fountains, is the seventeenth-century development of the old court of Constantine's building in which Symmachus set up the pine-cone fountain now in the Giardino della Pigna of the Vatican.

¹ Riedel, W., *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 282, canon 105.

² Lightfoot, J. B., *Historical Essays*, pp. 61-2.—Ramsay, W. M., *The Church in the Roman Empire*, London, 1893.

Examples of baths in private houses can still be seen in the house of Germanicus on the Palatine and in that of the Vestals in the Forum. They lie to the right of the tablinum, in the more private quarters of the house, but in neither of them nor in the more public impluvium would submersion have been possible.

In the bath described by Pliny (bk. v. ep. 6) there was a piscina deep enough to swim in, but it is noticeable that the basin described as a 'baptisterium,' though a large one, was not of sufficient depth for that purpose.

Inde apodyterium balinei laxum et hilare excipit cella frigidaria in qua baptisterium amplum atque opacum. Si natare latius aut tepidius velis in area piscina est; in proximo puteus ex quo possis rursus astringi, si poeniteat teporis. Cf. also Bk. ii. ep. 17. Inde balinei cella frigidaria spatiosa et effusa cuius in contrariis parietibus duo baptisteria velut eiecta sinuantur abunde capacia si mare in proximo cogites.

Baptism in private houses lasted as late as the sixth century. We read that it was forbidden, except in cases of necessity, in 527 at the Council of Dovin in Armenia (Can. 16; Hefele, vol. iii. § 240), and at the Council 'in Trullo' (Quinisext) at Constantinople in 692 it was forbidden, except with the consent of the bishop (Can. 31, vol. iv. § 327).

CHAPTER V

THE FONT IN THE EAST

Fonts in Egypt.

Egypt was probably the first country to develop a distinctively Christian Art, just as she became early famous for her literature and her catechetical school, and this art seems to have continued with but little influence from outside. The dome building-form is almost universally found, and shows no sign of being modified by the Byzantine evolution that produced S. Sophia or by the basilica development of Rome, while at the same time the tradition of a domestic architecture lasted long, especially in the disposition of monastic buildings¹.

This is seen in the usual shape and position of the font. Every Coptic church has what is called the Epiphany tank, usually about 8 or 10 feet by 6, and 5 or 6 feet deep. This, says Butler, 'it is reasonable to suppose was used for immersion, as it stands in the narthex, but there is no distinct evidence or tradition that it was so.' It seems rather to be the Egyptian form of the fountain that developed from the impluvium of the Roman house as described above. Just as in the West it was used for ablutions, and after being brought inside the church dwindled down to the holy water stoup, so the Egyptian churches have a second form, generally about 2 feet by one, placed at the west of the nave and used for the *mandatum* and ablutions.

The font, on the other hand, is found in various positions near the sanctuary, as the bath-room would have been in the inner part of the house. It is described as 'a deep circular

¹ Butler, A. J., *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, Oxford, 1884.—Schultze, V., *Archäologie der christlichen Kunst*, p. 115.

basin like our modern fonts, though there is no trace of separate circular or hexagonal baptisteries' (Butler, pp. 22, 41).

Ex. 61. Dair Mâri Mîna. ? Fourth century.

Thus at Dair Mâri Mîna, between old and new Cairo, there is a small font to the south of the apse at the east end. The church was restored in 730, but this part is considered to belong to the original fourth-century building (pp. 62, 73).

Ex. 62. Dair Abu' 's Sifain. ? Tenth century.

At Dair Abu' 's Sifain are two fonts consisting of large basins built up into the masonry. One has a square enlargement east and west, at the bottom of which are two steps 'obviously adapted for immersion,' though the font itself is not more than 4 feet in depth, and apparently only about 3 feet in diameter; the size of the other at the end of the south aisle is about the same, and the depth 3 feet (p. 117). The building of the church is ascribed to Christodulus (1060), but it is probably earlier, and was built or rebuilt in 927.

Three more dating from the seventh or eighth century are mentioned as existing at the churches of Anba Shanûda, Mari Girgis, and Sit Miriam at Abu' 's Sifain in the usual position, but no measurements are given (pp. 138 and 144).

Ex. 63. Abu Sargah. Third or sixth century.

At the church of Abu Sargah in old Cairo, an eighth-century building with a sixth-century crypt, is a round font imbedded in masonry of a diameter of 2 feet, while in the crypt is a round stone vessel 30 inches across, which it is suggested is part of the original second or third-century building that was remade in the sixth (plan, pp. 201 and 203).

Ex. 64. Dair al Abiad. Third or fourth century.

At Dair al Abiad, the white monastery (Anba Shanûda) dating from the third or fourth century, is a small chapel on

the south side of the narthex which was probably a baptistery, and was described by V. Denon in 1799 as 'containing a magnificent font for immersion'; from the plan (fig. 26) in Butler it was about 4 feet in diameter. The basin seems to have been sunk in a platform of masonry which was ascended by a short flight of steps (pp. 17, 354 and vol. ii, p. 265).

On page 43 the author mentions the font at Dair Abu' 's Sifain as a 'very early font, which differs from the others in being deeper and having on each side of the well a short flight of steps; in other words, it is adapted more for immersion than sprinkling.' The steps, however, are elsewhere described as only two in number, and the church dating from the tenth century makes this example of *later* origin than any of the others cited; but even in this *larger* type of *late* font it would be impossible to 'immerse' any but a very undersized man, though we need not therefore assume that the modern custom of sprinkling was substituted for affusion.

Ex. 65. Al' Adra.

At the little church by the cathedral of Al' Adra is a font described as standing in a recess 3 feet deep, in the form of a deep round basin with a rim curving out and fluted sides. The room is described as tiny and the church as little altered from the day of its dedication, and probably one of the oldest in Egypt (p. 226).

Legends of miraculous fonts.

Johannes Moschus (620) mentions a miraculous font (φῶτισμα) which he says existed at Cedrebatia, and which filled itself on the eve of Easter and remained full till Whitsuntide. The font is described as consisting of one block (μονόλιθον ὄν), from which we see that the type with which he was familiar must have been about the size of those described above¹.

A similar story is told by Gregory of Tours (sixth century) of a font in Lusitania, which seems to have been of a cruciform

¹ *Pratum Spirituale*, Migne, *Patr. Graeco-Lat.*, lxxxvii, pars iii, p. 3107.

shape, forming an exception to the usual rule in the West where, as we shall see, the basins are generally circular or octagonal. He relates that, though the doors of the baptistery were sealed on Thursday in Holy Week, when they were opened on Saturday the font was not only found full, but the water was piled up like a heap of corn, and that it stayed so until every one had drawn away all that was required for their fields or their homes, but that as soon as the first baptism took place in it it shrank back, and disappeared when all had received the sacrament. The water rose miraculously for the convenience of those who wished to draw from it, but there was no need to rise to cover the bodies of the catechumens.

Piscina namque est apud Osen campum antiquitus sculpta et ex marmore vario in modum crucis mirò composita opere. Sed et aedes magnae claritatis et celsitudinis desuper a christianis constructa est. . . Ac mirum dictu, piscinam quam reliquerant vacuum reperiunt plenam, et ita cumulo altiore refertam ut solet super ora modiorum triticum aggregari, videasque huc illucque latices fluctuare nec partem in diversam defluere . . . licet ubi infans primus intinctus fuerit, mox aqua reducitur et baptizatis omnibus lymphis in se reversis ut initio produntur nescio ita ut fine clauduntur ignaro ¹.

The same legend reappears in the description of the scene of our Lord's baptism by the pilgrim Antoninus Placentius (570-600), where, however, the miracle is described as taking place on the night of the festival of the Epiphany. It seems also to be referred to by Theodosius (530) some years earlier.

Syrian and Egyptian Church Orders.

It is impossible to say with certainty whether the Canons of Hippolytus (third century) contemplate the use of a special font for baptism. They survive only in an Arabic version, and are generally quoted in the Latin translation published by H. Achelis in the Leipzig *Texte und Untersuchungen*,

¹ Greg. Tur., *De Glor. mart.*, i. 24, Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, lxxi, p. 725.

vol. vi, 1891, or in that of D. B. von Haneberg (München 1870).

In the former, Canon 19, § 112 orders the catechumens to assemble at cockcrow by a current of water of a 'baḥr,' pure, prepared and holy (prope fluctuantem aquam maris puram, paratam, sacram). This, Achelis seems to consider, contemplates the administration of the rite in sea-water.

Von Haneberg, on the other hand, believes it may refer either to open-air baptism in a river or to a font, and in the introduction to his edition of the Canons inclines to the latter interpretation.

F. C. Burkitt in a note in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1900, p. 279, considers that the passage cannot refer to the sea, as the word 'baḥr' is without the article, nor does he think it can be applied to a piece of ecclesiastical furniture like the 'sea' in Solomon's temple, because the Arabic word 'tayyâr' signifies not so much 'waves' as the current of a stream. He holds that in Canon 29, § 213, where the dust of the sanctuary is ordered to be thrown into the water of a 'baḥr tayyâr' (in aquam maris undosi), a running stream must be implied as in the ritual enjoined in Lev. xiv. 5, 50. He would prefer therefore to translate 'let them assemble at cockcrow by the water, a running stream pure, prepared, and holy.' W. Riedel, in the translation of the Canons in his *Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien*, agrees with him, and renders the passage 'das Wasser eines reinen brausenden Flusses' (p. 211).

It is evident that the Arabic translator did not understand the words before him in the original, so for its interpretation we must rely on internal evidence and on parallel passages in other Church Orders. The service as described in the Canons clearly takes place in a church (§§ 135, 142, &c.), and it is more natural to suppose that the order to throw the dust of the sanctuary into a running stream would refer to a fountain of running water within the precincts of the building. The killing of the bird, in Lev. xiv. 6, seems to take place at the

tent of meeting, and in verse 50 the running water seems to be within the house that is to be purified. All this suggests that a font is meant in the Canon.

This is further borne out by the parallel passages in allied Church Orders. The Egyptian Heptateuch, first published by H. Tattam in 1848, is given thus in his translation from the Bohairic dialect (§ 46, p. 54):—‘And at the time of the cock-crowing let them first pray over the water. Let the water be drawn into the font or flowing into it, and let it be thus if there be no scarcity. But if there be a scarcity, let them pour the water which shall be found into the font, and let them undress themselves,’ &c. The Sahidic version in Lagarde, *Aegyptiaca*, Can. Ecclesiast. No. 46, p. 255, has the same words, but adds ‘and haste’ after the word translated ‘scarcity,’ and continues ‘use what water can be found.’

The Verona Latin fragment is defective, but the Ethiopic statutes contain the same directions:—‘At the time of cock-crow let them pray first over the water, whether it was such as flowed into the tank or was caused to flow into it. If there was difficulty let him pour water which has been drawn’ (from a well); and the Arabic statutes (MS. Vat. § 34) say:—‘At the time of cockerow let him pray first over the water, and let the water be either running to the tank or running upon it. Let it be thus unless there was urgent necessity; if there was constraint let him pour in water which is found¹.’

So in the Syrian ‘Testament of our Lord’ (? fourth cent.) in which a baptistery is specially mentioned, we find it ordered that the water is to be pure and running (*hoc autem modo baptizentur dum accedunt ad aquas quæ debent esse mundæ et fluentes*)².

These documents are based on a lost Church Order originating probably in Syria in the second century. They seem

¹ I am indebted to the Rev. G. Horner for the above two unpublished quotations.

² *Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi*, ed. I. E. Rahmani, Mainz, 1899, bk. ii.

to show that baptism took place, not in the open air, but in a vessel within doors, and preferably in one that had a continuous stream running into it to keep it fresh. Such basins would naturally be erected in churches, but where no such fountain was available, water might be brought in and poured over the head of the catechumen.

This explains the passage in the Didache which has generally been interpreted as referring to open-air baptism :— ‘Baptize . . . in living water. But if thou hast not living water, baptize in other water, and if thou canst not in cold then in warm. And if thou have not either, pour water thrice upon the head,’ &c.

οὕτω βαπτίσατε . . . ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι. Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς ὕδωρ ζῶν, εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ βάπτισον· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῷ, ἐν θερμῷ. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφοτέρω μὴ ἔχῃς, ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρις ὕδωρ κ.τ.λ.

The natural place for the rite to be administered would be indoors, preferably in a fountain with running water ; but, failing this, any tank or warm bath might be used. If no basin were at hand of sufficient size to allow the catechumen to stand in it while the water was poured over his body, it was enough if it were poured thrice over his head.

Fonts in Syria.

Christianity spread rapidly in very early times in Syria. From Jerusalem it passed to the lowlands of Palestine, whence in the persecutions of Decius and Diocletian it sent a continuous stream of martyrs to Caesarea (Eus. *H. E.* bk. VIII). Flourishing communities existed from earliest times in the great cities of Antioch, Edessa, and Damascus, but no remains of their churches have survived, except at Tyre and Jerusalem. On the other hand, numerous traces of the Christianity of the smaller towns and villages have been discovered, especially of that which followed the Roman civilizing of the Hauran in the second century ; and though the Diocletian persecution

seems to have swept away such buildings as may have then existed, there are considerable remains of the fourth and fifth-century churches with certain strongly marked architectural features. The latest are of the middle of the seventh century, while after the capture of Damascus by the Mohammedans in 635, only one single church is known to have been built in ancient times.

Ex. 66. Tyre, 314.

The cathedral at Tyre was built by Bp. Paulinus in 314, and is described by Eusebius in his sermon on the occasion of its dedication, preserved in his Ecclesiastical History (bk. X, ch. 4). It was evidently considered an event of great importance at the time, since it was the first large church that had been built, and signalized the final triumph of Christianity. He mentions the fountain (κρήναι) for washing the hands that stood in the atrium, and also alludes to adjoining buildings (ἐξέδρας καὶ οἴκους) joined to the side (εἰς πλευρά) of the basilica and united with the entrances into the centre of the structure (ταῖς ἐπὶ τὸν μέσον οἶκον εἰσβολαῖς ἡνωμένους), for those 'who still require the purification and sprinkling (περιρραντηρίων) of water and the Holy Spirit.'

It is much to be regretted that his description is so vague, and the remains of the church so scanty. Erected at that particular time it must have preserved the traditions of the previous century, and shown what Christians would have wished to build in the days of persecution had they been able; while it also formed a link with later times in that it probably set the example which the churches of the fourth century followed, and became the starting-point of the whole development in church building in post-Constantinian times.

The ruins of the cathedral were explored by Dr. S. N. Sepp in 1845, when he reported that he discovered the old font in the left aisle, and it is marked in this position in his plan (*Meerfahrt nach Tyrus*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 217). In his description of the alterations and rebuilding of the thirteenth

century, a font of the same shape is referred to as standing on the right hand of the nave near the altar.

In 1874, however, he excavated one of the adjoining buildings, and there discovered 'a basin in the form of a drawn out cross with three' (four in the diagram) 'steps at each end'

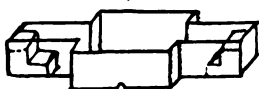


Fig. 52.

(Fig. 52). It seems to have been used later for burial purposes, and fragments of an altar and a sarcophagus ornamented with fairly good classical decoration were found near, pointing to a date in the fourth

century. This seems to have been the same font as that which he discovered in 1845, but it had been broken in the meanwhile.

The actual basin is oblong, with extensions at either end for the steps. The depth is $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet and the length 6 feet (? without the extensions), the breadth is not stated. The draw-hole is marked in the plan.

Dr. Sepp considers this to be the original font, and, after describing it as probably the oldest basin for 'immersion' that exists, adds that from its slight depth it could not have served for adults, and therefore proves that infant baptism was practised from earliest times! He does not suggest where the adults could have been baptized, or the purpose of the steps if the font was only used for infants.

Dr. Sepp also describes a spring in a rock chamber with a yard depth of water (*ellenhoch*), which he identifies with the source of the fountain in the atrium of which Eusebius speaks.

The baptistery occupies a similar position in the description of a church given in ch. 19 of the 'Testament of our Lord,' a Church Order dating in its present form probably from the fourth century, but based upon an earlier work. No description of the font, however, is given.

Intra atrium sit aedes baptisterii habens longitudinem viginti et unius cubitorum, ad praefigurandum numerum completum

prophetarum, et latitudinem duodecim cubitorum pro adumbrandis iis, qui constituti fuerunt ad praedicandum evangelium. Aditus sit unus, exitus vero sint tres.

Velum ex bysso pura confectum habeat altare, quoniam est immaculatum. Similiter domus baptismi [i. e. baptisterium] sit velo oblecta ¹.

Ex. 67. Amwas. Fourth century.

A fourth-century baptistery was discovered in 1884 at Amwas (Emmaus) by Dr. C. Schick, containing a font in remarkable preservation. The building is square with an apse, in the middle of the chord of which lies a cruciform basin with rounded ends (Fig. 53). The area of the apse where the bishop would have stood is raised to a level with the rim of the basin, which is only half sunk in the ground. Two steps lead into it on the west side. On each side are shallow depressions in the floor, connected with the basin by a drain which pierces its side. These were possibly the places where the newly baptized stood to receive unction, and were constructed to carry back the water that ran from their bodies. No accurate measurements were taken, but the following are approximate—breadth 3.5 metres, depth 1.35 metre.

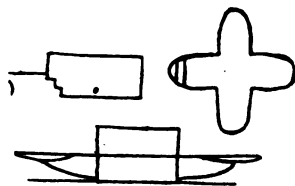


Fig. 53.

Taking into account the fact that the basin is half sunk in the level of the floor in which these curious depressions are made, the water in it could never have been more than about half a metre deep, or it would have run off through the drains and covered the floor of the baptistery ².

¹ *Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi*, ed. Rahmani, Mainz, 1899.

² Schick, C., in *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Bd. vii, 1884, p. 15, with a picture.

Ex. 68. Beit 'Aûwa. ? Fourth century.

A font was discovered in 1875 at Beit 'Aûwa, near Hebron, in a 'Byzantine building' (Fig. 54). 'In the centre is a square basin, side 2 feet 3 in., 7 in. deep, four steps lead down' (i.e. two structural steps, as appears from the plan) '5 in. high, 9 in. broad (i.e. the total depth 20 in.), the whole surrounded by four segmental recesses, the external form being that of a rounded cross; the longest measurement being 5½ feet, the total height outside 2 feet 4 in.'

The font is described as 'fitted for immersion.' Evidently there were none of the descendants of the Anakim surviving¹.

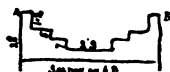
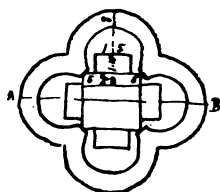


Fig. 54.

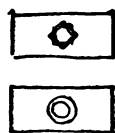
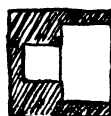
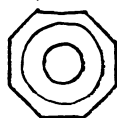


Fig. 55.

Ex. 68 α.

Another at Khûrbet Tekûa, south of Bethlehem, is described as octagonal, 4 feet high, 4 feet 3 in. in diameter (Fig. 55). The plan shows only one step².

Ex. 69. Deir Seta. ? Fifth century.

Among the extensive ruins of the Hauran very few traces of baptisteries have been found. The most important is that

¹ Conder, C. R., and Kitchener, *Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs, 1883, vol. iii, p. 321.

² *Ib.*, p. 368.

of Deir Seta. It is a hexagonal building, some way from the church, with a sort of portico adjoining. The sides are 15 feet in length, so the diameter is some 30 feet. The central basin is described as not visible because covered by the ruins of the roof, but it is marked in the plan as hexagonal, with six pillars that once supported a ciborium. If the plan is correct the basin must have been some 8 to 10 feet across¹.

Another at Moudjeleia is given on pl. lxiii, but no measurements are given.

There is one also at Qal'at Sim'an, the church built soon after the death of Simeon of the pillar, who died 460. It is an octagonal building, but nothing is said of the shape or size of the font².

In the 'Acta Maris Apostoli' is the following account of the origin of a baptistery in Mesopotamia or Persia. The saint has converted the king after casting out seventy-two devils from his son, which fly out of his mouth in the form of strange beasts, 'regem vero et civitatem baptizavit in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Fornacem autem regii palatii foderunt usque ad aquas, et aedificavit beatus Mar Mares ecclesiam. Et super aquam fornacis quam in puteum converterant aedificavit baptisterium, et puteus usque in hodiernum diem iuxta testimonium nonnullorum baptisterium est; et signa magna efficiuntur ab aquis illis.'

The Acts are ascribed to the fifth or sixth century, but may possibly be of the fourth, as there is no reference to Nestorianism in them³.

The churches of Asia Minor and Byzantium were closely connected with that of Syria, and the fonts seem to have been of the same shape as those which represent the earlier traditions of Palestine.

Ex. 70. Aladschadagh. Sixth century.

A baptistery near Myra in Lycia is described as built in the form of a Greek cross with a breadth of 4.5 metres

¹ De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, pl. cxvii.

² *Ib.*, pl. cxxxix-eli.

³ *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1885, iv, 79 and *Intro.*, p. 45.

between the pillars at the angles. The square basin (Taufbrunnen) still stands in the centre, and is .82 metres high and .86 broad. The building is of the same age as the neighbouring church, which is of the 'usual early Christian basilica form' with a fore-court, and capitals 'resembling those of S. Vitale at Ravenna.' We may therefore place it in the sixth century¹.

Ex. 71. Gül Bagtische. Seventh century.

The ruins of a baptistery have been recently discovered at Gül-Bagtische, two hours west of Vurla (Clazomenae). It stood with its chambers for the preparation of the catechumens on the north side of the church. The font was square and constructed of white marble slabs, and seems to have stood under a canopy. Three steps (two as given in the plan) led down to it. The channels to fill and empty the basin are still visible. The font itself is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ metres across, the central slab being about 1 metre square. The depth is not stated, but judging from the steps it must be rather less than 1 metre. The building is attributed to the seventh century.

Erhalten sind von dem Taufort die Fundamente der Umfassungsmauern, im Innern vier starke aufgemauerte Eckpfeiler, aus gut gearbeiteten Quadern, und im Centrum das mit drei Stufen versehene Taufbassin in weissem Marmor ausgeführt. Die Marmorplatten waren mit Gips verkettet. Dass der Wasserzufluss hier auch ein künstlicher war, beweisen die Wasserrohre, die das eine oben an der SW. Ecke des Bassins im Boden, das andre in der westlichen Umfassungsmauer noch aufrecht, in situ, stehen. Unten im Bassin selbst, an der Nordwand, führte eine Thonrohrleitung das Wasser ab².

Ex. 72. S. Sophia, Constantinople. Fifth century.

A circular building at the NE. angle of S. Sophia at Constantinople is supposed to be the baptistery of the pre-

¹ Petersen, E., and von Luschan, F., *Reisen in Lykien*, Wien, 1889, vol. ii, pp. 38 ff.

² *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, Oct. 1901, p. 568.

Justinian church, and to have escaped the fire that destroyed the old building in 532. It is 45 feet in diameter, but no traces of a font are described.

In the Imperial Museum at Constantinople, however, is a large marble font of oval quatrefoil shape, which was formerly in the precincts of the Mosque Zeinab Sultana, to the west of S. Sophia (Fig. 56). It is 8 ft. 2½ in. long, 6 ft. 1½ in.

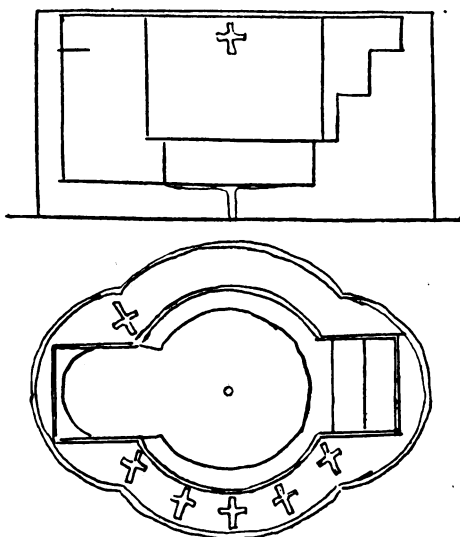


Fig. 56.

wide, and 4 ft. 6 in. deep. At one end it can be entered by a descent of two steps¹.

In the illustration the section gives three steps, while the plan has the usual two. Another smaller one is mentioned as existing in the precincts of the Mosque Kotza Mustapha Pasha (p. 81).

A small octagonal building described by Blouet (*Exploration scientifique de la Morée*, 1831) appears from the engraving (pl. 3) to be merely a fountain.

¹ Lethaby and Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia*, London, 1894, pp. 19, 81, 183.

Ex. 73. Salona. Before 641.

A plan and description of the group of buildings that formed the baptistery of the cathedral of Salona, near Spalato in Dalmatia, was published in 1850 by Dr. Fr. Carrara (*De' Scavi di Salona nel 1848*, Vienna), but no description of the font itself was given beyond stating that it was of marble and mosaic. The plan, which is reproduced in Garrucci, tav. 278, and has been frequently reproduced in books of Christian archaeology, is misleading, and represents it as T-shaped.

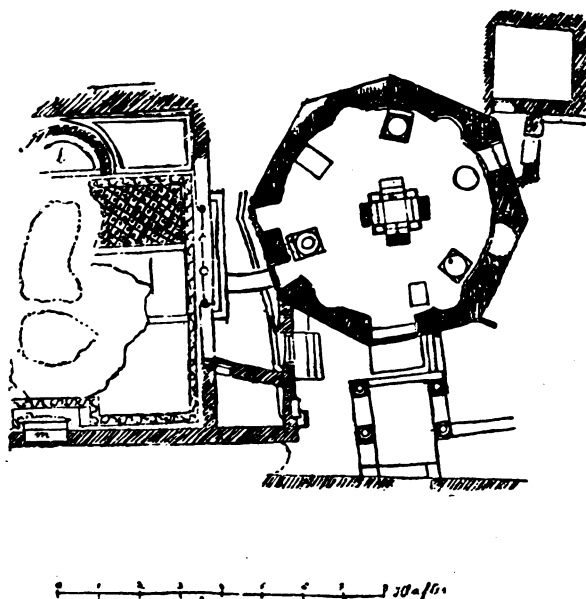


Fig. 57.

A more accurate plan is given by Fr. Lanza in his work *Monumenti Salonitani inediti*, Vienna, 1856, tav. ii. fig. 2. He describes the font as square, and entered on three sides by a descent of two steps (Fig. 57). On the third side there seems to have been a desk for the bishop, and at the four corners were red marble pillars which must have served to support a canopy.

Since that time unfortunately the font has suffered further damage, as for some years there was no curator of the ruins. The steps have disappeared as well as the remains of the bishop's desk. The hole by which the basin was emptied can still be seen and is shown in the illustration (Fig. 58), but the leaden pipe mentioned by Lanza has gone.

In its present condition the font is 1 metre wide by .80 m. deep, but originally it could not have been more than .70-.80 m. square, and could only hold one person with difficulty. A description of the recent excavations of the adjoining

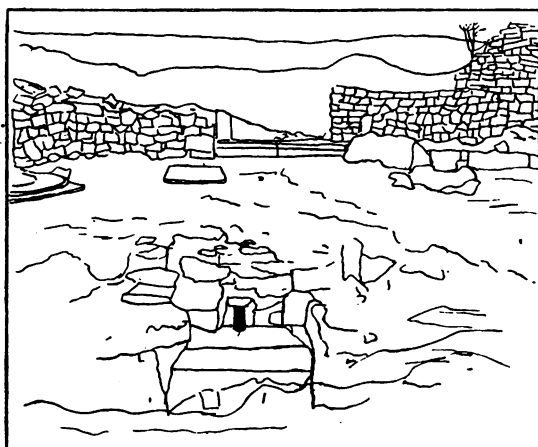


Fig. 58 (from a photograph).

basilica, in the course of which the canal for conveying the water to the baptistery was discovered, will appear in the *Bullettino d' Archeologia e Storia Dalmata* for 1902.

I am indebted for the above information to the kindness of Prof. Fr. Bulić, Director of the Museum at Spalato, who considers that the font could not have been used for submersion (*Untertauchung*), and that the rite must have been administered by affusion (*Aufgiessen*).

Salona was taken by the Avars in 641, and the inhabitants fled to Spalato and took refuge in the ruins of the palace of

Diocletian. The baptistery must therefore be at least as old as the sixth century.

Guida di Spalato e Salona. Zara, 1894, p. 233. Nel centro dell' edificio, lastricata tutto a mosaico di pasta di vetro dorato, stava una vasca rettangolare di marmo a cui da due lati salivasi mediante due gradini anch' essi di marmo, mentre al lato volto a borea faceva capo il tubo conduttore dell' acqua. Ai quattro angoli della vasca si rinvennero gli avanzi di sottili colonne di marmo rosso, che probabilmente avranno servito a sostegno di un ciborio a foggia di baldacchino posto sopra la vasca battesimale.

CHAPTER VI

THE FONT IN THE WEST

Fonts in the Catacombs.

BOLDETTI, in his description of the Roman catacombs published in 1720, declares that several baptisteries were discovered there. Only three, however, are known to exist.

Ex. 74. Cemeterium Ostrianum. ? Third century.

The first is in the *Cemeterium Ostrianum* on the Via Nomentana, a few hundred yards beyond the church of S. Agnese, and was discovered in 1876. No description of the font is given in the account of the discovery in the *Bullettino* for 1876, or in Professor Marucchi's chapter on the catacomb in his *Éléments d'archéologie chrétienne*, vol. ii; but I am told by the author of the latter work that it is formed by hollowing out the rock to receive a natural spring, and that it is small and not deep. The basin seems to be in a part that was excavated in the third century.

In the Acts of Papias and Maurus we read that the saints suffered death in the Diocletian persecution, and were buried near the Via Nomentana, 'ad nymphas ubi Petrus baptizabat.'

The document dates from the fifth century, but other discoveries have identified the cemetery beyond doubt and proved its connexion with very early traditions of the Apostle.

Ex. 75. Cemetery of Priscilla. Fourth century.

In 1901 the discovery of a baptistery was made in the cemetery of Priscilla on the Via Salaria Nova, by Professor Marucchi and the Commission of Sacred Archaeology. At the bottom of the staircase of S. Silvester, near the chapel of the Acilii Glabriones, is a small apse with a niche at its further end

leading to a large tank at a slightly lower level (Fig. 59). A *graffito* on the arch above, 'qui sitit veniat ad me et bibat,'

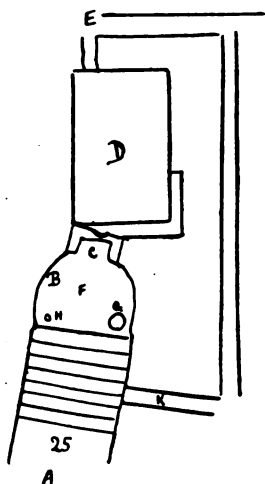


Fig. 59. A. Entrance by staircase of 25 steps. B. Apse. C. Niche at the end of the apse. D. Basin full of water. E. Channel of water. F. Travertine pavement. G. Depression hollowed out in the pavement. H. Drain to carry off the water. K. Modern passage.

frequently found in baptisteries, proves that this chamber was used for the administration of the sacrament. The basin is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ metres wide, 9 metres long, and 1.40 deep.

Professor Marucchi considers that it may have been used for baptism by 'immersion,' the candidate using a wooden ladder or perhaps a single stone; but such a proceeding would have been very awkward, and the presence of a hollow in the travertine floor of the apse above, and a hole to carry off the water, makes it quite unnecessary to suggest it even as an alternative method¹. Crostarosa, in the Report of the Commission, holds that the water was drawn from the tank and poured over the head of the catechumen, pointing out that the

niches in the wall (for lamps) are round the apse and leave the 'font' in darkness.

In questa piscina poteva discendersi servendosi di pochi gradini in legno o di una semplice pietra, essendo profonda soltanto 1 m. 40. Onde il battesimo vi si poteva conferire per immersione, essendo accessibile la piscina, o anche per infusione vedendosi innanzi all' abside l'incavo per assicurare la pelvis (G) e il foro per lo scolo dell' acqua.

p. 164. In fondo allo scalone è il posto per il battesimo coperto di un' apside, in questa fu praticata un' apertura per attingere acqua dalla piscina e versarla sulla testa del catechumeno.

¹ *Bull.*, 1901, p. 71 (plan and photographs, tavv. 2, 2 a, and 3).

When Liberius (352-356) was forbidden by Constantius to come within the walls of the city, he lived, we read, as an exile in the cemetery of Novella on the Via Salaria. This cemetery was an addition to that of Priscilla made by Marcellus some fifty years before (Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.*, ch. xxxi, p. 164).

When Easter approached he was advised by Damasus to baptize there, as S. Peter was said to have done in the neighbouring *Cemetery Ostrianum* on the Via Nomentana, and 4,000 persons are said to have received the rite there. Marucchi believes that the recently discovered baptistery was made on this occasion, and a *graffito* discovered on its walls giving the consular date 375 makes it probable that the Acts of Liberius, which are not later than the sixth century (Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.*, vol. i, p. cxxii), contain a genuine tradition explaining the origin of this fourth-century structure.

Constantius iussit eum extra civitatem habitare: habitabat autem ab urbe Roma millario tertio quasi exul in cymiterio Novellae via Salaria. Veniens autem dies Paschae vocavit universos presbyteros cives romanos et diaconos et sedit in cymiterio. Damasus dixit 'Baptiza in pelve ubi magister. Pelvis illa non lignum, sed totus mundus est.'

Erat enim non longe a cymeterio Novellae cymeterius Ostrianus [sic] ubi Petrus apostolus baptizabat. Eodem tempore Paschae baptizavit promiscui sexus numero quatuor millia duodecim. *Acta Liberii et Damasi*, ed. Constant., *Epist. Pont.*, p. 9; Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, t. viii, pp. 1388-93.

Ex. 76. Cemetery of Pontianus. Sixth century.

The baptistery in the cemetery of Pontianus on the Via Portuensis dates from the sixth century. It is formed by allowing a natural spring to collect in an oblong trench excavated in the rock. It is 2 metres wide and one deep, but is seldom full. A flight of steps leads down to it, and there is a small level space of about 4 feet across for the officiating bishop to stand on. The fresco above, which leaves no doubt as to the purpose of the excavation, has already been described¹.

¹ Marucchi, O., *Éléments d'archéologie chrétienne*, vol. ii, p. 63.

A font in the catacomb of S. Gennaro at Naples is considered below.

Ex. 77. Alexandria.

In the description of the catacomb of Alexandria given in the *Bullettino* for 1865, p. 60, we read of a large basin excavated in the floor, which seems once to have been crossed by a channel in which water flowed. No measurements are given, but from the plan it seems to have been circular, and a little wider than the loculi cut to receive the bodies, and therefore presumably about 1 to 1½ metres across. The catacomb dates from the third century, and De Rossi holds that 'such a structure for holding water has the appearance of a font rather than a well' (p. 62).

Fonts in baptisteries.

Marcellus I (308-310) is said in the *Liber Pontificalis* to have restored or established twenty-five churches for baptism in Rome. No traces of such churches have survived, and it is more probable that the author refers to parish churches where preparation for baptism was carried on, as the administration of the rite required the presence of a bishop.

Duchesne, *Origines du Culte chrétien*, p. 164. Églises paroissiales où avaient lieu les instructions préparatoires au baptême... Je dis les exercices préparatoires, car la célébration du baptême... requérant la présence de l'évêque, ces cérémonies s'accomplissaient dans une réunion générale et non par circonscription de paroisse.

Ex. 78. The Lateran baptistery.

The most important baptistery of the fourth century in the West was that erected by Constantine at the Lateran, which we have partially described above. The whole was restored by Xystus III (432-440) and the upper pillars are modern, but it is generally considered that the shape has not been altered. The basin is octagonal and the depth about

3 feet. It is 62 feet in diameter in a building of 90 feet diameter, and is therefore unusually large in proportion to the baptistery. It has a desk for the bishop on the north side, and is entered on the south by two steps.

This is quite the largest that exists, and from the descriptions was evidently considered something exceptional. It seems to have been for the West what the church at Tyre was for the East, and to have inaugurated a new type, but whether as an amplification of a form already traditional, or as a change from one almost identical with a private bath to a building modelled on the pattern of the public *thermae*, it is difficult to say.

Ex. 79. S. Stefano on the Via Latina. c. 450.

That the latter was the case is suggested by the remains of a baptistery in the ruins of the church of S. Stefano on the Via Latina, which dates from the middle of the fifth century. It was built on the site of an old Roman villa and the baptistery lay on the north-west, to the right of the altar, in which direction are to be seen extensive remains of baths. The font is circular, about 6 feet in diameter, and the parapet has been broken away, but the hole for draining the water away still remains as well as that by which it was filled, showing that the present depth of about 3 feet is original. Two semicircular masses of masonry fill up nearly half the space, and were possibly the substructures of the pulpits in which the bishop and his assistants stood¹.

This font suggested the plan on which an interesting modern font has been constructed in the parish church of Lambeth for the purpose of administering baptism by submersion, but it has been found necessary nearly to double the diameter and the depth, and to introduce seven steps by which the candidate descends to the bottom. In the font at S. Stefano it was found on experiment to be nearly impossible to crouch down

¹ Marucchi, O., *Éléments d'archéologie chrétienne*, vol. ii, ch. 6, p. 200.

so as to bring the whole body below what would have been the surface level of the water.

Exx. 80, 81. Naples. Fourth century.

Two fonts of similar shape and size remain in Naples. One is in a building to the right of the apse of the basilica of S. Restituta, the roof of which contains mosaics of the fourth century; the hole for emptying the basin is still visible. The other is in the court in front of the galleries of the catacomb of S. Gennaro. Here the parapet of the font is broken away, but the base of the bishop's desk remains, and opposite it on the east side the rim is broken for the descent into the water. The hole for draining is still visible at a depth of 3 to 4 feet. In the adjoining chamber are the remains of a raised platform on which an altar once stood, and of the seats in the apse on either side of the bishop's throne. They probably date from the fourth century, though the roof has considerable remains of frescoes of the first or early second century. The font is therefore probably also of the fourth, though one is tempted to regard it as dating from before the peace of the Church, and as abandoned when another, copied from it, was erected in the basilica in the city.

There is also a niche in the rock pointed out as the new baptistery just under the fresco described above (p. 298). No trace of the basin is left, but it must have been quite small, no bigger than a modern font.

We read in the *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, written by John the Deacon of S. Januarius of Naples, that S. Restituta was built by Zosimus, apparently at the instigation of Sylvester of Rome. Severus, who succeeded him, built four basilicas, including that of S. Fortunatus, which he ornamented with mosaic. Soter (465) built the church of the Apostles and either a parish church or a baptistery (plevem post Sanctum Severum secundus instituit; according to Muratori plebe=ecclesiae baptismales sive parochiales). Victor, a contemporary of Pope Gelasius (492), built two basilicas outside

the walls, one dedicated in the name of S. Stephen about a mile out before the chapel of S. Januarius, and another, S. Euphemia, just outside the gate. Stephanus (496) built the church *ad nomen Salvatoris*, which was generally known as the Stephanian. The apse of this church was destroyed by fire, and was restored and decorated with a mosaic representing the Transfiguration by John (532), but the church was again destroyed by fire and rebuilt by Stephen (766).

Vincent (550-560) built the greater baptistery (*baptisterium fontis maioris*) in or near the archbishop's palace, and John in the time of Pope Deusdedit (? Deodatus 615) built an additional room for the administration of the unction that followed after baptism (*consignatorium alvatorum* [ablutorum, Mur.] *inter fontes maiores a domino Sotero episcopo digestae et ecclesiam Stephaniam per quorum baptizati ingredienti ianuas a parte leva ibidem in medio residenti offeruntur episcopo et benedictione accepta per ordinem egrediuntur parti sinistrae. Id ipsud et in parietibus super columnas depingere iussit*).

Athanasius (847) carried out a great deal of ornamenting of various churches at S. Januarius and elsewhere¹.

The existing baptistery in S. Restituta is usually identified either with that built by Soter or with that constructed by Vincent, but it is difficult to believe that the first basilica of S. Restituta was without the font which formed so important a feature of the churches at Tyre and Rome. More light will no doubt be thrown on the subject by the new discoveries and investigations of Mgr. G. A. Galante referred to on pp. 219 and 221 of the *Römische Quartalschrift* for 1900, and in the *Bullettino* for 1900, p. 99.

Ex. 82. Nocera dei Pagani, near Naples. Fifth century.

The baptistery of S. Maria Maggiore at Nocera dei Pagani was a circular building, erected in the fifth century, 80 feet in diameter and with an apse. The piscina is circular, with a diameter of 18 feet and an octagonal rim. It was surrounded

¹ Johannes Diaconus Ecclesiae S. Januari Neapoli, *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum* (Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 1723).—Also in *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptorum rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum Saec. vi-ix*, 1877.

originally by eight pillars, of which three remain. Two steps run round the inside of the basin, which is therefore not more than 2 to 3 feet deep ¹.

The *Dict. of Christ. Antiquities* gives the depth as 5 feet. Its authority appears to be Fergusson, whose elevation however gives a depth of about 3 feet. The plan and section in Dehio and Von Bezold are from Isabelle, who gives the diameter from pillar to pillar as 6.150 metres, that of the floor of the basin 4 metres, and the depth, judging from the plan, as about 1½ metre.

Baptistery of S. Peter's.

The baptistery of S. Peter's was destroyed in the rebuilding of the cathedral in the sixteenth century. It lay to the right of the sanctuary, probably at the end of the north transept. A small font seems to have been constructed when the church was built, which proved insufficient. In the time of the Emperor Constantius the Catholic Christians were forbidden to use the Lateran baptistery, and were compelled to go outside the walls of the city for the administration of the sacrament. We have seen above how Liberius at this time (probably) had the font constructed in the cemetery of S. Priscilla (p. 335), and the Acts of Liberius relate how Damasus got permission to build a larger font at S. Peter's with a more ample supply of water, and how he helped with his own hands in its construction. The building was ornamented with mosaics by Longinus, prefect of Rome in 403.

The Acts date from the sixth century, but a contemporary inscription in the crypt of S. Peter's relates how Damasus first made the cistern in the hill above, from which the water was drawn.

Damasus dixit . . . date mihi opera ministerii ut haec aqua mundetur desuper cadavera hominum. Fecit autem cuniculos

¹ *Dict. Christian Antiquities*, art. 'Baptistery.'—Fergusson, *Architecture*, vol. i, p. 385.—Dehio and Bezold, *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, Stuttgart, 1892.—Isabelle, *Les Édifices circulaires*, Paris, 1855.

duos et exinanivit locum illum qui est a dextera introeuntibus in basilicam beati Petri apostoli. Habebat enim ibidem fontem qui (*sic*) non sufficebat. Et caecidit montem Damasus manu sua. Et introivit plus quam consuetum est. Et construxit fontem¹.

The baptistery is thus described by Prudentius (*Peristeph.* xii. 31-41).

Dextra Petrum regio tectis tenet aureis receptum
Canens oliva murmurans fluento.
Namque supercilio saxi liquor ortus excitavit
Fontem perennem chrismatis feracem.
Nunc pretiosa ruit per marmora lubricatque clivum,
Donec virenti fluctuet colymbo.
Interior tumuli pars est, ubi lapsibus sonoris
Stagnum nivali volvitur profundo.
Omnicolor vitreas pictura superne tingit undas,
Musci relucent et virescit aurum
Cyaneusque latex umbram trahit imminentis ostri,
Credas moveri fluctibus lacunar.
Pastor oves alit ipse illic gelidi rigore fontis
Videt sitire quas fluenta Christi.

African Fonts.

As early as the second century there was a flourishing Christian Church in Africa. Chapels were erected at the place where Cyprian was martyred and over the spot where his body was buried, and probably many churches were built in the long peace between the persecutions of Decius and Diocletian, but no example is known to survive which dates from before the conversion of Constantine. The fourth and fifth centuries, however, were great ages of church building, as the numerous consecration sermons of Augustine testify.

After the fall of Carthage, in 439, the Catholic Christians were persecuted by the Arian Vandals, who preferred confiscating the older churches to building new ones for them-

¹ Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, viii, p. 1392.—Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.*, Introd. cxxii.—Kirsch, J. P., 'Zur Geschichte der alten Petruskirche,' *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1890, p. 118.

selves; and the overthrow of their dominion by Belisarius in 534 found the country too wasted to do more, as a rule, than keep the older basilicas in repair. When the country was again conquered by the Arabs at the end of the seventh century, the churches, already in many cases only used in half their area, gradually fell into complete ruin.

Ex. 83. Carthage. ? Fourth or fifth century.

A baptistery was discovered at Carthage by Sgr. Cesana in 1880. The font is described as octagonal, with two steps going down into it. Among the ruins were found fragments of plaster that had fallen from the dome over the basin, the diameter of which measured 2.83 metres ('frammenti d'intonaco dipinto caduti dalla cupola dell' ottagono, il cui diametro maggiore è di metri 2.83').

A mosaic of four fish was also found, and near it some lamps and an earthenware vessel (orciuolo fittile) of rough make and ornamented with fishes, which De Rossi ascribes to the fifth century, and suggests that it was used for baptism by affusion¹.

Ex. 84. Damous el Karita. Fourth century.

The basilica of Damous el Karita had a large hexagonal fountain in the atrium, which lay to the north side of the church, while in the baptistery on the south side the font is still to be seen. It is circular below and hexagonal above. It has a diameter of 3 metres and is entered by four steps. The depth is estimated at .80—90 m. The hole for emptying the basin is still to be seen².

De Rossi suggests that this was the church referred to in a sermon '*De passione 88. Donati et Advocati*,' printed after

¹ *Bull.*, 1881, p. 125.

² *Bull.*, 1898, p. 219.—Wieland, Dr. Fr., *Ein Ausflug in altchristliche Africa*, Stuttgart, 1890, pp. 25 and 31.—Gsell, S., *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, Rome, 1894, p. 25. Several more baptisteries are mentioned in *Les monuments antiques de l'Algérie*, Paris, 1901, by the same author. Cf. also *R. Q. S.*, 1902, p. 81.

the works of Optatus. Dr. Wieland thinks it may have been erected on the spot where S. Perpetua suffered.

Ex. 85. Hammam el Lif. Fourth or fifth century.

A baptistery recently discovered at Hammam el Lif, opposite Carthage, has a cylindrical font .65 m. high on the outside, and with a diameter of 1.24 m. (Fig. 60). The centre of the basin has a further depth of .60 m. with

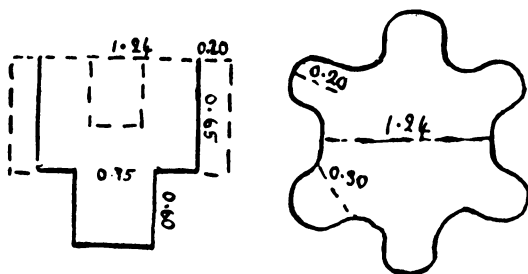


Fig. 60.

a diameter of .75 m., making a total depth of 1.25 m. There are six little recesses round the upper rim, but one of these does not reach to the top as the side is broken by a step. It was therefore impossible to fill the font to the brim, and the water could never have been more than one metre deep.

Ex. 86. Tebessa. Before 439.

A monastic church at Tebessa (Theveste) near Carthage is remarkable for its similarity in measurement to Solomon's temple at Jerusalem. Dated inscriptions show that it was built before 439.

The baptistery stands to the right of the atrium, and is described as a narrow oblong room (ein länglicher winkelliger Raum), containing a circular font of 2 m. diameter and formed by three concentric stone rings. The outer ring is partly original, but has been restored in later times from material taken from a building of the classic period. A deep

groove runs round the edge and served as a channel to convey the water from some spring¹.

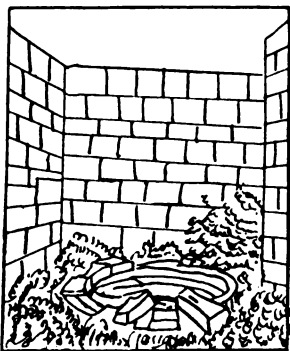


Fig. 61.

Dr. Wieland informs me that the basin was at most .80 m. deep. There seems from the illustration in his book (Fig. 61) to have been a canopy over the font supported on pillars, the bases of which remain.

*Ex. 87. Tizirt.
Sixth century.*

At Tizirt near Algiers is a font which is described as circular and formed out of three concentric stone rings. It stands in a baptistery of cruciform shape with rounded ends. The basin is .45 m. high on the outside and measures 1.80 in diameter, and is therefore probably about .80 m. deep. The drain for carrying away the water is still visible, but there is no trace of any channel by which the font was filled. Two large vessels were found near, which may have served to bring the water, or it may have fallen from a fountain-head above as in the Lateran baptistery and in that of Eustorgius at Milan. The remains of a platform can be seen on the east side, which may have served to facilitate the entrance into the water but was more probably the base of the bishop's desk. The bases of two of the columns which supported the ciborium are still in their place. The building would seem to be of the sixth century, as it lies between the old Roman wall and the outer Byzantine fortification, though it has been ascribed to the early fifth century².

¹ *Bull.*, 1899, p. 51.—Wieland, pp. 97, 98.—Ballu, A., *Monuments antiques de l'Algérie: Tebessa, Lambèse, Timgad*, Paris, 1894.

² Wieland, pp. 172-3.—Gavault, P., *Études sur les Ruines romaines de Tizirt*, Bibliothèque d'Archéologie Africaine, Fasc. 2, Paris, 1897, p. 88.

Ex. 88. Tipasa. Fourth century.

At Tipasa, to the west of Algiers, there is another font of almost identical form. It stands in a square baptistery between the basilica and the sea. It is formed of three concentric rings and measures 3.40 m. in diameter, narrowing down to 1.30 in the centre, and is not more than 1 m. deep. The church is thought to date from the fourth century ¹.

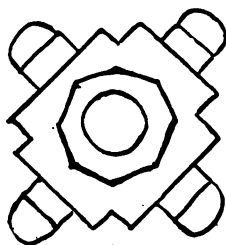


Fig. 62.

Ex. 89. El Kantara.

The font from the church of El Kantara on the island of Djerba has been transported to Tunis. It is made of white marble and is of cruciform shape externally and octagonal within. Its depth is only .60 m. (Fig. 62).

I am indebted to M. Père Delattre, Supérieur des Pères Blancs, S. Louis de Carthage, for this information as well as for the details of the font at Hammam el Lif.

There is also a baptistery at Castiglione, near Algiers, which lies under the apse of the baptistery (cf. the font at Amwas) ², and another, dating from the fourth or fifth century, is mentioned as existing at Busguniae on Cape Matifon, near Algiers, in the *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1901, p. 91.

I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Wieland for many details in the above section.

Ex. 90. Ravenna. 449-452.

The font in the Orthodox Baptistery at Ravenna is octagonal, with a diameter of about 3.40 m. and a depth of about 1½ m. The entrance is opposite to the bishop's desk which is raised by two steps, so that the head of a man standing in the

¹ Wieland, p. 183.—Gsell, S., *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, xiv, Rome, 1894, p. 358.

² *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux historiques*, 1896, pts. 1 & 2.

water would be well below the reach of his hands (Figs. 63, 64). A porphyry sarcophagus, raised up to the level of the desk, is

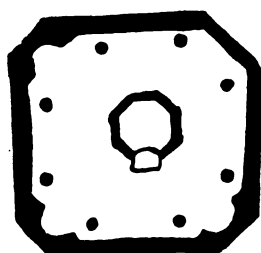


Fig. 63.

now used for a font, but originally the rite could only be administered by pouring water on the catechumen's head; the water in the basin being quite out of reach. The building is supposed to have been a chamber of the public baths before it was converted to its present use by Neon (449-452)¹.

The basin has disappeared from the Arian baptistery, but its site is marked by a round slab of porphyry of about 3 m. in diameter, which was possibly its floor.

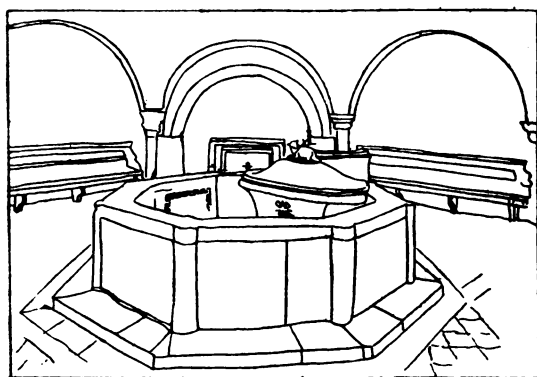


Fig. 64 (from a photograph).

Ex. 91. Parenzo. Sixth century.

The baptistery of the cathedral at Parenzo is at the west end of the building, and received its present form from Eufrasius in the first part of the sixth century; but this building was erected on earlier foundations of a structure raised

¹ Isabelle, *Les Édifices circulaires et les Dômes*, Paris, 1855.—Ricci, C., *Guida di Ravenna*, Bologna, 1900, p. 32.

in 313, and this again on another of the second century. A mosaic of the third century, with a pattern of fishes, has been found on this lowest level, but it lies in a different part of the church and is probably of secular origin. The baptistery is 8 metres across; the hexagonal font appears to be about 3 m. in diameter¹.

Ex. 92. Cividale. 716-762.

The town of Cividale in Friuli (Forum Iulii) near Aquileia was for a long time in possession of the Lombards, and the baptistery erected by the patriarch Calixtus (716-762) is perhaps the earliest example of distinctively Lombard art. It was restored by Sigwald in 774, and the font was brought into the cathedral in the seventeenth century. It is octagonal and surmounted by a ciborium. The height of the structure is 3.8 metres and its diameter 3 m. There are three steps (but always pictured as two) leading up to the rim of the basin and two to go down into it. In the section in Garrucci² the steps are represented as steeper than usual. If the drawing is correct, this would seem to be a sign of the beginning of the attempt to introduce the practice of baptism by submersion.

Es ist achteckig und hat eine Höhe von 3.8 Meter und einen Durchmesser von 3 Meter. Zu demselben führen gegenwärtig drei Stufen und zwei zum Hinabsteigen in die piscina concha fontium. Ob ursprünglich statt der fünf Stufen sieben vorhanden gewesen, ist zwar wahrscheinlich, lässt sich aber nicht mehr sicher stellen. Die oberste Stufe, auf der jene standen, die bei dem Taufacte beschäftigt waren, wurde 'fundamentum aquae et stabilimentum pedum' genannt. Den ganzen inneren Raum nimmt die Piscina ein. Sie war, wie der Massstab zeigt, hinlänglich geräumig zum Taufacte durch Immersion.

See, however, p. 351 below.

¹ *Bull.*, 1896, p. 14, and plan.

² *Garr.*, vol. 6, tav. 425.—R. von Eitelberger von Edelberg, *Gesammelte kunsthistorische Schriften*, III, Wien, 1884, p. 329.

Ex. 93. Poitiers. Fourth century.

A Merovingian baptistery dating from the sixth or seventh century still exists at Poitiers. It seems, however, to stand on the site of an older building, the font of which was excavated in 1890 by M. P. C. de la Croix, Directeur des Musées de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, &c. He informed me that it was damaged by the building having been used as a bell-foundry in 1827, but could be easily restored. It was about 1 m. deep, octagonal, and was entered by three steps. The water, however, which came from a third-century aqueduct, entered on a level with the bottom of the basin and could never have been more than .21 m. deep. He considers that the font dates from the fourth century.

Ex. 94. Aquileia. Eighth century.

An engraving of an eighth-century font at Aquileia is given in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, where it appears as an irregular hexagon with broken pillars at the corners standing on a low parapet rim, and a step running round inside. The plans, however, represent it as octagonal. It seems to be of the usual size, and to have the usual two steps running round the inside. It may therefore be 1 metre deep¹.

Ex. 95. Schacheneck in Lothringen. Ninth or tenth century.

At Schacheneck in Lothringen is a baptistery with a font dating from Carolingian times (ninth or tenth century). It is .80 m. deep, the inside diameter .92 m., the outside breadth 1.30 m., and the thickness of the rim .20 m.; there is a small circular opening at the bottom showing that the present depth is original².

¹ Holzinger, Dr. H., *Die altchristliche Architectur*, Stuttgart, 1889, pp. 219 & 220, where the same two incompatible illustrations appear.

² Kraus, F. X., *Kunst und Alterthum in Elsass-Lothringen*, vol. iii, p. 915, with a picture. Prof. Kraus adds: 'Die Taufe geschah in diesen grossen Kufen (about 2½ feet deep) noch durch Untertauchen'!

SYNOPTIC TABLE OF FONTS.

Place.	Date.	Shape.	Diameter.	Depth.
Fountain-heads in Palestine . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	3-20 ft.	1-3 ft.
<i>Fountains in Cemeteries.</i>				
75. Cemetery of Priscilla	325-366	⌋ oblong ⌋ circular	3½ × 9 m.	⌋ { 1-40 m. (floor, hollow in
74. Ostrian Cemetery	3rd cent.	?	small	not deep.
76. Cemetery of Pontianus	6th cent.	oblong	2 × 1 m.	1 m.
81. Catacomb at Naples	4th cent.	circular	6 ft.	3 ft.
77. Catacomb of Alexandria	3rd cent.	circular	1-1½ m.	?
<i>Egypt.</i>				
61. Dair Mâri Mina	4th cent.	circular	small	?
62. Dair Abu' 's Sifain	10th cent.	circular	3 ft.	4 ft.
62 a. " "	10th cent.	circular	3 ft.	3 ft.
63. Abu Sargah	6th cent.	circular	2 ft.	?
" "	2nd or 3rd c.	circular	30 in.	?
64. Dair al Abiad	3rd or 4th c.	circular	4 ft.	?
65. Al' Adra	very old	circular	under 3 ft.	?
<i>Syria and the East.</i>				
66. Tyre	314	oblong	6 ft.	2½ ft.
67. Amwas	4th cent.	cruciform with rounded ends	3-5 m.	1-35 m. (water 70 m.)
68. Beit 'Aûwa	? 4th c.	square	2 ft. 3 in.	20 in. (28 in. outside).
68 a. Khûrbet Tekûta	? 4th c.	octagonal	4 ft.	4 ft. (outside).
69. Deir Seta	5-6th c.	hexagonal with ciborium	8-10 ft.	?
70. Aladschadagh	6th cent.	square . . . . .	.86 m. . . . .	.82 m.
71. Gül Bagtische	7th cent.	square	1½ m.	1 m.
72. S. Sophia	?	oval quatrefoil 1½ in.	3 ft. 2½ in. × 6 ft. 1½ in.	4 ft. 6 in.
73. Salona	4-6th c.	square with cibo- rium	1 m. . . . .	.80 m.
<i>Rome and early Italian.</i>				
78. Lateran baptistery	324-337	octagonal	62 ft.	3 ft.
79. S. Stefano on the Via Latina	5th cent.	circular	6 ft.	3 ft.
80. S. Restituta, Naples	4th cent.	circular	6 ft.	3 ft.
82. Nocera dei Pagani	5th cent.	circular	18 ft.	2-3 ft.
<i>Africa.</i>				
83. Carthage	4-5th c.	octagonal	2.83 m.	1.15-95 m.
84. Damous el Karita	4-5th c.	hexagonal	3 m. . . . .	.80-90 m.
85. Hammam el Lif	?	circular	1.25 m.	1.25 m.
86. Tebessa	before 439	circ. with ciborium	2 m. . . . .	.80 in.
87. Tizirt	6th cent.	circular	1.80 m. . . . .	.80 in.
88. Tipasa	4th cent.	circular	3.40 m.	1 m.
89. El Kantara	?	cruciform . . . . .	? . . . . .	.60.
<i>Late Italian and other fonts.</i>				
90. Ravenna	449-452	octagonal	3.40 m.	1.25 m.
91. Parenzo	6th cent.	hexagonal	3 m.	?
92. Cividale	716-762	octagonal with ciborium	3 m.	?
93. Poitiers	4th cent.	octagonal . . . . .	? . . . . .	.21 m.
94. Aquileia	8th cent.	hexagonal with ciborium	. . . . .	1 m.
95. Schacheneck	9-10th c.	circular . . . . .	.92 m. . . . .	.80 m.

Two types of Fonts.

It will be noticed that these fonts may be divided into two types. In the East they are generally small square or circular basins (Exx. 61-65, 68 a, 70), while sometimes they are elongated on four sides and so made the shape of a Greek cross (Exx. 66-68, 71, 73). In the West they are usually octagonal or circular, greater in diameter but not deeper, while the two steps generally run round the whole circumference, the whole forming a wide shallow basin (Exx. 78, 86, 91, &c. &c.).

There is often a parapet as well and a pulpit for the bishop (Exx. 78-81, 90, &c.), while frequently we find pillars to support a ciborium over the basin (Exx. 69, 78, 82, 86, 92, 94).

Both types seem to have developed from the small baths in domestic use in which baptism was administered in pre-Constantinian times; but in the East they seemed to have retained the features of the private bath, while in the West and in the Roman Hauran in Syria they exhibit a strongly marked uniformity of pattern that seems derived from the public *Thermae*.

This conjecture is borne out by the numerous traditions which tell of baths being converted into baptisteries, while a glance at the still remaining *frigidarium* in the Stabian baths at Pompeii is sufficient to show after what pattern the western type was modelled. The shape is just that of the circular baptistery with its four small apses, while the basin itself of white marble is of similar proportions to many of the fonts we have considered. It is 13 ft. 8 in. in diameter, and about 3 ft. 9 in. deep. It is entered by two marble steps, and has a seat running round it at a height of 10 in. from the bottom. It was clearly therefore never more than half full, as no one would sit on a seat more than a few inches under the water¹.

¹ Cf. Cyprian, Ep. 76, referred to above, p. 312.—*Concise Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Murray, London, 1898, art. 'Baths,' p. 106.

Depth of Fonts.

The depth can be ascertained with certainty in the cases where the original drain-holes remain, and can usually be calculated approximately from the steps leading down to the water, which are almost invariably two in number.

The normal depth is under 3 ft., so that unless the font were filled to the brim, the average depth of water would have been about 2 ft.; in some cases 15 in. represents the utmost capacity of the basin (Amwas, Beit 'Aûwa). In many cases, where the font has disappeared, we are justified in assuming a similar measurement, as its proportion to the size of the baptistery does not vary much in the West.

Steps.

Much misunderstanding has arisen from the supposition that it was usual to descend into the water by seven steps. The number found is almost invariably two, and where three are spoken of it will generally be found that the rim of the font has been counted as the third, and that the font is constructed with three concentric rings.

The seven steps therefore referred to in literature are made up by counting the paces of the catechumen, the first being when he puts his foot on the edge to step in, the next two as he descends the two inner rings of the font, the fourth as he stands on the floor of the basin, and the remaining three as he goes up out of the water.

Cf. Isidore of Seville (633), *de Divin. Offic.* II. ch. 25 'Fons autem omnium gratiarum origo est, cuius septem gradus sunt; tres in descensu propter tria quibus renuntiamus, tres in ascensu propter tria quae confitemur, septimus vero is est, qui et quartus similis Filio hominis extinguens fornacem ignis, stabilimentum pedum fundamentum aquae in quo omnis plenitudo divinitatis habitabat corporaliter.' This passage seems to have been misunderstood by R. von Eitelberger in the quotation given above in his description of the font at Cividale.

It might seem at first sight as if a depth of 2 or 3 ft. were sufficient to allow the whole body to be covered, but a little consideration will show that it would be impossible in a font only 3 ft. across. Even in the wider type of basin that was common in the West it would be extremely awkward and practically impossible, as any one will realize who has ever tried to dip himself in the shallow end of an ordinary swimming bath. The only example of those we have considered in which such a proceeding would have been possible is perhaps that of the Lateran, where the rite was administered by the Popes. When baptism is administered by total immersion in modern times, it is found necessary to have a tank in which the candidate can stand with the water up to his neck or breast; or if the water is shallower the font must be at least 8 ft. long, and the administrator has to enter the water and lay the candidate on his back. In the early Church, as we have seen, the bishop made use of a desk which raised him well out of reach of the surface of the water.

Curtains.

The pillars in the Lateran baptistery are supposed to have been hung with curtains. From early times the Church had objected to men and women bathing together (*Const. Apost.* 1, 9; *Cypr. de hab. virg.* 19), and the presence of deaconesses would seem to imply that in the preparation for baptism the sexes were kept apart, even if the rite was administered to both at the same time (*Can. Hipp.* § 114; *Const. Apost.* 3, 15).

Augustine (*de Civ. Dei* xxii. 8) mentions a miracle which came to his knowledge as having taken place in the women's quarter of the baptistery at Carthage (*in parte feminarum observanti ad baptisterium*), which may refer to a separate font or simply to a robing-room, such as are frequently found adjoining the ancient baptisteries. There are said to have been two separate buildings at Autun.

At the same time no special precautions seem to have been taken to screen the candidates, who were made to take off

everything, even jewelry and false hair (*Can. Hipp.* § 115). Chrysostom speaks of catechumens as being 'as naked as Adam in Paradise' (*Hom. 6 in Coloss.*). Ambrose (*Serm. 20*) points out how absurd it is for a man who was born naked, and entered naked into the Church, to hope to carry his riches into heaven. Cyril (*Cat. Myst. 2*) reminds the newly baptized how they were naked in the sight of men and were not ashamed. Athanasius accused Arius of inciting Jews and heathens to break into the baptistery at Alexandria and insult the catechumens; while Peter of Apamea was accused of doing the same thing at Constantinople, and so frightening the women there assembled that they fled naked into the streets (*Chryst. Epist. 1 ad Innocent.*¹).

In the western Church, however, the ring of pillars carrying a ciborium is a very common feature (as at Salona, Tebessa, Cividale, and Aquileia), and these were probably used in later times to secure the privacy that was not thought necessary in earlier ages. The curtain mentioned in the description of the church in the 'Testament of our Lord' seems to have hung before the door and not round the font ('*Similiter domus baptismi sit velo obtecta*,' p. 325).

It is related of Otto of Bamberg that on converting the Pomeranians (1124), he had three baptisteries constructed, one for boys, one for women and one for men. He had three large basins sunk in the ground so that they reached as high as a man's knee, and round them he had curtains hung on cords tied to a circle of supports. The catechumens went inside with their godparents, and there gave up their clothes to them, and the priest standing outside the curtains, when he heard the candidate enter the water, drew aside the curtain enough to allow him to pour water thrice over his head. We have here an interesting survival of the ancient custom at a time when infant baptism must have been the rule, and when fonts were of the type with which we are familiar to-day, being usually raised on pedestals to facilitate the dipping which, we saw,

¹ Bingham, bk. xi. ch. 11 sections 1-3.

had by this time come to be considered the more perfect way¹.

Cortinas circa dolia, fixis columnellis funibusque inductis, oppandi fecit, ut in modum coronae velo undique cuppa cingeretur, ante sacerdotem vero et comministros, qui ex una parte astantes Sacramenti opus explere habebant, linteum fune traiectionem pendit. . . Sacerdos vero qui ad cuppam stabat, cum audisset potius quam vidisset quod aliquis esset in aqua, velo paululum remoto, trina immersione capitis illius mysterium Sacramenti perfecit.

Persistency of type.

The Western type of font that was established by the fourth century lasts with singular persistency late into the Middle Ages; just as the traditional method of picturing the baptism of our Lord underwent comparatively little modification in the course of centuries. Fonts of the early Christian form are found at Torcello (ninth to eleventh centuries), Florence (eleventh to twelfth), Cremona (twelfth), Pisa (1153), Parma (1196), while baptisteries from which the original basins have disappeared are numerous. This conservatism in later ages would seem to argue against any sudden change having been made at the time of the peace of the Church.

Again, our examples have been taken from the catacombs of Rome and Alexandria, from Palestine, Tyre, Egypt, the Hauran, Asia Minor, Persia, Byzantium, Dalmatia, Rome of the fourth century, Naples, Africa, Lusitania, the Lombard and Merovingian kingdoms, and the Frankish Empire. In none of these cases would submersion be easy or natural; in most cases it would be impossible. Such a remarkable unanimity, in spite of differences in details, points back to a much earlier original type of basin which certainly would not have been large; and if we are right in holding that the private bath in domestic use was the model which first suggested the form and shape of the later structures, we may

¹ *Acta Bolland.*, July 28, p. 395.

confidently assert that baptism by submersion would have been as difficult to carry out in them as it would have been in the catacombs.

Sources of the popular error.

Besides the misunderstanding as to the way in which the seven steps were reckoned, to which allusion has been made above, three other sources of popular error may be mentioned.

It might be argued that the custom of consecrating the water excludes the method of administration by bringing the head of the catechumen under a stream descending from a spout, which we saw reason to believe was sometimes adopted. But it must be remembered that the idea that any change in the water itself was brought about by benediction is of comparatively late origin. It was rather the consecration of the ELEMENT of water that was considered to have been effected by the baptism of Christ in the running stream of Jordan¹.

The analogy between baptism and death, dwelt on by S. Paul in the epistle to the Romans (vi. 4), has often been quoted as involving submersion, and numerous passages in the Fathers have seemed to support the belief that the catechumen must necessarily have been entirely covered by the water. Thus Cyril of Jerusalem, when he compares the threefold immersion with the three days and nights of our Lord's entombment, and reminds his hearers that in their baptism they saw nothing 'as if it were night,' uses language which seems to imply total immersion.

Cat. Myst. xx. 4 οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἀναδύσει τὴν πρώτην ἐμμεῖσθε τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἡμέραν καὶ τῇ καταδύσει τὴν νύκτα. Ὡς περ γὰρ ὁ ἐν νυκτὶ οὐκέτι βλέπει, ὁ δὲ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐν φωτὶ διαίγει, οὕτως ἐν τῇ καταδύσει, ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ, οὐδὲν ἑωρᾶτε, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀναδύσει πάλιν, ὡς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐτυγχάνετε ὄντες.

This is of course involved in our modern customs of burial, where earth is piled on the coffin; but it may be questioned

¹ Stone, D., *Holy Baptism*, ch. I, note 13, p. 221.

whether such an idea was present either to the mind of the Apostle, who was thinking of the burial of our Lord where the body was simply laid in the tomb, or to the writers of the early Church, whose customs of burial involved no more than laying the corpse in a sarcophagus or carrying it down to the catacombs. It is in the structure of the font rather than in the water that they find their analogy, in the act of going down rather than in what they found when they descended.

Cat. Myst. iii. 12 τρόπον τινα ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι ταφείς, ὥσπερ ἐκείνος ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ—and xx. 4, where the catechumens are reminded how they were led to the κολυμβήθρα ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον μῆμα. Cf. Bingham, bk. xi. ch. 11, sections 4-7.

Even where the custom of earth-burial obtained, to cast a handful over the corpse was considered sufficient to constitute an interment. It was in this way that Antigone disobeyed the command of Creon that her brother's body was to remain without the honour of burial:—

τὸν νεκρὸν τις ἀρτίως
θάψας βίβηκε κατὰ χρωτὶ διψίαν
κόων παλύνας κἀφαγιστεύσας δ' ἀχρή¹.

See the passages quoted by R. C. Jebb in his edition of Sophocles (Cambridge 1883), describing the guilt incurred by any one who passed by an unburied corpse without throwing earth on it.

The words used to describe the administration of the sacrament (βαπτίζω, λουτρόν, καταδύω, *mergo, immersio, tingo*) are usually assumed to imply submersion. Even if this were involved in their original meaning, the same expressions might well be used if the rite were carried out in the way described above. Similarly the colloquial English word 'to duck' means strictly to dive, or push under the water, but in common use it is applied to any serious wetting,

¹ *Soph. Ant.* 245; cf. *Hor. Carm.* i. 28. 23-25:—

At tu, nauta, vagae ne parces malignus arenae
Omnibus et capiti inhumato
Particulam dare.

and even to a simple lowering of the head, where there is no question of water at all.

As a matter of fact, we have seen that whatever may have been the theories of ecclesiastical writers on the subject, the evidence from archaeology shows that they had little or no influence on popular practice for at least 700 years, and it is only when in the West Latin ceased to be the language in which people habitually thought, and when in the East the growing rarity of adult baptism made the Greek word patient of an interpretation that suited that of infants only, that the more literal meaning of the term began to be enforced.

Cf. Duchesne, *Églises Séparées*, Paris, 1896, p. 95. En somme, il y a ici une erreur d'interprétation. L'immersion dont parlent les anciens textes n'est pas autre chose que l'affusion actuelle, pratiquée sans doute avec plus d'abondance, mais sans différence essentielle. Et cette manière de voir trouve une confirmation dans l'emploi des mots *tinctio*, *tingere*, pour désigner le baptême. Ce synonyme est dans la langue ecclésiastique latine depuis le temps de Tertullien. Or, que signifie *tingere*? Tout simplement mouiller et non pas immerger.

It would be an ungracious task to trace how persistently the greater number of archaeologists have repeated the statement that baptism by immersion (i. e. submersion) was the universal custom in primitive times, and to point out how consequently they have been misled in judgement; but we may hope that the study here undertaken may at least have done something to remove this cause of confusion, and settled one small point among the many questions that make the study of Christian antiquities one of such great difficulty.

NOTE

THE list of fonts in Italy (pp. 336-340, 345-348) might easily have been extended. A list of 59 baptisteries, dating from the 4th to the 11th centuries, is given in Lopez, *Il battistero di Parma*, 1864, pp. 249 ff. Some dozen of these are mentioned as still possessing their original fonts, which are described as entered by two or three steps and hexagonal (Pesaro, 4th cent., Trieste, 6th cent., Pola in Istria, 9th cent.), octagonal (Barzano, Galliano, 6th-7th cent.), square (Murano, Torcello, 11th cent.), or 'like the ancient baths' (Cittanova); but no exact measurements are given, except in the case of an early Lombard basin at Castrocaro near Forlì, which is rectangular, 1.40 m. by 60 m. and 53 m. deep. In R. Cattaneo, *Architettura in Italia*, a small 7th or 8th century font in the museum at Venice is described and pictured (p. 101, fig. 44), and the remains of an earlier one at Torcello are mentioned in Venturi, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, vol. ii, Milan, 1902, p. 158.

It would have been easy also to multiply examples of representations of the rite from the 8th-10th centuries. A Carolingian ivory in the Museo Nazionale at Florence represents the baptism of Cornelius (H. Graeven, *Frühchristliche u. mittelalt. Elfenbeinwerke*, 1900, n. 29). The chapel of the Virgin erected at the Vatican by John VII in 706 has been destroyed, but sketches of the mosaics have been preserved, among which occurs a scene of the baptism of Christ (Garr. 279, 1, and 280, 4); and in the copy of the homilies of S. Gregory Nazianzen in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (MS. Grec. 510, fol. 426), which was written for Basil the Macedonian in 886, is a page containing twelve small pictures of the Apostles, each baptizing a catechumen, who stands immersed up to the breast in a round, square, or cruciform font.

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